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Late Gothic Architecture in South West England

Four Major Centres of Building Activity at

Wells, Bristol, Sherborne and Bath

Two Volumes

Volume One

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Courtauld	Courtauld Institute of Art, Conway Library
JG	John Goodall
LM	Linda Monckton
RKM	Richard K. Morris
Warwick	History of Art Department Photographic Library, Warwick University
WMA	Warwick Mouldings Archive

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DOSSIERS

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ABSTRACT

By 1360 the Perpendicular style was established as the successor to Decorated architecture. During the subsequent one hundred and eighty years, until the Reformation, major building work was carried out at four great churches in the south west of England. The complete reconstructions of St Mary Redcliffe, Sherborne Abbey and Bath Abbey, and considerable work to the precinct at Wells Cathedral during this period, form the basis for this thesis. Through a study of each of these major centres, the issues of workshop identity and stylistic trendsetters are considered.

It is shown how the interpretation of documentary evidence has impeded an understanding of these buildings, which can be revealed by an analysis of the fabric. Based primarily on a methodology of buildings archaeology and assessment of moulding profiles, traditional assumptions concerning the chronology and patronage are challenged.

The new chronology for works at Sherborne Abbey, and the redating of the commencement of Bath Abbey further our understanding of the nature of masons' workshops, patronage and stylistic development within a regional context. Introspection in masons' workshops during the 15th century, and retrospection in later design in the region, demonstrates a reliance on the innovations of the 14th century, and the significance of the parish church tradition in the region, respectively. The thesis concludes with a discussion on the influence of major church workshops on domestic architecture, and the impact of the dissemination of the lodges in the early 16th century.

CHAPTER ONE
Introduction

Late Gothic architecture in England is traditionally associated with the Perpendicular style, which lasted for almost 200 years. Originating in the 1330s it had become the dominant architectural style by the later 14th century. Whilst the survival of so many Perpendicular buildings may be associated in part with the reduction in church building from the middle of the 16th century, there is no doubt that during this two hundred year period building productivity was high. The remaining Perpendicular buildings in and around Bristol, and in Somerset and Dorset stand testament to the combination of an increased prosperity associated with successful trading and the local availability of good building stone.[1] Yet modern academic study of this long period, and especially of the 15th century, has been meagre compared with that of earlier periods.

At the episcopal centres of the study area at the opening of the period, in Salisbury and in Bath and Wells (Fig. 1.1), stood examples of great church architecture from the 11th to the 14th centuries. The first half of the 14th century saw a period of considerable building activity and inventiveness at Wells Cathedral, whilst the period, as covered by this thesis, from 1360 to 1540 saw attention turn to buildings ancillary to the main body of the church, for example the completion of the west front and the development of the precinct. By contrast, the surrounding area bore witness to the rebuilding of ecclesiastical architecture on an impressive scale, particularly evident in the complete reconstruction of three great churches: St Mary Redcliffe, constitutionally a parish church, but architecturally on a

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[1] Dundry, Doulting, Ham Hill, and Blue Lias (Portesham) represent some of the best known stone sources spanning the area of Somerset and Dorset, and all were used throughout the later middle ages.

cathedral-like scale; Sherborne Abbey on the border of Somerset and Dorset; and the cathedral-priory church of Bath (henceforth referred to as Bath Abbey).

The aim of this thesis is to analyse the development of masons' workshops at major building centres, and to re-examine building chronology, stylistic transmission and major precedents at these sites in the light of this analysis. Using the buildings as the primary source of evidence, this is achieved through an archaeological and stylistic study of the four most important masons' workshops in the dioceses of Bath and Wells and of Salisbury. The focus, therefore, is on a detailed analysis of the development of Wells Cathedral, St Mary Redcliffe, Sherborne Abbey and Bath Abbey; assessing their relative roles in stylistic dissemination and the evolution of the Perpendicular style in the region. Workshop identity is examined by comparing the relative impact of a continuous workshop tradition with the arrival of new individual master masons. It is shown that the contextual information and site specific development of mouldings are key to identifying the creation and evolution of style at particular workshops.

This methodology has been used successfully with buildings of the 14th century, but has not been comprehensively considered for the 15th century;[2] a period traditionally represented as one of standardisation. For this reason three fundamental issues will be examined as a result of this study: to what extent 15th-century mouldings were dependent on 14th-century innovations, what new moulding forms were introduced during this period and how this can be used to understand continuity and change in stylistic development in the Perpendicular period.

The 'region', for the purposes of the thesis, is defined as the area covered by the four major buildings and their hinterlands, hence focussing on the diocese of Bath and Wells, which covers approximately the area of present day Somerset, and the diocese of Salisbury, to include Sherborne and the surrounding area of west and central Dorset (Fig. 1.2). Starting in *c.*1360 the thesis covers the formulation of early Perpendicular in the region, vital to an understanding of its development throughout the 15th century; and continues up to the Reformation, at which point the nature of masons' activities is re-assessed in the light of the disappearance of great church projects and the increasing concentration on works of secular patronage.

The Perpendicular Style

The study of the Perpendicular style has been related to its shifting status in the history of architecture. The construction of churches in the late 16th century with Perpendicular style exteriors represents a continuity of style produced by the recognition of an established church building tradition. Specific architectural environments with particularly well-established building traditions continued to make further reference to late medieval architecture into the 17th century, the most obvious examples being the construction of colleges in Oxford and Cambridge. Leading figures in the 18th century were sympathetic to the Perpendicular style and in 1708 Edward Hatton described Henry VII's Chapel as an 'unparalleled edifice',[3] and Dr. John Milner constructed a Perpendicular chapel in Winchester in 1792.[4] In the early decades of the 19th century this appreciation of Perpendicular appears to have continued, as demonstrated by Pugin's representation of a Perpendicular chapel in 'Contrasts'.[5] This material was still being published in a revised form in 1841, but it was at about this time that there occurred a general shift in favour towards Decorated architecture of the early 14th-century. The definition of the

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[2] See discussion on works by Roberts and Fawcett below.
[3] J. Bialostocki, 'Late Gothic: disagreements about the concept' *BAAJ*, XXIX (1966), 77.
[4] D. Watkin, *The Rise of Architectural History* (London, 1980), 54.
[5] A.W. Pugin, *Contrasts* (1st edn 1836; repr. London, 1841).

Perpendicular style was based on Rickman's work of the early 19th century:[6] in the course of identifying and categorising styles based on their distinctive characteristics it was perceived as the successor to the Decorated style. A side effect of this characterisation process was the establishment of specific historical preferences. The Gothic Revival provided a direct means for the expression of these preferences. The Ecclesiological movement, which had a marked influence on the architectural expression of the Gothic Revival, did not favour Perpendicular, but instead promoted the stylistic and moral status of 'Decorated' or 'Middle Pointed'. Perpendicular did not remain devoid of supporters, however, and it is interesting that it was in a lecture describing Somerset architecture that Freeman chose to advocate his appreciation of Perpendicular.[7]

The other side of the Gothic Revival was the restoration of medieval churches and cathedrals. Efforts in this field by the High Victorian architects and their patrons led to an interest in archaeological interpretation that often had as its goal the rediscovery or the so-called 'original' state of a building. On occasion, this led to the destruction of Perpendicular features as 'purity' was sought through reinstatement. Perhaps inevitably, as the succeeding generation of architects reacted against the restoration philosophies of the High Victorian age, so too they reacted against the historical preferences and associated strict moral hierarchy promoted by the Ecclesiologists. The two architect sons of George Gilbert Scott, John Oldrid and George Gilbert Junior, demonstrate respectively the continuity of traditional approaches towards restoration as advocated by their father, and the new approach towards

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[6] T. Rickman, *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England* (1st 1817, 7th edn London, 1881).

[7] E.A. Freeman, 'On the Perpendicular Style, as Exhibited in the Churches of Somerset' *SANHP,* III (1852), 1-46. His lecture was essentially a response to Ruskin's 'Seven Lamps of Architecture', and the latter's negative comments on the use of pinnacles in late Gothic architecture. Whilst expounding on the greatest of the late medieval towers in the region, however, Freeman reveals a general tendency to depreciate certain buildings that seem unable to escape criticism. In particular he comments of the church at Bath that 'there are few [other] buildings in which the architect seems so often to have gone wilfully wrong'; *Ibid.,* 11. Such buildings inevitably have suffered from a relative lack of attention from the architectural historian.

aesthetic preferences and restoration philosophy. This latter approach paved the way for the Arts and Crafts movement and the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. In the first half of the 20th century, this rise in status of the Perpendicular style is demonstrated in its use for a series of memorials after the First World War.

Two strands of study contributed to an increased academic interest in the late medieval period by the middle of the present century, that is, the search for the stylistic origins of Perpendicular, and its association with nationalism. The former stemmed from Hastings' work on St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, and Harvey's work on the cathedrals of Gloucester and Old St Paul's,[8] which constituted a reassessment of the consecutive divisions of style between Decorated and Perpendicular. This discussion on origins has been studied most recently by Wilson.[9] Parallel to this ran the association of Perpendicular with a national style, most explicitly expressed in works by Harvey, and the anglophile aspect of works by Pevsner.[10] Harvey, whose main contributions are prominent in the history of both Perpendicular and masons, represents the combination of Hastings' and Pevsner's approaches in his book '*The Perpendicular Style*'.[11] Harvey's book can be broadly divided into three sections: the role of St Paul's and Gloucester in the early 14th century and the discussion on origins; the rise of Perpendicular and the National Style of *c.* 1400; and the later 15th century which, by comparison, lacks the analytical approach of the earlier chapters. Harvey's work was also much indebted to the writings of W.R. Lethaby in the early 20th century.

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[8] J.M. Hastings, J. M. *St Stephen's Chapel* (London, 1951); J.H. Harvey, 'The Origin of the Perpendicular Style' in E. Jope, ed. *Studies in Building History* (London, 1962), 134-65.

[9] C. Wilson, 'The Origins of the Perpendicular Style and its Development to circa 1360' (unpubl. PhD, University of London, 1979); see also C. Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral 1130-1530* (London, 1990), 204-215.

[10] J.H. Harvey, *Gothic England* (London, 1947); *Ibid.*, *The Perpendicular Style* (London, 1978); N. Pevsner, *The Englishness of English Art* (Harmondsworth, 1956); *Outline of European Architecture* (first publ. 1943; 7th edn repr. London, 1988); N. Pevsner and B. Cherry, eds *Buildings of England* (1951-) B/E.

[11] Harvey (1978).

William Lethaby undertook detailed research on Westminster Abbey, in which he discussed the relevance of the medieval master mason to the process of architectural design and construction.[12] Subsequently, between the 1930s and 1970s, there were many attempts to counteract the Renaissance monopoly on the notion of the creative individual by further elucidating information about the medieval mason. Knoop and Jones produced a wealth of literature on the training and education of the medieval mason.[13] The education of the mason and his status in society was discussed by Harvey in the 1940s and continued to be the subject of historians such as Shelby into the 1970s.[14] Harvey's '*Dictionary of Mediaeval Architects*' first published in 1954,[15] remains a seminal work of reference for anyone interested in the documentary evidence for named masons in the Middle Ages.

Initially separate from this research into masons, was the interest in archaeological interpretation and stylistic analysis that had developed alongside the restoration of great medieval buildings. Victorian architects were largely responsible for the monographic studies of buildings that resulted. Willis was the greatest protagonist of this detailed and analytical approach. Pevsner noted his insight and his meticulous accuracy, whilst Watkin gave him the accolade of the 'greatest architectural historian'.[16] Others such as Irvine perpetuated and developed this methodology through investigation and excavation

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[12] W. Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen* (London, 1906) and *Westminster Abbey Re-examined* (London, 1925).

[13] For example, D. Knoop and G.P. Jones, 'Masons and Apprenticeship in Medieval England' *Economic History Review,* III (1931-2), 346-66 and *The Medieval Mason* (1st edn 1933, 3rd edn Manchester, 1967); also N. Pevsner, 'The term 'architect' in the Middle Ages' *Speculum*, XVII (1942), 549-62.

[14] For example J.H. Harvey, 'The masons of Westminster Abbey' *AJ*, CXIII (1956), 82-101; 'The education of the mediaeval architect' *RIBA Journal 3rd Series,* LII (1945), 230-4 and *Henry Yevele, c. 1320-1400: the Life of an English Architect* (1944); *Mediaeval Craftsmen* (1975); *The Mediaeval Architect* (1972); 'The Mediaeval Office of Works' *BAAJ*, 3S, VI (1943), 20-87; and L. Shelby, 'The role of the master builder in medieval English building' *Speculum*, 39 (1964), 384-403 and 'The education of medieval English master masons' *Medieval Studies*, XXXII (1970), 1-26.

[15] J.H. Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects: Biographical Dictionary Down to 1550* (1st 1954, rev. Gloucester, 1984). At the same time Salzman produced his book on documentary resources: L.Z. Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540* (Oxford, 1950).

respectively.[17] A second wave of analysis produced more thematic studies, illustrated by Bond's book of 1905.[18] Using architectural details and buildings breaks, Willis was the founder of two methodologies to fabric analysis that developed after the Second World War with the growth of art history and archaeology as academic disciplines. These can be identified as the use of mouldings analysis and the archaeology of standing fabric.

Willis analysed standing fabric in order to understand the development and phases of construction of the buildings he studied.[19] The Council for British Archaeology produced literature in the 1950s on the importance of recording and publishing such analytical examinations of buildings.[20] An increasing recognition of the significance of recording standing fabric is evident from publications throughout the 1970s and 80s. The role of the archaeologist in this process was paramount as seen in publications by Morris and Rodwell.[21] This ran parallel to the rise in awareness of the necessity of archaeology to be included in the planning process, a goal finally achieved in 1990.[22] The rise of buildings archaeology emerged from the traditions of archaeology and architectural history, and both have finally come together with the formation of the Society of Church Archaeology in 1996.

The allied approach to fabric analysis is the study of mouldings and architectural details. Willis' *Architectural Nomenclature* appeared in 1844.[23] In an attempt to identify the varying terms applied to specific details he used William Worcestre's descriptions of St

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[16] Watkin (1980), 65, and N. Pevsner, *Architectural Writers of The 19th Century* (Oxford, 1972), 54: from A.C. Buchanan, 'Robert Willis and the Rise of Architectural History' (unpubl. PhD, University of London, 1994), 7.

[17] For example: J.T. Irvine, 'Description of the Remains of the Norman Cathedral Church of Bath, exposed during the repairs made between 1863 and 1872' *BAAJ*, xlvi (1890).

[18] F. Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England* (London, 1905).

[19] For Willis' cathedral studies see, R. Willis, *Architectural History of Some English Cathedrals* (London, 1972), 2 volumes. This is a reprint of his papers of 1842 to 63.

[20] *The Recording of Architecture and its publication* CBA Medieval Research Committee (1955). More recently J. Blair and C. Pyrah, eds *Church Archaeology: research directions for the future* (Oxford, 1996).

[21] W. Rodwell, *The Archaeology of the English Church* (London, 1981); and R. Morris, *The Church in British Archaeology* CBA Research Report 47 (1983).

[22] See *Planning Policy Guidance Note 16, Archaeology and Planning* (1990).

Mary Redcliffe as the basis for his chapter on the nomenclature of mouldings. This influenced Paley's *Manual of Gothic Mouldings*, which appeared three years later.[24] But Paley's motives were more directly related to the identification of mouldings as features to be used by 19th-century architects and, perhaps to be expected of his Ecclesiological stance, included comments on the meagre nature of Perpendicular mouldings. Willis, however, had provided the foundation for a more analytical and academic approach to the subject of architectural analysis and his work led the way for other systematic assessments of buildings such as St John Hope's monumental work on the history of Windsor Castle,[25] and Brakspear's examinations of standing fabric.[26]

It was through the prolific writings by Harvey from the 1940s to 1970s that the subjects of masons and mouldings were most frequently brought together in relation to studying medieval buildings. The foundation and growth of the Courtauld Institute of Art at this time led to a new wave of scholars in the post-war period. In particular Peter Kidson's work recognised that a detailed study of the fabric could reveal much about the history and process of building.[27] Under his supervision, several doctoral theses were embarked upon in the 1960s which focussed primarily on the analysis of building fabric;[28] in part, at least, with the aim of cross-checking Harvey's approach and findings. Much of this work concentrated on the development of architectural style in the 14th century, including both regional studies and a re-examination of the origins of the Perpendicular style.[29] Morris has done most to establish the methodology of mouldings analysis, and has published glossaries on the dating

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[23] R. Willis, *Architectural Nomenclature of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1844).

[24] F.A. Paley, *A Manual of Gothic Mouldings* (London, 1847).

[25] W. St John Hope *Windsor Castle* 2 volumes (London, 1913).

[26] For example see: H. Brakspear, 'St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol' *BGAST,* xliv (1922), 271-293.

[27] For example, P. Kidson *et al, A History of English Architecture* (1st ed. 1962; rev. Harmondsworth, 1965).

[28] Students of Kidson's include R.K.Morris, C.Wilson, S. Murray, W. Leedy, E. Roberts.

[29] R.K. Morris, 'Decorated Architecture in Herefordshire: Sources, Workshops and Influences' (unpubl. PhD, University of London, 1972); and E. Roberts, 'Perpendicular Architecture in

criteria, stylistic development and distribution.[30] Whilst the analysis of mouldings has now been generally accepted into the methodology of stylistic analysis and dating, there is less consensus on the degree of its application for attribution purposes.

The study of buildings and regions

Another one of the titles bestowed upon Willis is that of 'father of British Cathedral Archaeology'.[31] His studies took the form of cathedral monographs, a type of book popularised by Britton earlier in the century.[32] This singular and focused study by an individual tracing the historical development of one building has developed in more recent decades into two varieties of contextually based publications. The social, political and institutional aspects of the building and its environment have provided the context for a series of celebratory volumes for churches, for example the recent spate of nine-hundred-year celebrations.[33] Those for Canterbury and Winchester are both multi-disciplinary compilations of essays by a variety of authors, and represent the institutional approach and the architectural approach respectively.[34] A further set of volumes that could be classed within a comparable category are the conference transactions of the British Archaeological Association, which have a variety of authors contributing to a building or area of buildings

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Hertfordshire: a search for Medieval Architects through Mouldings (unpubl. PhD, University of London, 1973).

[30] R.K. Morris, 'The development of later Gothic mouldings in England *c.*1250-1400 – part I' *AH,* 21 (1978), 18-58, and 'The development of later Gothic mouldings in England *c.*1250-1400 – part II' *AH,* 22 (1979), 1-49; R.K. Morris, 'Mouldings and the Analysis of Medieval Style' in E. Fernie and P. Crossley, eds *Medieval Architecture and its Intellectual Context: studies in honour of Peter Kidson* (London, 1990); 'A glossary of English Medieval Mouldings; with an introduction to mouldings *c.*1060 – 1240' *AH,* 35 (1992), 1-17.

[31] T. Tatton Brown, *Great Cathedrals of Britain* (London, 1989), 9; and Buchanan (1994), 7.

[32] For example: J. Britton, *The Cathedral Antiquities: historical and descriptive accounts* (London, 1836), 5 volumes.

[33] For example: J. Crook, ed *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years* (Chichester, 1993); P. Collinson, N. Ramsay, and M. Sparks, eds *A History of Canterbury Cathedral* (Oxford, 1995); and T. Cocke, *900 Years: The Restorations of Westminster Abbey* (London, 1995).

[34] E. Fernie, 'The Cathedral monograph: a history and assessment', paper given at The Harlaxton Symposium 1998. Fernie describes the scientific method as a new level of accuracy and a new, more systematic approach to investigation, after the late 18th-century approach, which was archaeologically less in-depth.

that served as the focus for a conference.[35] These volumes have in common a concentration on specific sites. More recently some ad-hoc conferences have provided publications on church archaeology specifically. The most recent, on the archaeology of cathedrals,[36] brings together a series of monographs on specific buildings and addresses the issues of varying methodologies including dendrochronology, masons marks and moulding profiles. This particular book marks the culmination of the research into standing fabric referred to above, in combination with the role archaeology has played in the planning and conservation process over the last decade.

An early example of a regional study is Brakspear's 'A West Country School of Masons', which identified common characteristics in a group of related early Gothic buildings, although it is without an explanation of the nature of stylistic transmission.[37] A number of more recent regional studies were carried out in the 1960s and 70s, all stemming at least indirectly from Kidson's teaching at the Courtauld. These aimed to assess attribution to individual masons, either named or anonymous, through moulding analysis. Morris' work on the Herefordshire School has already been referred to, and Maddison wrote on Decorated Architecture in the north-west Midlands,[38] but two others, by Roberts and Fawcett are of particular relevance here as they concentrate on the application of this methodology to 15th-century architecture.[39]

Roberts has as her starting point two named masons, one of whom, Thomas Wolvey, is linked by documentary evidence to the works supervised by Henry Yevele at Westminster

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[35] British Archaeological Association Conference Transcations (BAACT), new series starting with Worcester, 1978.

[36] T. Tatton Brown and J. Munby, eds *The Archaeology of Cathedrals* (Oxford, 1996).

[37] H. Brakspear, 'A West Country School of Masons' *Archaeologia,* 81 (1931), 1-18.

[38] J. Maddison, 'Decorated Architecture in the North-West Midlands – An Investigation of the work of Provincial Masons and their Sources' (unpubl. PhD, Manchester University, 1978).

[39] Roberts (1973); R. Fawcett, 'Later Gothic Architecture in Norfolk, an Examination of the Works of some Individual Architects in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries' (unpubl. PhD, University of East Anglia, 1975).

Hall. From this point, she discusses a series of parish churches associated with the personal style of Wolvey through an analysis of moulding profiles.[40] Although Roberts has a set of circumstances and documents that make it likely her mason was involved at some level in a particular geographical area, the architectural evidence is less convincing. Similarities clearly exist amongst her comparisons, but the interpretation is complicated by the relative simplicity of the moulded detail.

Fawcett's study also has as its premise that 'the evidence of mouldings... show the clearest signs of a mason's personal design preferences',[41] and his starting point is an elaborate set of mouldings at a specific building, with no documented mason associated with it. His advantage is the selection of a group of buildings with highly distinctive and complex mouldings: the 'mouldings [are] so unusual in character that their recurrence elsewhere would be a strong indicator of the same creative mind'.[42] He further identifies a fundamental principle essential for any assessment of moulded details, that is 'how much variety of forms is permissible before the idea of personal style is stretched to unacceptable limits.'[43] Having identified a group of related parish churches in Norfolk, Fawcett compares these to the tower at Wymondham Abbey and the Erpingham Gate in Norwich, and because of the relatively early date of the latter, could identify the origin for a set of features with Norwich, as the local cathedral workshop.

Both these models associate local parish works with the output of great buildings, or their designers. In the case of Somerset parish churches there are some similarities to elements of both these studies. For example, although Somerset is famed for its quantity of

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[40] E. Roberts, 'Thomas Wolvey, Mason' *AJ,* 129 (1972)A, 119-44; see also *Ibid.,* 'Robert Stowell' *BAAJ,* XXXV (1972)B, 24-38.

[41] R. Fawcett, 'St Mary at Wiveton in Norfolk, and a group of churches attributed to its mason' *Ant J,* LXII/1 (1982), 35. R. Fawcett, 'The Master Masons of Later Medieval Norfolk' in S. Margeson, *et al* eds *A Festival of Norfolk Archaeology* (Hunstanton, 1996), 101-126.

[42] Fawcett (1982), 38.

[43] Fawcett (1982), 42.

late medieval parish churches, it does not have a high proportion of great mercantile churches comparable to East Anglia. In this respect many of the churches fall into the category demonstrated in Roberts' thesis, that of a series of mouldings created from common or simple elements. A few, however, do demonstrate sets of details and a method of handling that allow for more useful comparison, and through these an understanding of the distinctive features of a regional style can be established. One feature of Somerset churches which has been recognised as forming an exceptional group is the towers, and subsequently these have received a great deal of attention, with authors categorising them by a variety of classifications.[44] When Poyntz Wright stated that the Perpendicular tower was a separate entity he identified the principle of the advantages of comparing like with like.[45] He went on to say that 'the towers must be looked at, not in the context of great cathedral building which was for the most part completed well before this time, but within a much more local sphere.'[46] This revealed the limitations of studying one feature of a building, without appreciating the regional context as a whole. The basic premise he expresses ignores the issues of precedent and the role of major buildings as 'trendsetters'. It is exactly these issues, of regional context and stylistic trendsetters, that I will address in this thesis.

The broad date span and geographical area covered by this kind of study inevitably means that some buildings within the region are not referred to in much detail, if at all. An obvious example in this region is the abbey church of Glastonbury. The loss of much of the church and its surrounding buildings leaves gaps in our knowledge of the development of architecture within this region. Potential influences of the 14th-century work there have

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[44] F.J. Allen, 'The Classification of the Somerset Church Towers' *SANHP*, 50 (1904), 1-29; P. Poyntz Wright, *The Parish Church Towers of Somerset: their construction, craftsmanship and chronology 1350-1550* (Avebury, 1981) and J.H. Harvey, 'The Church Towers of Somerset' *AMST*, 26 (1982), 157-83; Freeman (1852), 1-46; F. Warre, 'On the Perpendicular Towers of Somerset' *SANHP*, III (1852), 47-60.
[45] Poyntz Wright (1981), 2.
[46] *Ibid.*

been mentioned by others,[47] but the reconstruction of the lost eastern chapel and analysis of stone fragments still on site is outside the scope of this thesis.[48] Each of the four main building centres is assessed within the context of earlier works on the site and by the identification of other factors that influenced the Perpendicular works. As this relies largely on the evidence of the buildings themselves and their architectural detail the following section outlines the potential uses of mouldings and their specific relevance to the 15th century.

Mouldings and personal attribution

The notion of individuality in the creative arts was largely a Renaissance one, promoted, for example, through the works of Vasari.[49] It was explained above how Harvey has done much to challenge this perception through the production of his *Dictionary of Mediaeval Architects*. His research, amongst others, has demonstrated that named masons, as authors of buildings, can be identified in the Middle Ages. The question is not, therefore, whether masons existed and were employed by groups of related patrons, but whether or not the work of an individual can be recognised. Although on occasion a direct correlation between building and designer can be supported by documentary evidence, recent debate has centred on whether evidence from the fabric of the building can be used to assess the contribution of an individual. Nicola Coldstream has been a recent protagonist of the more sceptical approach, and has recently argued that the fact that a mason may design differently in a documented building can mean that where designs are similar no reliable

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[47] Wilson PhD (1979), 319-23.

[48] For an architectural history of Glastonbury see R. Willis, *The Architectural History of Glastonbury Abbey* (London, 1866); and F.B. Bond, *An Architectural Handbook of Glastonbury Abbey: with a historical chronicle of the building* (Bristol, 1909).

[49] G. Vasari, *Lives of the Artists* (1965, London, repr. 1988). The *Lives* was first published in 1550.

correlation can be made; and subsequently that whether 'a craftsman can be associated with the specific appearance of a motif is debatable'.[50]

If one designer is capable of a variety of designs then how can parallels between mouldings be realistically used? Or, following Coldstream's premise that 'no aspect of...any style, can be identified with a particular patron or craftsman',[51] then how can these aspects of our visual past be used to construct theories of historical development?

In studying archaeological and architectural details account must be taken of several contextual factors. Precedent and patronage are significant, as are the more general issues of regional and national trends in architectural design. Site specific context, however, provides a key to understanding the development of masons' workshops. Through this kind of detailed assessment of one building the predominantly traditional or innovative aspects of template designs can be identified within a known context. In a circumstance where named masons are associated with a phase of work this may in turn lead to a more informed picture of the career of that mason, the evolution of his own work, or his adaptation to a variety of architectural contexts. However, the linking of details to named masons is not central to this thesis. Instead, characteristic and distinctive details within a building project or series of building projects need to be examined and identified in order to understand better the nature of the evidence. This inevitably requires a detailed study of the significant buildings in the region.

The picture in this region and others has been complicated, in part, by the survival of documented named masons. This has led to a cluster of buildings in the region being associated with specific men, undervaluing the significance of the evolution of style at specific sites. That the relative roles of workshop identity and the individual creative mind

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[50] N. Coldstream, *The Decorated Style: Architecture and Ornament 1240-1360* (London, 1994), 185. See also N. Coldstream, *Masons and Sculptors* (London, 1991).

(of either patron or mason) can be a valid way of addressing the issue of historical development is demonstrable through a number of examples. The transfer of distinctive moulding profiles from St George's Chapel, Windsor to Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster is almost certainly attributable to Robert Janyns' involvement in both projects. The moulding templates he used for the Westminster chapel originated in the designs at Windsor introduced by his brother Henry Janyns in the 1470s.[52] The outcome was a continuity of mouldings through this direct family connection in another royal building project. Two examples from the 14th century are illustrative of the degree of impact that a new master mason might have on a project or workshop. Morris has discussed the arrival of Thomas of Witney at Exeter Cathedral in 1316, analysing Witney's work with reference to the new features introduced in his designs for new liturgical fittings, and the contrasting conservatism of the continuation of the main body of the church.[53] In fact, Morris judges that with regard to the main building the only new templates introduced are those for doorways; designs for doorways had not been required in the earlier campaigns at Exeter, and this gave Witney an opportunity to use new templates. This appreciation of work already in progress, or recently completed, is an essential tool for weighing up the constraints on a new designer.

The nave at Winchester provides an example of the impact of a new designer who is involved in radical changes to an existing project. When Bishop Wykeham engaged William Wynford to complete the nave of the cathedral church in the 1390s, the majority of the west front and two bays of the nave had been constructed. In contrast to Witney's conscious adherence to a pre-existing design, at Winchester a decision was made to abandon the 1350s

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[51] *Ibid.*, 191.

[52] Harvey (1984), 159 and 160 for Henry Janyns documented as chief mason at Windsor by 1478 and Robert Janyns documented as master mason to Henry VII's Tower at Windsor and in 1506 as one of the three masons described as 'the King's Master Masons' who submitted an estimate of the cost of works at Henry VII's new chapel at Westminster.

[53] R.K. Morris, 'Thomas of Witney at Exeter, Winchester and Wells' in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Exeter Cathedral* BAACT 1985 (Leeds, 1991), 57-84.

design initiated by Bishop Edington.[54] Although it is impossible to tell how much of this decision emanates from the patron and how much from the architect, the outcome was a change to fundamental aspects of the design. Whilst the overall appearance of the building might have been subject to consideration by both architect and patron, Wynford also chose to introduce a completely new set of moulding templates. These replaced those used by his predecessor and became a fundamental influence in the future repertoire of mouldings favoured by the workshop. In alterations to the east end of the church under Bishop Fox a hundred years later the moulded details demonstrate only minor variations from the basic repertoire introduced by Wynford. This additionally reveals something about the nature of mouldings and their relative lack of development in the 15th century.

That changes and continuity can be identified within a studied context is therefore evident. There still remains, however, the question of the degree of application this may have to an individual.

In Roberts' article on mouldings she identified the means, through quantitative analysis, of establishing groups of mouldings. She emphasised the need for a flexible framework of analysis that has as its premise the principle that groups of mouldings should share many rather than all details to make them useful.[55] Her starting point, however, was still that of 'surveying' buildings known to be by the architect, and then to compare common characteristics to a moulding survey of that region. Fawcett's study defined an essential aspect of this method, that being the principle of distinctiveness in his discussions on the issues of family groups of mouldings, the creative mind and the notion of personal style.

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[54] For phases of design see R. Willis, *The Architectural History of Winchester Cathedral* (London, 1846); and for more recent detailed discussion of the extent of the work under Edington and Wykeham see J. Crook and Y. Kusaba, 'The Perpendicular Remodelling of the nave: problems and interpretations' in Crook (1993) 215-230.

[55] Roberts (1972)A and (1972)B.

Unlike Roberts' thesis, this study does not have as its starting point a named mason with whom a number of buildings are associated. Instead, the starting point is the stylistic traditions of the late 14th century and the development of building centres over an extended period. Through this, an understanding of the impact of individuality on workshops and building projects is assessed. The assertion by Roberts that each architect tended to use his own individual mouldings set has been subsequently dispelled.[56] Ways of assessing and using this material can be broadly divided into three categories. First, there is the identification of individual moulding profiles that are rarely used, and therefore distinctive. This can lead to an evaluation of the progress and transfer of specific details throughout the period. Second is the use of a series of the same profiles, but in a different arrangement or for different parts of buildings. Third is the general handling of groups of mouldings. This means that a series of mouldings can be identified as closely related to a group with a similar disposition of mouldings, but in this case the individual mouldings may not be identical.

This provides the context for analysing mouldings within a building or workshop and assessing its potential relationship with other campaigns. Maddison and Morris summarise the place of workshops and their relationship to masons and their locality: the former states that 'the personal styles of medieval architects were formed primarily by the workshop in which they had trained and buildings which they had seen'.[57] The latter demonstrates that 'design of mouldings in a particular area tends to be dominated by the established practice of one or more workshops centred on a city or great church, providing continuous employment over several decades or more'.[58] Both these form basic premises on which this regional study is founded, that a mason was influenced by his training, and that

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[56] Roberts states this in Roberts (1977), 10. Subsequently literature on masons has moved away from this close association of particular templates being linked to only one mason.

[57] J. Maddison, 'Master Masons of the diocese of Lichfield: a study in the 14th-century architecture at the time of the Black Death' *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, 85 (1988), 19.

[58] Morris (1990), 246.

the arrival of a new mason in a workshop, with a different training could therefore be identifiable by the differences apparent. Understood, not in isolation, but within the context of a building project or commission, the identification of similarities and differences, therefore, must form a major part of a regional study of this kind.

At this point, it is appropriate to provide a word of explanation for the standard terms used in this thesis regarding masons lodges, workshops and schools. Brakspear defined a school as having distinct characteristics that cannot be accidental and were the 'result of common teaching with a common centre'.[59] He noted that details changed over time but that the principles or character of the buildings remained the same. He implies a self-conscious collective identity, which is recognisable only through this retrospective analysis. Hence 'school' is not referred to in this thesis, because if the implication is a broad set of general characteristics that specifically relate to a number of buildings in a large area, then this thesis is concerned essentially with one broad geographically area or school. The stylistic details and mouldings of the study region are, however, distinguishable from those of other regions that have been studied, for example, Norfolk, Suffolk, Hertfordshire, and the Cotswolds. A lodge refers to the physical structure in which the masons worked and is therefore site-specific, so that this is implicitly and explicitly referred to in terms of each location.

This thesis is primarily concerned with the workshop, referring to the people actively working within the lodge at the site or at other projects, and the identity of works emanating from that centre. A new building may make direct reference to the works of another workshop in one of two ways, either through emulation or more specifically by a mason, or group of masons, working in one lodge travelling to design at another building and transferring identifiable design characteristics. A existence of a lodge may remain

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[59] Brakspear (1931), 3.

constant throughout the period, as will be shown for example at Sherborne Abbey, even though changes in templates and designs occur. These changes may reflect the influence of new masons from other workshops. Stylistic transmission in this form reflects the prestigious and active workshops during the late Middle Ages within the region, as well as the context of their development and influence. Personal style can impact heavily on the characteristics of a lodge and thereby its workshop products, but the attribution of details to individuals either anonymous, or named, is not central to this study.

Somerset and Dorset, and the analysis of style

Several case studies, concerning buildings in Somerset and at Sherborne, have been produced. This section provides a brief summary of the nature of these works for the four building centres considered, as inevitably these form a background to this thesis. In so doing, it identifies the biases in the study of 15th-century architecture in the region to date.

All four sites were considered by antiquarian authors. Britton produced monographs on St Mary Redcliffe, Wells, and Bath, and Carpenter wrote on Sherborne.[60] Wells Cathedral has received the most attention in the 20th century, especially in the writings of Colchester and Harvey in the 1970s. Colchester's work in the archives at Wells, and in particular the transcriptions of the accounts, remains an invaluable resource for this and future studies.[61] Most of this interpretative work has concentrated on the earlier history of the building, with Armitage Robinson and Bilson concentrating on the 13th-century

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[60] J. Britton, *An Historical and Architectural Essay relating to Redcliffe Church, Bristol* (1st edn 1813; repr. London, 1887); and *The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Wells* (London, 1824); and *The History and Antiquities of Bath Abbey Church* (London, repr.1825). R.H. Carpenter, 'On the Benedictine Abbey of St Mary Sherborne, with notes on the restoration of the church' *RIBA Sessional Papers* (1877) and see also R. Willis, 'Sherborne Minster' *AJ* (1865).

[61] Colchester's transcribed records of the medieval Fabric, Communars and Escheator's Accounts are all held in the Wells Cathedral Archive.

church,[62] and Harvey on the 14th-century building campaigns.[63] Draper and Morris have further investigated the development of the east end of the church in the early 14th century.[64] Archaeological excavation has concentrated on the site of Stillington's Chapel and the Anglo-Saxon church to the east of the cloister garth, and Rodwell has published the results of these investigative works with regard to the planning of earlier buildings on the site.[65] Most recently on Wells two studies have been produced which concentrate on specific aspects of its history, that is its 14th-century stained glass, and its west front.[66] By contrast, the 15th-century works at Wells have received scant attention. That which does exist is by Buckle and Harvey. Buckle published information resulting from excavations on the site of Stillington's Chapel, and produced reconstructions based on the architectural fragments and remains.[67] Harvey discussed the chapel and its stylistic relationship to Sherborne Abbey, concluding that the Wells master mason, William Smyth, was responsible for the formation of a regional style emanating from Wells.[68] In his attention to Wynford and Smyth as masons at the end of the 14th and 15th centuries respectively, Harvey polarised the study of architecture at Wells around two significant architectural designers.

Perpendicular architecture in Somerset has been addressed most commonly through its parish churches. Wickham produced a book devoted to the stylistic progression of parish

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[62] J. Bilson, 'Notes on the Earlier Architectural History of Wells Cathedral' *AJ*, 85 (1928), 23-68. J. Armitage Robinson, 'Documentary Evidence Relating to the Building of the Cathedral Church of Wells' *AJ*, 85 (1928), 1-17.

[63] L.S. Colchester and J.H. Harvey, 'Wells Cathedral' *AJ*, 131 (1974), 200-14.

[64] P. Draper, 'The Sequence and dating of the Decorated Work at Wells' in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Wells and Glastonbury* BAACT 1978 (Leeds, 1981), 18-29; also in the same volume A.W. Klukas, 'The *Liber Ruber* and the Rebuilding of the East End at Wells,' 30-35. Also see Morris in BAACT Exeter (1991), 57-84.

[65] W. Rodwell, 'The Lady Chapel by the Cloister at Wells and the Site of the Anglo-Saxon Cathedral' in BAACT Wells (1981), 1-9.

[66] T. Ayers, 'The Painted Glass of Wells Cathedral *c.*1285-1345' (unpubl. PhD, Courtauld Institute of Art, 1996); J. Sampson, *Wells Cathedral West Front: Construction, Sculpture and Conservation* (Stroud, 1998).

[67] E. Buckle, 'On the Lady Chapel by the Cloister of Wells Cathedral and the adjacent buildings' *SANHPS*, 40 (1894), 32-64.

architecture related to the broad Rickmanesque categories.[69] More prolific has been work on the classification and description of parish church towers, a continuation of the antiquarian tradition demonstrated by Freeman in the middle of the 19th century.[70] This famous aspect of Somerset churches is not re-visited in this thesis, except in its relationship to developments at Wells Cathedral.

St Mary Redcliffe, despite its self-evident grandeur has received limited study since the contributions of Barrett and Britton in the 18th and 19th centuries respectively, except for the descriptions of antiquarians like Pryce involved in its 19th-century restorations.[71] Williams made a significant contribution to the documentary basis for the patronage of the building in 1950,[72] and since then, as at Wells, its inclusion in studies has concentrated on the early 14th-century works, for example, its porches and south transept. The most recent study devoted to Redcliffe has been a monograph by Smith, which provided an over-view of historical development from the 12th to the 19th century; but added little to our understanding of the Late Gothic architecture.[73]

Archaeologists have focussed on the recreation of the lost buildings at Bath since Irvine's excavations in the late 19th century.[74] The history of the extant late medieval church has existed essentially unchallenged throughout the same period. Most recently, Manco has published on the history of the abbey and its buildings, using as her foundation a series of

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[68] J.H. Harvey, 'The Building of Wells Cathedral, II: 1307-1508', in L.S. Colchester, ed. *Wells Cathedral A History* (Shepton Mallet, 1982), 94-96; and 'Perpendicular at Wells' in BAACT Wells (1981), 36-41.

[69] A. Wickham, *The Churches of Somerset* (Newton Abbot, 1952).

[70] E.A. Freeman, 'On the Perpendicular Style as Exhibited in the Churches of Somerset' *SANHP,* II (1851), 33-62; and including Allen (1904)A, Bereson (1904), Poyntz Wright (1981) and Harvey (1982)B.

[71] W. Barrett, *The History and Antiquities of the City of Bristol: compiled from original records and authentic manuscripts* (Bristol, 1789); Britton (1813)B; and G. Pryce, *An examination of the church of St Mary Redcliffe* (London, 1854).

[72] E. Williams, *The Chantries of William Canynges in St Mary Redcliffe, Bristol* (Bristol, 1950).

[73] M.Q. Smith, *St Mary Redcliffe: An Architectural History* (Bristol, 1995).

[74] See Irvine (1890).

post-war excavation reports and documentary evidence.[75] Neither Manco on Bath, nor Smith on Redcliffe, address the issue of what the building fabric can tell us about chronology, influences or development.

This is not the situation at Sherborne, where Gibb has published a wealth of material, both on the earlier foundation and the fabric evidence for the nature and extent of the documented fire in 1437.[76] His consideration of mouldings and style, although in the shadow of Harvey, makes a real attempt to decipher the building phases and its stylistic precedents.

The nature of all these writings usually precludes the opportunity to discuss the site or regional context of the respective building phases, and each site tends to be dealt with in relative isolation. Where attempts to place 15th-century works in context have occurred these have been heavily influenced by Harvey, who has been the only one to attempt a glossary of stylistic details. His article on dating criteria for the Perpendicular in Somerset discusses parapets, tracery and other aspects of design based on examples with known or assumed dates.[77] His section on moulding profiles, however, concludes without substantiation that mouldings were less useful as evidence for dating in the Late Gothic period. Although his collation of material in this article is useful, little is said of the relationship of these features to great churches in the area. Hence the justification for this thesis addressing the issue of regional context and stylistic development through a reassessment of a larger body of evidence from the four major church sites selected.

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[75] J. Manco, 'The Buildings of Bath Priory' *SANHP*, 137 (1995), 75-109.

[76] For the late medieval history see particularly J.H.P. Gibb, 'The Fire of 1437 and the rebuilding of Sherborne Abbey' *BAAJ*, CXXXVIII (1985), 101-124; and 'Addendum' *BAAJ*, CXLI (1988), 161-9.

[77] J.H. Harvey, 'Somerset Perpendicular: The Dating Evidence' *AMST*, 27 (1983).

Design and development at four major building centres in the South West

The main chapters of the thesis are arranged in accordance with two considerations: primarily by workshop so that a detailed analysis of a building's history can be made, and secondly by chronology, so that they are arranged in an approximate chronological order. Chapters Two and Three account for the building works at Wells Cathedral from 1360 to 1465, with the primary aim of assessing the development of the cathedral workshop after the completion of the main body of the church. The impact of building type and patronage on the design process, relative to the role of the mason, is evaluated in order to establish the direction of the workshop during this period. The salient design features of parish churches in the late 14th century are analysed, to identify the significant contribution of the parish church tradition to the development of Perpendicular. Chapter Four discusses St Mary Redcliffe at Bristol in detail. As this building is evidently significant in the region, this chapter aims to understand the sources and chronology of the design through an analysis of the moulded details. In evaluating the significance of this building, the dates of the elevations and vaults are of particular relevance, and these are re-assessed in the light of the results of the fabric analysis.

Chapter Five concentrates on Sherborne Abbey, and a study of the mouldings of the abbey church is set within a contextual analysis, thereby identifying major changes in templates during the building sequence. These signify changes in the master masons, and demonstrate that they came from two distinct workshop traditions, that is at Wells and Winchester. Furthermore, a re-assessment of the chronology of the building, and its phases of construction, is achieved as a result of the contextual moulding study.

Chapter Six address the issue of workshop identity in the second half of the 15th century, through a comparative analysis of building works at Wells and Sherborne. They are discussed in relation to each other in order to establish their relative roles in the region by this stage in the century, and their different contributions to Perpendicular architecture.

Chapter Seven addresses the history of Bath Abbey, in particular how the predominance of the documented patron and master masons in the histories of the building have prevented a real understanding of the fabric of the church. It is shown how mouldings and stylistic details of the late Perpendicular period can be used to assess a building's history and its chronology, once set within the stylistic context of a region.

Having looked at the major church centres in the region Chapter Eight takes a selective look at how far the validity of mouldings analysis and workshop influence can be applied to domestic architecture in the region. Most of the domestic buildings studied survive from the late 15th century and first half of the 16th century, and therefore the evidence gleaned from their study is helpful with regard to the nature of masons' working practices at the end of the period.

Each of the major ecclesiastical workshops discussed in detail has an appendix of dates and proposed chronology and a dossier of moulding profiles appended to it. Those illustrating the mouldings are placed at the end of the thesis, and include selective material on Winchester Cathedral and College, as both workshops are referred to in the main body of the thesis, but they are not discussed in detail in their own right. More comprehensive dossiers provide a collation of reference material associated with the centres of Wells, Bristol, Sherborne and Bath, and are used as a basis for the chapter by chapter analysis.

CHAPTER TWO

Wells Cathedral: development and influences of the masons' lodge *c.*1380 - 1407

The masons' workshop at Wells Cathedral is central to the study region in terms both of location and significance. The aim of this chapter is to establish its role and status at the beginning of the study period and to understand how it relates to ecclesiastical architecture in the surrounding area. It has been demonstrated by others that close links existed between certain buildings in Bristol and the Wells workshop in the first half of the 14th century:[1] but to what extent do these connections continue into the development of Perpendicular architecture and how are they manifested? Parish church architecture in Somerset will be shown to assist in an understanding of these two centres of building, by illustrating the nature of their influence. Furthermore, this chapter intends to establish the main stylistic characteristics of the region at the end of the 14th century, essential for an appreciation of early 15th-century design.

To achieve this it is first necessary to look briefly at the development of Wells and Bristol as centres of architectural development in the period leading up to 1380. Within this framework a group of parish churches is studied, including an assessment of the relationship between parish architecture and cathedral workshops.

A considerable amount of literature has been produced on the early 14th-century architectural history of Wells Cathedral. The successful combination of documentary references, careful study of building phases and analysis of moulded details has greatly

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[1] For discussions on Wells and Bristol masons and influence see: N. Pevsner, 'Bristol, Troyes and Gloucester' in *Architectural Review*, CXIII (1953), 89-98; Harvey (1984), 165; Morris in BAACT Exeter (1991), 73 and R.K. Morris, 'European prodigy or regional eccentric? The rebuilding of St

increased our understanding of the development of the east end of the building. After the main body of the chapter house (*c.*1295-1306), the central tower was constructed (*c.*1315-22), immediately followed by the Lady chapel and the retrochoir (*c.*1323-*c.*1330), which was intended as a setting for the shrine of William de Marchia.[2] Thereafter followed the presbytery and choir aisles, which were probably interrupted by the requirement to strengthen the central tower in the 1340s-50s.[3] With the fortunate survival of named master masons associated with the cathedral at this time, an overall picture has been created of two masters, namely Thomas of Witney and William Joy. The former was responsible for the Lady chapel and retrochoir, and was succeeded by Joy by the 1330s who then executed the choir elevation and commenced the tower strengthening. Witney, involved at St Stephen's Westminster, brought an understanding of the court works with him,[4] and Joy, who probably followed Witney at Winchester, developed and extended the language of Decorated mouldings largely originating in the region through Witney's arrival.[5] Evidence that the strengthening of the tower continued after Joy's death in *c.*1352 exists in the 1358 reference to the purchase of fifty loads of Doulting stone from the abbot of Glastonbury for use in the tower.[6] It seems likely that these works were complete before the arrival of the next known mason, William Wynford (in 1365).

Augustine's Abbey Church, Bristol' in L. Keen ed. *'Almost the Richest City' Bristol in the Middle Ages*, (Leeds, 1997), 41-56.

[2] The central tower is dated to 1315-22, and the Lady chapel is first described as newly built in 1326. For a discussion of the relative dating of the chapter house and stairs, Bishop Burnell's palace chapel, the central tower and the Lady chapel see P. Draper, 'The Sequence and Dating of the Decorated Works at Wells', 18-29 in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Wells and Glastonbury* BAACT for 1978 (Leeds, 1981), 18-29; and R.K. Morris, 'The Architectural History of Wells Cathedral – a review article' in *AMST*, 28 (1984), 194-207.

[3] Reference in 1338 to the fractures (descriped as 'confracta et enormiter deformata') in the central tower, see Harvey in Colchester (1982), 87 and Draper in BAACT Wells (1981), 24 from *Liber Albus* I, 201.

[4] Harvey (1984), 338-341.

[5] See P. Draper and R.K. Morris, 'The Development of the East End of Winchester Cathedral from the 13th to the 16th century' in Crook (1993), 182-188.

[6] Draper BAACT Wells (1981), 24-29; and BM Arundel MS.2.18v and 27.

In contrast to this concentrated variety of works at the cathedral lodge, in Bristol a number of concurrent projects were developed in the first half of the 14th century. The most substantial was the reconstruction of the eastern arm of the abbey of St Augustine, now known as Bristol Cathedral, which took place between *c.*1298 and the 1340s.[7] The wealth of the city of Bristol in the 14th century also led to the construction and reconstruction of a large number of parish churches: both St Nicholas' and St John the Baptist were built over town gates;[8] St Thomas' church was built, although it is now destroyed and only fragments of stone remain;[9] St Peter's, the Temple Church and St Mary Le Port were built in the 14th century although all suffered bomb damage in World War II. Parts of St Mark's and St Mary Redcliffe also date from the first half of the 14th century. There was, therefore, considerable building activity in Bristol in the period leading up to 1380, and the interchange of ideas between masons at the Wells Cathedral lodge and some of these campaigns has already been demonstrated through the identification of features that can be associated with William Joy at St Mary Redcliffe (for the south porch) and at the chapel in Berkeley Castle, to the north of the city. By contrast the north porch of Redcliffe has been attributed largely to local masons, probably coming from the masons' lodge at St Augustine's.[10] Considerable destruction was caused to the city parish churches from bomb damage and much has been lost, however, the remains indicate a few major attributes of this group of buildings. At first, the parish churches of the city seem to form their own distinct tradition, with a set of features including large five-light alternate tracery windows and simple chamfered mullions. Two further aspects of their design indicate their place within the development of architecture in the region, more grandly expressed at the St Augustine's and Wells Cathedral workshops:

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[7] For the most recent discussion on the early 14th-century work at St Augustine's see Morris in Keen (1997), 41-56.

[8] St John's still survives over the town gate, St Nicholas' was largely rebuilt in the 17th century but the extensive early 14th-century crypt survives.

[9] These can be found in the crypt of St John's church.

the development of stone vaults and the use of particular mullion and rib profiles can both be related to the traits evident in the works of the greater churches. The crypt of St John's church, for example, uses a stone lierne vault, and houses remnants of St Thomas' church that show further examples of stone vaulting and the clear parallels between the types of mullions used in Wells and Bristol in *c.*1320-30 (Fig. 2.1 i-v).

Some earlier authors have mistakenly identified the source for many of these details as coming from Bristol trained masons, although it is likely that William Joy, for example, was not Bristol trained as suggested by Pevsner and Harvey, but trained under Witney and was responsible for the introduction of certain ideas to Bristol from Wells.[11] A continuation of this use of Wells Cathedral masons in Bristol will be demonstrated below and in subsequent chapters. In contrast to this impact of the Wells lodge in Bristol it seems to be the prolific building of smaller parish churches in Bristol that in turn establishes a standard for the parish church tradition in Somerset in the second half of the 14th century.

The pattern of named masons at the cathedral at Wells in the 14th century continues with the documented arrival of William Wynford as master mason in 1365. Considerable information is known about Wynford's origins, training and career.[12] After his death in 1405, however, there is a distinct lack of information on particular masons at Wells, and the designers within the workshop in the 15th century are characterised by their anonymity.

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[10] C. Wilson 'St Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, outer north porch' catalogue entry 490, in J. Alexander and P. Binski, eds *Age of Chivalry Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400* (London, 1987).

[11] See footnote 1. Because of the working pattern known of Joy's life, beginning probably with his employment at Winchester and followed by his work at Wells and Exeter, all following Witney, it seems that he was trained and worked in a West Country tradition and may have been responsible for taking specific ideas to Bristol. The interchange between Wells and Bristol in the early 14th century was frequent and there is no direct evidence that Joy was trained in Bristol before his appearance at Winchester.

[12] Harvey (1984), 352-356. He died in 1405. He became master mason for Bishop Wykeham of Winchester and worked at Winchester Cathedral, on the nave remodelling (from 1394), at Winchester College (from 1387) and at New College, Oxford (1379/80).

Even when the accounts make reference to a master mason, as in the last quarter of the 15th century, little or nothing is currently known about his background or training.[13]

With the lack of documentary evidence indicating the sources and origins of designers, a greater dependence on the development of style within the workshop is inevitable. For this reason the fundamental basis for subsequent chapters must be a detailed analysis of the products of the workshop, and then an assessment of how this relates to both a national and regional context.

Wynford at Wells

For the initial phase of the study period, however, we are fortunate in having Wynford's name demonstrably linked to the construction of the south-west tower of the cathedral. With this in mind it will be useful to establish what contribution, if any, Wynford made to the development of the workshop at Wells, and then to establish what influence the products of the cathedral had on parish architecture in the locality.

Wynford is first documented as working at Windsor Castle, under the direction of John of Sponlee, in 1360.[14] On his arrival at Wells Cathedral Wynford would have found the 12th-century nave, 13th-century west front and cloister, and the 14th-century east end, as recently completed. Bishop Harewell (1367-87), Wynford's patron at Wells, was responsible for work carried out to the clerestory windows of the nave, the interior alterations to the west wall, and the construction of the south-west tower.

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[13] List of freemen of Wells in D. Shilton and R. Holworthy, *Wells City Charters,* SRS, XLVI (1931), 149 the list includes some masons between 1404 and 1458, two of whom, John Stowell and John Hille, have limited information associated with them and are referenced in Harvey (1984), 286 and 145-6. William Smyth is documented as master mason to the cathedral from *c.* 1480-1490 as referred to in Harvey (1984), 277-8; and for his probable origins see Chapter Six.

[14] Harvey (1984), 352.

Bishop Harewell bequeathed two thirds of the cost of the south-west tower before he died in 1386.[15] That the construction of his bell tower was completed by the 1390s is suggested by two references: repairs were being made to the Harewell Bells in 1392-3[16] and in 1394-5 a lock was being made for the door of the south bell tower.[17] Harvey has suggested that most of Wynford's work at Wells was completed by the early 1390s as from 1394 he was engaged on the reconstruction of the nave of Winchester Cathedral.[18] The nature of Wynford's attendance at Wells and of the works he carried out are indicative of his contribution to the cathedral workshop. Although fabric accounts do not survive for the early period of his appointment as master mason it is evident from the extant accounts that his attendance was infrequent and for short periods of time. Payment is made to him for three days at the end of May in 1391 for example, and it seems his role is one of consultant rather than on-site master. The addition of a stone structure onto the existing west front was a job requiring technical expertise and it may be primarily for this reason that Wynford, as a high profile master mason, was chosen.

In design terms then, what was Wynford's contribution? The south-west tower consists of two long panels of tracery set between massive diagonal buttresses, which are placed at forty-five degrees to the west front buttresses on which they stand. Simple Perpendicular tracery with a crenellated transom fills the two panels, and the tower is finished with a panelled parapet with mini-crenellations (Fig. 2.2A). Although a major piece of architectural design, the tower was conditioned by a number of factors, not least its plan being determined by the form of the west front (Fig. 2.2B), but also the use of long panels was inherited directly from the form of the early 14th-century central tower. The tracery

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[15] T.F. Palmer, *Collectanea I, a collection of documents from various sources*, SRS, 39 (1924), 69, from Historia Major: 'iste ad constructionem occidentalis turris in parte australi Wellenis ecclesie duas partes expensarum apposuit, ac pro vitro occidentalis fenestre ejusdem centum marcas persolvit, duasque magnas campanas in dicta turri australi pendentes fieri fecit propriis sumptibus.'

[16] 'Wells Cathedral Communar's Accounts 1327-60' (Wells Cathedral Archive), 27-8.

[17] Escheators Accounts, from Cal. II (1914), 30.

itself is indicative of Wynford's era, if not his style, and it is hardly surprising that the simple reticulated unit with its spatulate cusps is reminiscent of the west porch of Winchester Cathedral (Fig. 2.3 A&B).[19]

The moulded details consist of large angled buttresses and panels, necessary to match the scale of the west front below, and the only evidence of more detailed mouldings is found for the mullions of the long traceried panels. The stepped chamfer mullion, often favoured for 14th-century parish church works, is here adapted slightly by the addition of an angle rebate, and is followed by a free-standing fillet and angled buttress. Angle rebates had already been used in the workshop at Wells, for example for the mullion in Witney's Lady chapel. Its combination with the stepped chamfer is probably first used in the precinct, as it is found in the vicars' hall of c.1340. Its subsequent use in the cathedral was for Wynford's south-west tower and demonstrates how Wynford's contribution was to the overall design, structure and stability of the tower, rather than the details in this instance (Fig. 2.1 vi).

Harewell's will specifies his bequest for the glazing of the west window of the cathedral, and the internal works to this area of the building should therefore be attributed to Wynford's period as master mason. Again restricted by the context of earlier fabric, the details are simple and comprise only a simple Perpendicular respond (rolls separated by hollows), and a mullion for the parapet. The respond sits on top of an Early English capital and frames the parapet of the internal walk around the interior of the west front (Fig. 2.1 vii-viii). Although simple in detail, these features mark the introduction, by Wynford, of polygonal terminations to mouldings to the cathedral workshop. Some debate has occurred as to whether or not the clerestory windows were added in Harewell's time under the

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[18] See Harvey in BAACT Wells (1981).

[19] For terminology for forms of cusps, for example 'spatulate' see Harvey (1983), 51 and 56. Note that Winchester west front, constructed during Edington's episcopate (*c.*1350-60) bears close resemblance to the Aerary porch at Windsor Castle of 1352, where Sponlee was master mason and under whom William Wynford was trained.

direction of Wynford,[20] or Bubwith's time as a final phase of the cathedral building before the commencement of his library.[21] The blocking of one of these windows by the construction of the library has already been acknowledged as evidence that they pre-date c.1424.[22] The use of mullions identical to those introduced by Wynford on the western parapet may indicate either that they were carried out to a design by Wynford, or equally likely that the workshop continued to use templates introduced by him. Three additional pieces of evidence might suggest that Harewell was the bishop responsible for the tracery and glazing programme of the cathedral: the already mentioned reference to the glazing of the west window indicates his involvement in the completion and glazing of the church; and a reference in a 17th-century document to the presence of Bishop Harewell's arms in the clerestory of the south transept further suggests the refenestration was at least begun during his episcopate,[23] and the will of William Felawe, dated 1411, in which it states that money is to be left 'to make a window in the upper part of the nave of the church of Wells...on condition that it be made within one year after my death'.[24]

At Winchester, Wynford introduced a new set of templates for the nave design, replacing those used in the west front design during Edington's episcopate.[25] These became the foundation for almost all subsequent works on the cathedral building. At Wells, the nature of the work and its necessary relationship to earlier fabric did not allow for such wholesale change. Despite this relative lack of opportunity at Wells, Wynford was responsible for the introduction of a few new details into the workshop, and the discussions

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[20] For example see Harvey in Colchester (1982), 92-3 and Morris (1984), 206.

[21] Colchester and Harvey (1974), 209-14.

[22] The east range of the cloister and library above is discussed in the following chapter, having been begun as result of a bequest in Bubwith's will dated 1424. See T.S. Holmes, *The Register of Nicholas Bubwith, Bishop of Bath and Wells 1407-1424*, SRS, I (1914), xxxix.

[23] *Pers comm.* Tim Ayres 21.08.96

[24] F.W. Weaver ed. *Somerset Medieval Wills 1385-1500* SRS, 16 (1901), 46. William Felawe's insistence that the work should be done straight away may further indicate that the work had been progressing slowly.

[25] For comparative mullion and jamb profiles relating to Winchester see dossier E1.

below demonstrate how these were absorbed into the workshop's repertoire. The tower tracery is perhaps the most distinctive new aspect, and this is copied not only for the clerestory windows around the cathedral, but also as a standard solution for Perpendicular towers in the region throughout the subsequent century (Fig. 2.4 A&B). In the nave clerestory a mullion with a polygonal termination is used, differing from the standard stepped chamfer variety of the south-west tower (Fig. 2.1 vii). A similar axial moulding was used at the same time in Winchester Cathedral and Winchester College Chapel under the direction of Wynford. The difference between the Wells and Winchester variety is the absence in the latter of the flanking fillets, a feature common in Somerset in the 14th century in conjunction with chamfers. The Wells Cathedral variety remained in the workshop, appearing in the next major construction, the east range of the cloister, in *c.*1420. It reappeared later in the period in a similar form at Bath Abbey and St Mark's, Bristol. A simplified version of this polygonal termination (lacking the flanking fillets and the curved back to the axial moulding) became the standard form of exterior mullion profile for parish churches in Somerset throughout the later Middle Ages.

Harvey has argued for Wynford's personal role in the development of Somerset Perpendicular in a series of publications, and includes in his attributed works the tower of St Cuthbert's church within the city of Wells, and the rebuilding of the parish church of St John's, Yeovil.[26] Both are attributed to the end of the 14th century and have a number of distinctive features, but that these can be effectively related to the works of Wynford, rather than the products of a cathedral lodge will be questioned.

Although Somerset is famed for the quantity of its late medieval parish churches, it does not have a high proportion of great mercantile churches comparable to the Cotswolds or East Anglia. In this respect many of the churches fall into the category demonstrated in

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[26] Harvey (1984), 354-355.

Roberts' thesis,[27] which included buildings with a series of mouldings created from oft used or simple elements. A few, however, do demonstrate sets of details and a method of handling that allow for more useful comparison, and through these an understanding of the distinctive features of a regional style can be established. One particular aspect of Somerset churches, which forms an exceptional group, is the towers; and consequently these have received a great deal of attention, with a variety of classifications having been made. The reconstruction of these towers was concentrated towards the end of the period, and its inclusion in discussions below is limited to the relationship with the cathedral workshop, rather than as a further detailed study of a specific building type.

It will be shown below that a number of parish churches can effectively be linked with the products of the workshop at Wells Cathedral in the late 14th century. Despite the possibility of recognising a workshop product, what is not attempted is to make a direct connection to any one mason, either known, such as Wynford, or anonymous. The purpose of this, and the succeeding chapters of the thesis, is to understand the development of a series of major workshop centres in the region, and their varying impact on the region and each other. The following examples establish the main characteristics of regional parish architecture and identify those aspects that can be related to local workshop centres. As will be shown in the following chapters, an individual mason may introduce new forms into an existing workshop, but these inevitably become integrated into the repertoire of moulding forms produced by that workshop. It is the understanding of the impact and influence of the workshop as a regional centre that is central to this thesis, rather than the attribution of a regional style to any individual.

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[27] For comments on Roberts PhD (1973) see Introduction.

Parish church work in the diocese of Bath and Wells

At first, three buildings will be examined to show, through their moulded details, evidence of the Wells Cathedral workshop in parish design. Although all three buildings can be assumed to be the product of the Wells lodge they do not form a single group, rather three alternative expressions of stylistic transmission. The first to be discussed is St Cuthbert's parish church in the city of Wells, which has the closest links to the cathedral; secondly, the Temple Church at Bristol will be mentioned, both for its general similarities to the type of parish church at Wells, and for more specific comparisons between chapels in both buildings. Thirdly, Yeovil parish church will be discussed in detail: a complete rebuilding of the parish church, it will be demonstrated that the work is essential to the formulation of Perpendicular in parish churches in the region. Each building has the advantage of at least some dating evidence, but the principal evidence in each case is based on the mouldings.

St Cuthbert's, Wells

Situated at the west end of Wells, only a short distance from the cathedral, St Cuthbert's church comprises the core of a great 13th-century church, substantially rebuilt between *c.*1390 and *c.*1430 (Fig. 2.5A). The existing dates for the aisle and chapel renovation indicate a rebuilding programme in the early years of the 15th century: Thomas Tanner of Wells established a chantry in the south transept in 1401, specifying that money was left for the reconstruction of the south transept window.[28] Renovation was underway in 1407, references to the construction or refurbishment of the Trinity chapel, situated to the west of the north transept, exist for 1419, and money was left for the construction of the vestry in 1412.[29] As the east end was under the patronage of the dean and chapter of Wells, who were responsible for the appointment of vicars, the reconstruction of this part of the building was also their responsibility in contrast to the main body of the church, which was

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[28] Weaver SRS (1901), 6-9.

funded by guilds and lay money largely co-ordinated by the Borough Community. Bearing in mind the unified style of the nave aisle and chancel details it may be reasonable to assume the chapter constructed the east end, with the parish following suit for the rest of the building. That work appears to have progressed from east to west is shown by references to the construction of the west tower that exist for 1426 and 1430, almost 30 years after the work in the transepts. In 1426 carriage of stone is paid for, which had been given by the bishop towards the erection of the tower, and in 1430 six rings are recorded as being given for the same purpose.[30] That work was continuing into the mid-15th century is shown by the bequest in 1447-8, which specifies that all the stone lying in the cemetery of the church is to be left to the new building.[31] Originally built with no clerestory, the nave was re-roofed and heightened to include a clerestory only in the 1560s after the collapse of the 13th-century central tower (Fig. 2.5B). Even though the fund raising for parts of the main body of the church was apparently achieved in phases, there is a remarkable consistency to the design, and it is possible to speculate that the presence of the Borough Community assisted in maintaining an architecturally unified approach to the project.[32] Within this consistency in overall style though, slight variants in mouldings were used for distinct areas of the building.

Three areas of the church are to be considered: the chancel and nave aisles, the north transept and the west tower. The chancel, its aisles, the south transept, nave aisles and nave chapels all have large five-light windows of alternate design (Fig. 2.5A). The aisle elevation of the chancel is articulated by a stepped chamfer mullion, with a jamb comprising

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[29] Weaver SRS (1901), 55.

[30] T.S. Holmes, *Wells and Glastonbury: A Historical and Topographical Account* (London, 1908), 126. There are reasons to believe that this is referring to the upper stage of the west tower, referred to below in Chapter Three.

[31] Holmes (1908), 128.

[32] D.G. Shaw, *The Creation of a Community: The City of Wells in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1993). Shaw describes how, although the parish includes part of the city of Wells and the surrounding countryside, the formation of the organisation known as the Borough Community developed considerable political authority and was largely involved in the management of funds and guilds in the town.

a casement hollow and for the frame a roll, hollow chamfer and chamfer. This frame articulates the wall by encompassing the window and extending to floor level, and a single roll for a vault respond defines each bay (Figs 2.6 i and 2.7A). The nave uses a simpler version of this set of details, favouring a plain roll and hollow chamfer for the frame, and for the mullion a chamfer with a square axial moulding, but echoes the method of wall and bay articulation (Fig. 2.6 ii-iii). On a considerably grander scale the choir at the cathedral set a precedent for such framing mouldings in its use of a wave moulding framing the entire elevation. A more likely direct source, however, may have been from porch and cloister designs. Early to mid-14th-century constructions, such as the south porch of St Mary Redcliffe and the cloister at Sherborne Abbey would be appropriate precedents on a comparable scale.[33] This close relationship particularly between aisles and cloisters may be the most likely form of transmission for design details and handling of elevations.

The use of large aisle windows marks stronger links with other buildings of parish church scale. Alternate tracery appears to have been particularly popular in parish churches in the Bristol area in the 14th century: it was used for all the windows in the construction of St Peter's (Fig. 2.7B), Temple Church and St Nicholas' within Bristol, and for the transept windows of Axbridge, for example. These details relate St Cuthbert's closely to a parish church architectural tradition in the north Somerset area, rather than to the cathedral specifically. St Cuthbert's can be considered an urban church rather than an isolated rural church, as it is situated in the most important town in the locality, albeit on a different scale to Bristol. A recent discussion of the community in Wells has identified it as a parish based

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[33] The south porch of St Mary Redcliffe has been attributed to William Joy, and the cloister at Sherborne attributed to a mason working in the West Country tradition, probably associated with Joy's work. For Redcliffe south porch see Harvey (1978), 82 and Draper and Morris in Crook (1993), 185, and Chapter Four in this thesis. For Sherborne Abbey cloister see R.K. Morris and L. Monckton, 'Gothic Architecture and Worked Stones' in L. Keen and P. Ellis, *Sherborne Abbey excavations 1972-76*, in preparation.

on urban models, as seen by its use of collective patronage, for example.[34] It may be this sense of a town church that strengthened links with the parish churches of Bristol, and resulted in the use of a Bristol derived tracery pattern.

Despite this general association with Bristol, some specific parallels with the cathedral at Wells do exist, the most obvious being the western tower of St Cuthbert's. The long panel design with alternate Perpendicular tracery is clearly inherited from the cathedral. Some debate has appeared in the literature on Somerset towers as to the origins of the long-panel design. Whereas Poyntz-Wright, rather inexplicably, ascribes its origins in the region to the recasting of the central tower in *c.* 1439,[35] Harvey cites Wynford's south-west tower as the source. He goes on to say that the central tower of Wells before the fire of 1439 bore little resemblance to the extant Perpendicular version.[36] Evidence from both the drawings produced by Nicholson in his early 20th-century survey of the tower, and from the existing fabric analysis shows instead that the early central tower conditioned the appearance of the Perpendicular remodelling through its use of long panels of lancet windows. It may have been this form that also conditioned Wynford's choice of design for the south-west tower. Having established an older tradition for the long panels, other aspects of the tower at St Cuthbert's suggest it is heavily dependent on the remodelled version of the central tower at the cathedral, and the reference to stone and building in the 1440s may refer to an unfinished upper stage of St Cuthbert's tower.[37] It is likely that the parapet of the south-west tower was also the direct source for the parapet of the tower and main body of the church of St Cuthbert's (Fig. 2.8A).

The moulded details of the parish church reveal some similarities with the cathedral east end. One window at St Cuthbert's in the main body of the church is not of the alternate

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[34] Shaw (1993), 258-260.
[35] Poyntz Wright (1981), 73.
[36] Harvey (1982)B, 171.

variety, instead the west window of the north transept (possibly associated with the work to the Trinity chapel in 1419) has its batement lights divided by subsidiary mullions (Fig. 2.8B). This window also has distinctive mouldings associated with it, consisting of a stepped chamfer mullion with angle fillets, a jamb with central feature of demi roll-and-fillet with lateral canted fillet, and a frame identical to those in the chancel aisles (Fig. 2.6 iii-v). Similarities exist between this jamb and the three part jambs that were favoured for the south-western bays of the choir aisles at Wells Cathedral. These two western bays at the cathedral marked a reduction in details from the earlier choir aisle bays that consisted of complex sets of mouldings (Fig. 2.1 ix-x). More specifically the mullion with angle rebate favoured for this part of the parish church copies that introduced for the mullions of the south-west tower at the cathedral (Fig. 2.1 vi and 2.6 iv). This form is essentially a variation of the stepped chamfer used for the aisles of the chancel at St Cuthbert's, and found in a number of parish churches in the region.

It is hardly surprising that the nearby cathedral masons carried out the construction of St Cuthbert's, and the evidence suggests that this had also been the case for the 13th-century church.[38] It has been shown that the tracery, both in proportion and style, originates from comparable building types in the locality. Whereas the tracery copies parish church precedents, the tower draws its distinction instead from the nearby cathedral.

Although some of the features, such as the stepped chamfers, are frequently used in the area, others are more distinctive, for example the frame moulding of the aisle windows. It is the use if these distinctive features that assist in meaningful comparisons between churches at parish level. This feature can, for example, be exactly paralleled at the Temple Church, Bristol. General similarities between the two churches have already been noted, for

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[37] See Chapter Three for further discussion on the central tower at the cathedral.

[38] The 13th-century nave piers of the parish church consist of four groups of triple shafts, separated by small rolls. This would appear to be a simplification of the nave piers of the cathedral.

example the consistent use of alternate tracery for large aisle windows, but this specific moulding comparison is found to the south of the chancel at the Temple Church in the chapel of St Nicholas.

Temple Church, Bristol

Dating evidence for the Temple Church is largely to be found in wills, and these tend to relate mostly to the construction of the tower, a project that appears to have been somewhat prolonged in its execution. The tower bequests span a period of 1389 to 1441,[39] and it appears that only the lower stage was constructed in the 14th century, the rest being completed in the middle of the 15th century. Other bequests relate to the construction of a guild chapel dedicated to St Katherine and situated to the north of the chancel, between the years 1413 and 1419.[40] Unfortunately no dating evidence is available for the chapel of St Nicholas, although its details suggest it was an addition to the existing fabric.

The main body of the church has alternate tracery windows of five lights (Fig. 2.9A), and uses stepped chamfer mullions with the simplest form of frame comprising a single chamfer (Fig. 2.6 vi). St Nicholas' chapel has two lateral windows inserted into an existing chapel with a window in its east end dateable to the first quarter of the 14th century. It is most likely that the nave of the church was subsequently rebuilt or added onto an earlier east end and then the tower was constructed, or at least commenced, before St Nicholas' chapel was altered. The two lateral windows, of four lights, have their batement lights divided into

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[39] T.P. Wadley, *Notes of abstracts of the wills from The Great Orphan Book and Book of Wills* (Bristol, 1886): 1389 the will of Bernard Obeleye says 'Jt'm lego ffabrice Campane eiusd' eccl'ie vjs viijd'; 1397 the will of Reginald Taillor specifies for his burial to be before the altar of the Holy Cross, and money to be left 'to the work of the tower there, if it shall be renovated Cs'; 1413 the will of John Sely 'Jt' lego op'i Campanil' eiusdem eccl'ie si de nouo fu'it constructu' Cs'; and 1441 the will of Thomas Blount further reinforces the image that the tower had been left unfinished in his bequest stating that 'if the parishioners intend to build the tower of that church, they are to have 40 shillings': 26 and 55, 54, 92 and 130 respectively.

[40] The earliest bequest to the chapel is from John Sely, who left money to the work of the chapel of St Katherine, in his will of 1413. The will of John Frere in 1419 details his bequests to the fraternity of the blessed Katherine at the Temple. Wadley (1886), 91 and 103 respectively.

three units, two with cinquefoil cusping with a quatrefoil set above (Fig. 2.9B). This form of tracery and the cusping resembles the west window of the north transept at St Cuthbert's. This variety of sub-reticulation is also found at the parish churches of Cheddar and Winscombe, in both being used for the west window of the tower (Fig. 2.10 i-iii). Cheddar tower has been dated to *c.*1403-13,[41] and that of Winscombe attributed to *c.*1423,[42] substantiating the date suggested for St Nicholas' chapel as contemporary with the work at St Cuthbert's. One slight variation in the tracery at Temple Church is the presence of super-mullions. This feature is found in the west window of the tower at Temple Church, although in its more usual form in a window with an odd number of lights. Both this feature and the use of a supertransom, also in the tower window, are paralleled in the west window of the tower at St Cuthbert's, Wells (Fig. 2.10 iv-v). Both the use of supermullions and quatrefoils in the head of the tracery are features first used in the region in the east window of Wells Cathedral chancel (Fig. 2.10 vi). It is also at St Cuthbert's that the ogee-headed lights are used in the lateral lights either side of the supermullions, a feature subsequently found in a group of west windows in towers in Somerset.[43]

The form of the jamb also relates these windows to the work at St Cuthbert's; consisting of a roll and hollow and then a chamfer, it is similar to the design of the chancel aisles (Fig. 2.6 i, iii, iv & vii). The existence of a further dated example of the same feature at Wardour Castle, Wiltshire helps to confirm that the Bristol and St Cuthbert's examples can be safely attributed to the late 14th to early 15th century. The general form of the Wardour Castle moulding is similar also to the handling of the pier profiles of the crossing in Yeovil parish church (see Fig. 2.12 vi and viii). The construction of the hall at Wardour

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[41] Harvey (1982)B, 166.

[42] Poyntz Wright (1981), 53. No evidence for this is given and unfortunately the date appears to be purely dependent on Poyntz Wright's developmental progression of towers within a 'generation' based on quality and detail. He is basing this on the least well-built tower as the earliest and the most detailed as the latest in this case, which cannot be substantiated.

[43] Examples include Shepton Mallet and Wrington.

Castle is documented as being designed for John, Lord Lovel in 1392.[44] William Wynford has been associated with the works at Wardour Castle, based on stylistic association: it has been suggested that the work is 'architecturally dependent on the official style' by Harvey, and as such should be attributed to Wynford. Harvey defines the official style through the works of the three documented craftsmen at the end of the 14th century, namely Wynford, Henry Yeveley and the carpenter Hugh Herland. As disposers of the king's works these three worked on south coast defences, manor houses and ecclesiastical buildings. It seems to be their position and their patrons that create this notion of an official style rather than any absolute stylistic allegiances. The attribution to Wynford in this case could provide a useful connection between the appearance of details produced by the Wells workshop and the arrival of Wynford into the workshop. However, it is possible to speculate that the Wells masons were employed by Lord Lovel to carry out works to his castle, and there need be no dependence on Wynford.

Being situated outside the city wall at Bristol, the Temple Church was in the diocese of Bath and Wells rather than that of Worcester, and the architectural evidence above suggests that the designer of the St Nicholas chapel was from the Wells workshop rather than associated with Bristol; and the stylistic assessment demonstrates that the most likely period for construction was in the last years of the 14th century or within the first quarter of the 15th century.

The choice of sub-reticulated tracery in St Nicholas' chapel, or as at Cheddar and Winscombe is indicative of its early usage in the region, at which time it was appropriated mostly for feature windows (that is, either east, west or transept windows). It is the complete rebuilding of Yeovil parish church that provides the most complete example of this

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[44] Harvey (1984), 354.

approach. This may have been its first use on such a comprehensive scale, and it marks one of most distinct differences between St Cuthbert's and Yeovil.

St John's, Yeovil

Wickham, in his account of Somerset parish churches, states that the great epoch of building in Somerset begins in 1380 with the construction of Yeovil parish church.[45] Yeovil differs from the other two churches in its set of mouldings, whilst retaining similarities in the method of handling the elevation. As a well-dated building it is always tempting to assume it is the earliest, however, it does appear that a series of buildings are closely related to Yeovil at contemporary or later date. The reconstruction of the parish church of St John's, Yeovil was commenced under the patronage of Robert de Samborne, rector from 1362 until his death in 1382. As a canon of Wells from 1366 he provides a convenient direct link with the cathedral. He established a perpetual chantry at the church supporting three priests with considerable land endowments. His will specifies that money is to be made available by his executors 'on the work of the church of Jevele begun by me, until it be finished'.[46]

An aisled church, with chancel and associated chapels, transepts and a western tower, Yeovil continues the tradition of alternate tracery for the main body of the building, whilst adopting sub-reticulated tracery for the feature windows (Fig. 2.11A). The introduction of sub-reticulated windows is contemporaneous with the change from trefoil to cinquefoil cusping, a feature introduced into Wells Cathedral in the Lady chapel and chancel after the completion of the chapter house (Fig. 2.10 vii-viii). The east windows of the chancel and its side chapels, end and east windows of each transept and the west window all use this more elaborate form. Whereas reticulated and alternate forms can be traced back to the chapter house at St Paul's Cathedral of the 1330s, the development of both sub-arcuated

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[45] Wickham (1952), 25.

[46] For his will see F.W. Weaver ed. *Somerset Medieval Wills 1501-1530 (with some Somerset wills proved at Lambeth),* 19, SRS (1903), 287-8.

and sub-reticulated tracery is related to the development of the Perpendicular style at Gloucester Cathedral. Although Gloucester sub-arcuates its tracery designs in the south transept it uses clearly developed forms of subdivision in the batement lights, creating a smaller version of the main tracery sub-divisions. Sub-arcuation did not appear in Somerset until the 1420s with the design of the cloister at Wells Cathedral, but the easy adaptation of alternate to sub-reticulated became popular from the 1370s, seemingly largely associated with its use at Yeovil, which could be as early as the 1360s.

Simple single chamfers are used for the exterior mullions and, for the interior, stepped chamfers with a free-standing fillet are used with a casement moulding and a frame consisting of a further chamfer and shallow returned hollow (Fig. 2.12 i). All the aisle walls are articulated in the same way as the elevation at St Cuthbert's Wells (see Figs 2.11B & 2.7A), but with different mullion profiles. Variations to these details, otherwise used for the whole building, occur in the sub-reticulated windows: the transept windows favour the double chamfer with angle rebate mullion (Fig. 2.12 v), as at St Cuthbert's, with a hollow chamfer and demi roll-and-fillet for the jamb, and the west window interior uses the same angle-fillet mullion, with a small roll set in the middle of the casement and the frame moulding as that used for the main aisle elevation (Fig. 2.12 ii-iii). The closest example to this form is in the east windows of the east transept chapels of Wells Cathedral (late 1320s), where the small roll sits part way along the casement moulding of the jamb (Fig. 2.12 iv). The piers echo the same basic set of mouldings, with a single roll for the respond and a free-standing fillet and chamfer at the corner (Fig. 2.12 vi). The crossing pier profile relates in type to the jamb at St Cuthbert's and Temple Church, the mullion at Wells Cathedral in the western bay of the choir aisle and the pier at Wardour Castle, reinforcing the links between this set of buildings in the manner of handling and selection of mouldings.

The overall plan and consistency of Yeovil affords it a certain grandeur and it is little surprise that it was influential. Close in detail is the chancel of Ilminster, which copies exactly the handling of the elevation and the mullions, with the single variation of a roll-and-fillet for the external profile of the mullions (Fig. 2.12 ix). The dating of Ilminster chancel is unclear: Wickham states that it was completed about twenty years before the central tower, which was constructed in *c.*1500.[47] In this case the longevity of popularity of the Yeovil model is in itself striking. Without further evidence the Ilminster chancel could equally well be dated before the north transept chapel of *c.*1450, which looks like an addition to an existing building, and be a more direct result of the Yeovil work. Either way, other examples confirm that both situations occurred. Norton-sub-Hamdon uses the same principles as Yeovil and is dated to the last quarter of the 15th century, whilst at Lacock Abbey, Wiltshire, dated by Brakspear to the early 15th century, the Yeovil aisle mullion design and elevation handling is adapted for its cloister walk (Fig. 2.12 x).[48] Also at Norton-sub-Hamdon the distinctive capitals used at Yeovil are favoured, that is the fillet of the arcade arch extending over the upper mouldings of the capital. A further example of the continued popularity of the Yeovil model is seen in a comparison of the pier of the south chapel in Langport church, dated to the 1490s, which is an almost exact replica of the Yeovil crossing pier type (Fig. 2.12 vi & vii).

In summary, the three main mullions used for these three buildings are all closely related and can be traced back to works in Bristol in the mid-14th century and Wells of the early 14th century. The exterior mullion of stepped chamfer at Yeovil is the basis for the other two forms and is commonly found in the late 14th century in north Somerset particularly.[49] Found in the north porch of St Mary Redcliffe, Bristol and developed in the second decade of the 14th century in the west of England, it became popular in Decorated works after 1320, but continued in use in early Perpendicular work in and around Bristol.[50] It was used frequently in the late 14th century, at numerous parish churches including

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[47] Wickham (1952), 29.

[48] H. Brakspear, 'Lacock Abbey' *Archaeologia*, LVII (1900), 136-9.

Yatton, St Cuthbert's Wells, and Temple Church. Varieties of this basic form are the chamfer with angle fillets and free-standing fillets. The latter, as used for the interior of Yeovil, was not as common, but also stemmed from use in the first half of the 14th century, being found in combination with roll-and-fillet axial mouldings or chamfers in the south porch of St Mary Redcliffe, the wall rib of St John the Baptist, Bristol and the chancel mullions of Wells Cathedral and with an axial roll in the western bays of the north choir aisle also at Wells (see Fig. 2.1 i-v). In fact the use of mullions with free-standing fillets stays in the Bristol tradition of design, and is still being used to articulate mullions as late as the early 16th century, for example at the Poyntz Chapel, St Marks in Bristol. Yeovil seems to be the only church to use it on such a scale, instead of the stepped chamfers favoured at Temple Church and St Cuthbert's. The third variety, as found on the south-west tower at Wells, feature windows of Yeovil and the north transept of St Cuthbert's can also be traced back to the first half of the 14th century in the region. Witney used the angle rebate with a roll-and-fillet for interior and exterior mullions of the Lady chapel of Wells Cathedral in *c.* 1325, and Joy inherited it, favouring it for the rib of the chancel high vault. Fragments of a vault from St Thomas' church in Bristol demonstrate that the Wells Lady chapel type was in use for the rib profile (Fig. 2.1 i-ii). All of these were in combination with a roll-and-fillet axial moulding though, and such interchange between ribs and mullions is not uncommon. Double chamfer varieties are also found in Bristol in the early 14th century, for example in the south porch of St Mary Redcliffe. Attributed to William Joy, during his period as master mason at Wells Cathedral (1329-1347), it would appear that this feature was introduced to the Bristol church from the Wells workshop. Its use is concentrated in the last two decades of the 14th century and the first two of the 15th century, for example at St Cuthbert's Wells, St John's Yeovil and Ilminster. At Ilminster the roll-and-fillet is re-introduced but with a

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[49] St Mary Redcliffe north porch, Temple church main body, interior mullions of St Cuthbert's and both alternate and sub-reticulated windows at Axbridge.

simple hollow chamfer each side. This simple form becomes the most common mullion profile and oft-used rib profile of the late Middle Ages in the region. The period of popularity of the stepped chamfer with angle fillets wanes after the beginning of the 15th century. Double and stepped chamfers were generally replaced by roll and fillets in parish work and mullions with axial rolls in larger projects, and this is discussed further in subsequent chapters.

Conclusions

It is evident that there was considerable interchange between Bristol and Wells in the late, as well as early, 14th century, blurring some of the distinctions between sources and origins of certain features. Increased popularity of particular mouldings within a certain time-scale has been identified however, which established the basic primary features of parish church architecture with links to the Wells workshop. Within this context it has also been demonstrated that Wynford was not responsible for the introduction of the stepped chamfer with angle fillets to the workshop at Wells. Its use on the south-west tower may indicate instead that Wynford chose to detail the work according to a local precedent.[51]

Furthermore, it was not Wynford's intervention in the cathedral workshop that contributed to the design of St Cuthbert's or Yeovil parish churches, as both drew on a number of details proven to be in use within the Wells workshop from the early 14th century. His supervisory role at Wells did not include involvement in local building practice and it is evident that a developing tradition for parish church design was established during the 14th century. Although some early Perpendicular churches existed within the city walls of Bristol, it was St Cuthbert's and particularly Yeovil that created an acceptable pattern for 15th-century design in the region. The similar handling of details between Yeovil and

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[50] Morris (1979), 8-11.

[51] Although first recorded at Windsor Harvey has suggested that Wynford came from the village of Winford a few miles from Bristol, Harvey (1984), 352.

Wardour Castle may be indicative of Lord Lovel employing masons from the Wells Cathedral lodge, rather than Wynford himself.

It has been shown that some features, most notably tracery designs, may have had their roots in Bristol and continued to be favoured in churches in north Somerset that show clear evidence of association with Bristol rather than Wells masons. By the middle of the 15th century some minor variations had been included in sub-reticulated designs, for example the detail in the head of the east window in the Newton Chapel at Yatton (Fig. 2.10 ix). Although still favoured only for feature windows in some circumstances, grand projects chose complete re-fenestration with this tracery pattern as illustrated at Wrington church. The mouldings themselves tended towards rolls and fillets by the mid-century, and abandoned the stepped chamfers of the earlier period, shown most clearly in comparison between the north transept window of Yatton and the Newton Chapel window. The polygonal ended mullions used in the Wells Cathedral clerestory were also increasingly used.

So far the churches studied have been related to the products of the Wells workshop, although having adopted tracery designs emanating from the Bristol area. As an urban centre Bristol contrasts with the situation at Wells, and a greater diversity is inevitable. It has already been shown that buildings both within the diocese of Bath and Wells, and those beyond (Berkeley Castle) turned to the Wells workshop, but the construction of the abbey church of St Augustine's in the first half of the 14th century would also have required a lodge of masons. Evidence, through the study of distinctive moulding profiles, exists to show that masons trained in this lodge were also responsible for the construction of parish works in north Somerset. The distinctive pier design of the east end of St Augustine's Abbey is clearly the source for the crossing piers of Yatton parish church, for example: the slightly exaggerated split double ogee feature is sufficiently distinctive to be directly related to the lodge at St Augustine's (Fig. 2.13 i-ii). Further evidence of a connection with works of Bristol is found in the profile of the west door jamb. Almost identical to the jamb in the same location at nearby Congresbury, the form comprises rolls flanked by fillets separated by large sweeping casement mouldings. These are closely paralleled by the west door jamb at Dundry, near Bristol (Fig. 2.13 iii-v). The tower at Dundry has often been dated to 1484, constructed as a landmark by the Merchant Venturers, although it is conceivable that this should refer only to the 'Gloucester' crown surmounting an otherwise relatively simple tower. The Dundry door jamb uses a similar disposition of rolls and flanking fillets, and can be most closely related to the early 14th-century work at Berkeley Castle chapel. Attributed to William Joy in the 1340s,[52] the original entrance to the chapel has an elaborated set of rolls and fillets separated by deeply cut wave mouldings; Dundry has simplified the waves to casements (2.13 v-vi). That Yatton and Congresbury churches are constructed of Dundry stone further strengthens their direct association with masons from Bristol. Although introduced by a Wells Cathedral master mason in the early 14th century the forms appear to have been absorbed into a repertoire of mouldings: similar forms at St Mary Redcliffe by the same mason may have provided direct access for copying by other masons. The construction of Dundry and Yatton, although not clearly dated, was over a hundred years after the death of Joy and the link to the Dundry quarries suggests the feature was, by this stage, transmitted from Bristol.

Although this chapter began with an assessment of the Wells Cathedral lodge and the role of Wynford at Wells between 1380 and 1407, it was inevitable that an assessment of parish churches would not be so easily confined. It has been shown that the distinction between Bristol and Wells appears blurred in the case of general stylistic features such as window tracery, but that a closer analysis of mouldings has revealed sets of details that can be attributed to each location. As expected the more distinctive the details the easier to match to works of great churches, and equally the greater benefits gained by the comparison

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[52] Morris in Keen (1997), 49-51.

of like with like buildings or parts of buildings. The exchange of ideas between Wells and Bristol appears to have continued throughout the later part of the 14th century, and the motifs introduced in the early 14th century remained in circulation certainly up until the middle of the 15th century for parish church design. Despite the fact that Yeovil appears to be based on a north Somerset set of details, it had considerable influence within a limited geographical locality, and one that was sustained throughout the period. Wynford's arrival at Wells was influential in terms of tower design, a subject already discussed by others, and this was to be felt throughout the county for the rest of the 15th century, but an attribution of Somerset Perpendicular on the basis of his so-called 'personal style' is neither possible nor useful in this instance.

Nicholas Bubwith succeeded as bishop at the death of Bishop Harewell, and continued the construction of works peripheral to the main body of the cathedral. With the construction of the south-west tower the decision to leave intact the 13th-century west front and nave of the cathedral had essentially been made and Bubwith concentrated on the completion of the west front through the construction of a matching tower to the north west and the replacement of the 13th-century cloister. With the death of Wynford the era of significant named masons ends at the cathedral for a period of almost eighty years, and it would seem that in the early 15th century the workshop moved away from the practice of employing the king's masons.

This chapter has aimed only to introduce the situation in the diocese of Bath and Wells at the end of the 14th century. A more complete understanding of the cathedral works of the early and late 14th century will only be possible after a closer look at the development of the lodge during the first half of the 15th century, which is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

Wells Cathedral: 1407 to 1465

The 13th-century work at Wells has been described as 'pace-setting in its relation to all other known works of comparable date.'[1] The works of the early 14th century at the east end of the cathedral have been much discussed in terms of dating and design sources.[2] In contrast to the sheer volume of writing produced on these two centuries at Wells, 15th-century works at the cathedral remain strikingly understudied. Harvey, for example, devotes three-quarters of his chapter entitled 'The Building of Wells Cathedral, II: 1307 to 1508' to a detailed analysis of the 14th century, whilst relegating the second half of this period to the final three pages.[3] Two factors that may account for this imbalance are the comparative lack of named masons documented in the 15th century, and the shift in building away from the main body of the cathedral towards ancillary buildings, which have been perceived as peripheral to the main body of research.[4] The opportunity for pace-setting ecclesiastical architecture is therefore diminished. As a result, the nature of the Wells lodge throughout the 15th century has been little understood and its relation to other works of comparable date has not been established.

This chapter aims to identify and account for the development of the workshop at Wells during this period, in order to establish its position in relation to contemporary workshops and to provide a refined chronology for the building works.[5] London had been a major source for designs and designers in the early 14th century, but this no longer appears

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[1] J.H. Harvey, 'The Building of Wells Cathedral, I: 1175-1307' in Colchester (1982), 52.

[2] Some of this recent debate has been outlined in the previous chapter.

[3] Harvey in Colchester (1982), 76-101.

[4] Although a considerable amount of work has been done on towers for example, this tends to be based on categorisation of types by formal characteristics rather than their place within other developments at Wells and potential relationships to the cathedral lodge.

[5] For a synopsis of documents and dates relevant to this chapter, and chapter two, see appendix one.

to be the source for masons and architectural precedents in the first half of the 15th century. A relative lack of church building within the precinct and a concentration on other building types contributed to the changing influences on the workshop, and furthermore impacted on its status as a centre of development within the region. Whilst providing a certain continuity as a major centre of development and training for masons, how did this change in emphasis on building type affect its role as a centre for stylistic development?

The chapter has been divided into the periods of two episcopates, those of Bishop Bubwith (1407-1424) and Bishop Beckington (1443-1465), both of which can be associated with major architectural programmes at Wells between 1407 and 1465. It will be argued that in this period the workshop was introspective, remaining largely dependent on the innovations of the 14th century. Nevertheless, work to the central tower and cloister reflects an awareness of West Country projects. Wells by no means becomes insular and independent of the surrounding region and it will be shown that the towers and the vaulting are two particular architectural forms that generate considerable influence.

Bishop Bubwith and his architectural legacy

In his will of 1424 Bishop Bubwith made a bequest for the construction of a new library, which he specified should be housed over the east range of the cloister.[6] A new east range, incorporating the library on its first floor, was constructed. He also requested that the north-west tower of the cathedral, to be known as Bubwith's tower, should emulate Harewell's tower on the south west, with any remaining money to be put towards an Almshouse. Money was transferred to the almshouse in 1436 and this is usually interpreted as meaning that both the tower and library projects were substantially complete by this date.[7]

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[6] See will in E.F. Jacob, ed. *The Register of Henry Chichele Archbishop of Canterbury 1414-1443*, II (Oxford, 1938), 298-302.

[7] Colchester and Harvey (1974), 209-14.

His will further covered the cost of the construction of his chantry chapel and contributed to the vicars' chapel and library at the north end of the vicars' close.[8]

His contribution to the cathedral is important for what can be learnt about the motivation of the patron, attitudes to architectural design, and the impact of the new works on the masons' workshop. It will be shown that there is a willingness to reconstruct 12th-century buildings with the specific aim of architectural consistency. The reconstruction of the cloister will be placed within the context of West Country cloisters, showing how a model for cloister walks came to be accepted in the region.

The East Range of the Cloister and the Library

The east range of the cloister was largely constructed between *c.*1420 and *c.*1436.[9] Bubwith stated that the library should occupy a first floor room the entire length of the cloister range, and to accommodate this the east range of the mid-13th-century cloister was replaced. This fourteen bay range, which opens directly from the south transept through a 13th-century door and leads to the bishop's palace (Fig. 3.1A), was reconstructed in stages, and was not actually completed until the end of the 1450s.[10] Each bay comprises a six-light sub-arcuated window and a lierne vault. The latter, supported on fan springers, has an octagonal central pattern, and foliage capitals stand on shafts, which are separated by hollow chamfers (Fig. 3.2A). The library above has little distinguishing detail, being lit by simple square-headed windows of two lights (Fig. 3.1B). The construction of a dedicated library building, as financed by Bubwith, is only one of many such projects in the first half of the 15th century. In addition to a series of well known contemporary examples, such as the new

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[8] His arms are on the door with those of his successor Bishop Stafford.

[9] The east range was probably structurally complete by this date, but minor works, recorded in the late 1450s, are discussed below.

[10] For details of phases of construction see Colchester and Harvey (1974), 210. For details of the south and west range constructions, see below. Although the east range appears to have been structurally complete by *c.*1436, records in fabric accounts detail final works occurring in the late 1450s, see below.

libraries at the minster churches of York (1420) and Lincoln (1420-22), at the cathedral-priory church at Canterbury (1420) and at the college at Winchester (the Fromond Chapel 1425-1437),[11] similar projects were underway closer to Wells at Worcester and Exeter. At Worcester the library was created after the completion of the cloister and post-dates the work at Wells, and was created from the roof space of the south nave aisle. In contrast, the library at Exeter was part of the cloister reconstruction, being situated above the south walk, and immediately preceded the one at Wells, having been completed by 1413.[12] It is to these latter two foundations that the designer of the Wells cloister seems to turn for architectural precedents in cloister design. In order to understand the significance of these stylistic associations it is necessary to look at the progress of West Country cloister design in the late 14th century.

After the variety of lierne vaults constructed at both Wells and Bristol in the first half of the 14th century, it is perhaps unsurprising that these developments were being reflected in cloister designs. For a brief period in the middle of the century vaults with lozenge patterns appeared in the south-west, for example, Sherborne Abbey was vaulted in such a way between 1350 and 1371.[13] The patterns used at Sherborne suggest a direct link between cloister and aisle designs, and a close comparison can be made between these vaults, as reconstructed from the lost cloister, and those in the aisles of St Mary Redcliffe, Bristol (Fig. 3.2 C&D). A further example is found in the first stage of rebuilding at Lacock Abbey cloister: two bays of the south walk have small lozenges in the vault pattern and a simple sub-arcuated tracery design. This experimentation with lozenge-lierne vaults for cloisters did not remain popular and was superseded by a series of great cloister designs in the west, not least those of Gloucester, Worcester and Exeter. Gloucester cloister, begun

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[11] Harvey (1978), 174.

[12] A. Erskine, V. Hope, and J. Lloyd, *Exeter Cathedral A Short History and Description* (Exeter, 1988), 46.

*c.*1351, is well known for its fan vaulting of *c.*1377, which introduced both design and structural innovations (Fig. 3.3A).[14] Despite its originality, or perhaps because of it, the most striking aspects of the Gloucester design exerted little immediate influence.[15] The cloister at Worcester, under construction between *c.*1371 and 1395,[16] appears to owe nothing to Gloucester (Fig. 3.3B). This comprises a central octagonal shape in the middle with bosses at each intersection, a design also favoured for aisle vaults by the end of the century, for example the recast nave of Winchester Cathedral *c.*1400.[17] Gloucester detailing was introduced into Somerset in the work of Abbot Monington at Glastonbury,[18] and a Gloucester mason is thought to be the designer responsible for the Exeter Cathedral cloister. Despite this it is to the Worcester model that the Exeter designer turns. Although Exeter is one of many lost cloisters in the South West, some evidence for its dating is available through documentary references, whilst information on its appearance may be drawn from the reconstruction by Pearson in 1888 of its south-east corner (Fig. 3.3C).[19] The north walk had already been completed by the time the mason Robert Lesyngham was employed to draw up a plan for the cloister in 1377.[20] He was called for from Gloucester, where the fan-

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[13] Morris and Monckton (in preparation), see 30-34, and fig.11; for vault reconstruction also see Figure 3.2C.

[14] W. Leedy, *Fan Vaulting a study in form, technology and meaning* (London, 1980), 166.

[15] Although lost cloister may provide a key to our understanding of Gloucester's direct influence in the locality, for example those at Tewkesbury and Evesham.

[16] R.K. Morris, 'Worcester Nave: from Decorated to Perpendicular' in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Worcester Cathedral* BAACT for 1975 (Leeds, 1978), 127 and 140-1 note 52: Hopkins mentions unspecified works on the cloister in 1372, and the lavatorium, which is in the west walk, is dated to 1395-6; the east walk may precede the Chapter House of 1386, followed by the west, south and north walks.

[17] The nave was largely reconstructed by William Wynford, who died in 1405: Harvey (1984), 352-356.

[18] Wilson PhD (1979), 319-321: Monington began the works to the eastern arm of the abbey, probably in the 1360s and oversaw its completion by his death in 1374.

[19] R.W. Parker, 'Archao-historical assessment of Exeter Cathedral Cloisters' (Exeter Archaeology), Report no.97.42 (June 97), 17: a base of the vault respond survives in no.2 The Cloister, and fragments of vault responds were uncovered, apparently with a cluster of thin shafts and a mouchette feature at the top. Pearson drew the design from the capitals. Original stones are re-used in the vault, and the intersections and bosses that survive indicate that vault is a fair reconstruction of the original.

[20] *Ibid.*,for phases and development of ranges see pages 14-17.

vaulted cloister, begun in 1351, was still under construction.[21] The comparison of the north porch of Exeter's west front, also attributed to Lesyngham, with Gloucester works supports this connection. Glazing of windows at the Exeter cloister is mentioned in the 1390s, followed by the construction of an entrance to the west walk in 1412-13.[22] These references provide a finishing date for the cloister. Pearson re-used several bosses and other stone fragments in his reconstruction of the south-east corner of the cloister. In what can be considered a reasonable representation of the original design, Pearson has built a cloister with octagonal lierne vault, fan springers, simple sub-arcuated four-light windows and simple Perpendicular responds. The presence of fan springers at Exeter might be considered the only real acknowledgement of the cloister vaulting at Gloucester, but even this feature is introduced into the nave of Worcester in *c.*1377.[23]

The design of the Wells cloister inherits all the basic features identified at the preceding work at Exeter, derived ultimately from the work at Worcester. One new feature introduced at Wells is the curved liernes that frame the central square boss to each vault bay (Fig. 3.2A). This boss is in fact a void panel rather than a traditional boss, a feature previously found, without the curved ribs, in the chancel of St Mary's Warwick, dated to *c.*1381.[24] This detail helps link the second phase of Lacock Abbey cloister to the Wells design, and this Midlands feature: the rest of the cloister at Lacock was constructed in the early 15th century,[25] and uses the same vault pattern as Wells but with octagonal central bosses (void panels) (Fig. 3.2B).[26] The moulding profiles inherit the polygonal mullions introduced into the workshop in the 1390s by Wynford and adopt simple rib profiles, no

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[21] Harvey (1984), 181. D. Welander, *The History Art and Architecture of Gloucester Cathedral* (Stroud, 1991), 225: cloister of east walk before 1364.

[22] Erskine *et al* (1988), 45-46.

[23] Morris in BAACT (1978), 116-143 for dating and sequence of nave.

[24] Harvey in BAACT Wells (1981), 39.

[25] Brakspear (1900), 136-139.

[26] That this is from the Wells workshop is evidenced further by moulded details, which compare to parish church work described in first chapter.

longer favouring the Decorated profiles of the 14th century east end. Little opportunity for new profiles is available during this project.

In summary, it is clear from this brief account that the Wells design is part of an evolution of a great cloister model being developed from the late 14th century. The use of fan springers and sub-arcuated tracery designs are the elements of works at Gloucester that filtered through to Wells via Exeter, and possibly Glastonbury. The overall concept and the choice of vault belong to the Worcester design, but again were more likely inherited via Exeter. Not a work of great innovation, the Wells cloister appears to have perpetuated this model as appropriate for cloister design in the region.

The North-West Tower

Bubwith's second major architectural project was ordering the construction of the north tower on the west front. He stipulated that this north-west tower should emulate the one on the south-west corner of the west front. The design and details are in fact the same.[27] By definition, therefore, the work lacks originality and relies on Wynford's design for Harewell's tower of the 1390s (Fig. 3.4 A&B).

His specification for the 'construction, edification, completion and perfection of the tower'[28] suggests his primary motivation was to 'complete' the unfinished west front. Evidence to suggest that he was responsible instead for replacing a 13th-century tower in the same location, however, exists in documentary references. In this case the 'completion and perfection' wished for by Bubwith takes on an added significance. That is, the importance of architectural consistency warranted the destruction an existing tower that was contemporary with the west front.

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[27] That is, with the exception of the lack of floors in the later tower, and the addition of niches to hold a statue of the bishop.

[28] For Bubwith's will see Jacob (1938), 299.

That two towers existed at Wells, before the construction of the south-west tower, is explicit in the Communar's Accounts for 1343.[29] Repairs are made to bells in two towers; one is referred to as the high tower and the other is unspecified. The Accounts for 1392-3, however, record repairs to the cannons of the three new bells hanging in the 'old north tower'.[30] Further references to an 'old tower' are made in 1414-5. The latter reference is clearly not appropriate for the south-west tower at this date, which had only been completed in the 1390s. It is apparent that two completed and functional towers existed by the 1340s: the two towers are the central or high tower, and the north or old tower.[31]

This 'old north tower' can be attributed to the mid-13th-century work of the west end of the church. Work was clearly still going on after the death of Jocelin in 1242: Matthew Paris refers to the fall of the great *tholus* in 1248 as it was being placed at the top of the building. This has been interpreted as meaning a boss, pinnacle or lantern.[32] In the light of the above evidence for a north-west tower it is possible that Paris' comment refers to the completion of this same tower. Falling masonry from part of a tower would go some way to explain the extent of the damage to what Paris describes as the *culmen* of the building.[33] An alternative explanation might be that both west towers were constructed, but that the south-west one fell, not being replaced until the late 14th century. This would strengthen the case for Wynford's appointment as that of a structural consultant, employed because of concern over the construction of the tower on the existing west front after an earlier collapse. The

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[29] Communar's Accounts, 12.

[30] *Ibid.*, 28.

[31] There is no historical evidence for a campanile: Britton (1824); J. Collinson, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Somerset* (Taunton, 1st publ. 1791, repr. 1983); L. Toulmin Smith ed. *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543* (Illinois, 1964); W. Worcestre, *Itineraries of William Worcestre* Harvey, J.H ed. (Oxford, 1969) make no mention it for example. Worcestre provides an otherwise detailed description of the area around the close at Wells: see 289-297.

[32] Harvey in Colchester (1982), 65.

[33] Tholus is a round building or structure with a conical or vaulted roof or a lantern: *Dictionary of Historical Principles,* II (Oxford, repr.1972); culmen is 'top' or 'summit': *ibid.*, I (Oxford, repr.

construction of only one tower by Wynford, however, strengthens the case that a structure existed on the north side. The impetus for completing the west front seems to have ended in the mid-13th century, probably losing momentum after the damage caused by the tower collapse and after the death of Jocelin. It was not until 1286 that the next rebuilding campaign was begun, which abandoned the west front with a single 13th-century north tower.[34]

In conclusion, therefore, Bubwith ordered the reconstruction of the north tower matching in all details its predecessor on the south. His aim was to create towers of unified design to surmount the 13th-century west front and eliminate the inconsistent appearance of structures constructed over hundred years apart. It is evident that the west front was always intended to have towers, and its present appearance is the result of the desire for an architectural consistency, achieved by Bubwith's executors to his own specification. The necessary adherence to a set of designs and templates over thirty years old had its impact on the development of the lodge, which cultivated conservatism in its mouldings. This is not to imply that the simple Perpendicular tracery and mouldings were not influential and there is evidence that these developments at Wells impacted directly on the appearance of towers and tracery in parish churches in the first half of the 15th century. The tracery used in Bubwith's Chantry Chapel of *c.*1424, for example, with its distinctive trefoil tracery pattern based on the Perpendicular tracery of the tower is found in a number of buildings in the middle of the 15th century,[35] including the chapter house at Exeter Cathedral, and the north chancel chapel

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1972). This could be interpreted as meaning either the high vault or the top of the tower as effectively the 'summit' of the building in this context.

[34] Warwick Rodwell, *pers comm.* December 1996: subsequently confirmed the absence of any information that might suggest the presence of a free-standing campanile, which might have been a potential explanation to the reference to the 'north tower'. Rodwell suggests that one possibility is that a north-west tower took the form of a 'timber turret made as a temporary expedient, because the cathedral had run out of money and could not finish the west front scheme'.

[35] Bubwith's Chantry used a variation on the simple Perpendicular tracery introduced to the building in the south-west tower and nave clerestorey during the time of Bishop Harewell, and mason William Wynford. This simple form continues to be used for the vicars' library, and north-west tower. The

of Kingsbury Episcopi. The latter has direct links to Wells through glass in the window, that relate to John Stortwait, who was chancellor of Wells and executor to Bubwith's will (Fig. 3.5 A-C).[36]

Bubwith's successor, Bishop Stafford, appears to have made little obvious contribution to the cathedral or close. His arms appear on the door of the vicars' chapel and library, but they are adjacent to Bubwith's, and therefore suggest that the initiative of the scheme was his predecessor's. Stafford's period as bishop was largely taken up by the completion of his predecessor's work, and his absence from the diocese meant he began no new architectural initiatives. A fire that destroyed the central spire and damaged the tower was the major event for the cathedral at this time. Even this appears not to have been fully addressed until Beckington's arrival in the 1440s.

The works of Bishop Beckington

After the translation of Stafford to the archbishopric of Canterbury, Thomas Beckington was made Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1443. The cathedral building had essentially been completed with the construction of the north-west tower, and it was only the fall of the central spire that necessitated any work on the church itself during his episcopate. Beckington concentrated on the precinct, and apparently his single other contribution to the church was the construction of his chantry chapel to the south of the high altar. The present appearance of the area surrounding the cathedral can be largely attributed to Beckington's intervention. Not only was he responsible for the construction of a series of gatehouses around the western side of the cathedral, but he also constructed the conduit, the houses on the north side of the market place, the Chain Gate, and made considerable additions to the

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chantry chapel comprises a stone screen with panelled canopy at the east end and mouldings of standard design for fittings and tombs (which are still used in Hugh Sugar's Chantry of 1489 in the nave of Wells for example).

[36] Weaver, SRS (1903), 328.

bishop's palace. Little analysis has been done to date on the precinct buildings, which tend to fall somewhere between the disciplines of secular and ecclesiastical architectural history.

These underrated buildings are significant in what they reveal about the impact of the political situation in the middle of the 15th century, and subsequently the consequences that this had on the architectural patronage of leading prelates. A series of documents provides information on the date and purpose of the works to the precinct. Furthermore, both the construction of the precinct gatehouses and the reconstruction of the central tower show clear evidence of the transmission of style between cathedral workshops, parish churches and private chapels. In the course of assessing these developments it has also became evident that the chronology of the mid-15th-century works at Wells contains inaccuracies. Instead of a clear line of progression from one project to another, certain projects were abandoned or delayed. It is argued below that this was caused directly by the intervention of the patron, who was responsible for prioritisation of certain works.

The established chronology is based on the following premises. The accepted dating for the central tower is 1439-50.[37] Worcestre identifies Beckington (1443-1465) as the patron of the precinct gatehouses, the Chain Gate,[38] works to the bishop's palace and the 'New Work' buildings on the market place. Fabric Accounts reveal that the east walk of the cloister was being paved in 1457-8,[39] and it is assumed that a start was made on the west walk of the cloister in the 1460s.[40] The presence of William Witham's arms (1467-72), on the vault of the west walk, has been interpreted as evidence that this work continued after Beckington's death. A series of further documents, discussed below, reveal that a refinement of the chronology is required: the central tower may not have been begun

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[37] Interpretation of the Communar's Accounts in Harvey and Colchester (1974), 210-11; and Harvey in Colchester (1982), 94 and 98, note 45.

[38] This is dated to 1459-60 in the Vicars' Register *c.*1360-1500, 26; see Colchester and Harvey (1974), 210 note 78.

[39] Fabric Accounts, 12, 13.

straight after the collapse, but during the 1440s; and furthermore that this project, and that of the cloister, were put on hold to accommodate Beckington's work to the palace and precinct.

The central tower

The recasting work to the central tower of the cathedral was prompted by the fall of the high steeple, as a result of a fire, during the episcopate of Bishop John Stafford (1425-1443). Evidence for this disaster is found in both the Communars Accounts for 1439, where reference is made to the fall of the high steeple,[41] and in the Escheators Accounts, which mention the associated burning.[42] Harvey and Colchester have highlighted a reference in the Communars Accounts to the payment of an extra gratuity to the sacrist for his ringing of the bells in the south-west tower in 1450.[43] This gratuity constituted a secondary payment of 6s 8d, in addition to the normal payment of 4s 4d for ringing the great bell.[44] The reference makes it clear that this payment has been made for the last four years, for the same work by the said sacrist, and hence the rebuilding of the tower is normally ascribed to the period from its fire of 1439 to the point of this reference in 1450.[45] In fact, the Accounts make it clear that the sacrist actually continues to receive identical payments until at least 1462.[46] By 1470, the date of the next surviving account, the payment has returned to the standard 4s 4d, and the reference to his 'great pains in performing his duty' in these difficult circumstances has ended. The sacrist was not able to use the central tower for a period of between twenty-three and thirty-one years. This might suggest a major project and considerable structural alteration, however, the damage was in fact rather superficial. The 13th- and early 14th-century masonry is largely extant, and without evidence of fire, implying the limited nature

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[40] Harvey in Colchester (1982) 94.
[41] Communar's Accounts, 131.
[42] Referenced in Escheator's Accounts as on 12 May 1439, from Cal. II (1914), 70.
[43] Harvey in Colchester (1982), 94.
[44] Communar's Accounts, 124.
[45] Despite the lack of accounts for the years 1439 to 50, a reference to the payment of the sacrist in 1455-6 states that he had been ringing the bells 'ever since the fall of the high steeple', Communar's Accounts, 132.

of structural damage.[47] The spire, which had clearly been the greatest loss, was never replaced. This evidence reveals a dichotomy between the extent of repair and the time it apparently took. A speculative interpretation might be that the alterations were delayed in their start and it was under Beckington, rather than Stafford that these works were carried out; perhaps the works were begun in 1446, our first recorded reference to the sacrist being in the south-west tower. Even if this was the case, the programme still seems unnecessarily extended. The delay, however, can be explained once set within the context of Beckington's other works, and evident priorities.

Beckington's Precinct Buildings

Beckington constructed a series of gatehouses: the Dean's Eye (or Brown's tower) to the north-west of the Cathedral; the Penniless Porch, which was the main gatehouse from the market area into the cathedral precinct; and the Bishop's Eye, that led through to the bishop's palace (Fig. 3.6 A&B). Information on the cost and size of these is recorded by Worcestre, who devotes a section from his Wells visit to a summary of these buildings.[48] The construction of gates and walled borders to demarcate the extent of the precinct is not unusual. Great monastic gatehouses, for example at Thornton Abbey, are not uncommon. Salisbury had started the construction of walls and gateways by the mid-14th century, and this can be paralleled by the royal licence received by Ralph of Shrewsbury in 1340, (bishop of Bath and Wells 1329-63).[49] This licence was in response to disturbances between the city

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[46] Communar's Accounts, 139.

[47] C. Nicholson, 'Construction and design' *RIBA journal*, 19 (1912), 627-8; and Colchester and Harvey (1974), 210-211. The minor level of work going on is perhaps reinforced by the reference to the mending of a lock in the new tower in 1457-8, see Fabric Accounts, 12, which furthermore suggests the work is nearing completion by the end of the 1460s.

[48] Worcestre (1969), 295.

[49] 'To make a wall around the churchyard and the precinct of the houses for himself and the canons, and to crenellate and make towers and posterns in it'. Works were carried out on the palace, which was given an outer wall, moat and gatehouse at this time. He was responsible for the diversion of the stream from St Andrew's Wells to feed the moat. Calendar of Patent Rolls 1338-40 see R.W.Dunning 'The Bishop's Palace' in Colchester (1982), 235.

and the cathedral chapter and bishop,[50] and it was upon this licence of 1340 that Beckington based his own precinct works. Ralph of Shrewsbury had carried out the prescribed works to his palace, providing a moat and gatehouse, but had not fully carried out the work to the precinct boundary. Whereas Beckington's decision to increase accommodation in the Palace is comparable to projects carried out by both the bishops of Lincoln and Salisbury at approximately the same date, the construction of the precinct gatehouses is, at first, harder to explain.[51] In order to appreciate the context within which Beckington made these decisions two aspects of his history need to be established. Firstly, his biographical details provide the background against which he was working; secondly, other contributions to Wells that he made explain his overall approach to the cathedral establishment, and his acknowledgement of his predecessors' contributions. These discussions will be followed by an assessment of the architecture itself: what was the response of the workshop to Beckington's requirements, and how great was the impact of his personal intervention?

Beckington had been brought up in the household of the duke of Gloucester, and was promoted more directly through the patronage of Chichele and the monarch. In addition to being one of the peace envoys, he was also one of three men set up as part of a group of clerical commissioners to make necessary practical arrangement for the foundation of Eton College (12th September 1440). The two others were Richard Aiscough, bishop of Salisbury, and Richard Andrew, who succeeded Beckington as Treasurer.[52] Beckington was in fact consecrated at Eton in 1443 as bishop of Bath and Wells.[53] His closeness to the king,

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[50] It was at exactly this time that Ralph of Shrewsbury made an application for walls at Wells: see Calendar of Patent Rolls 1338-40, 466; and RCHME *Salisbury: The Houses of the Close* (London, 1993), 9, which refers to a close wall built 1327 to 42 and gates as protection from the town.

[51] Bishop Alnwick (1436-49) linked the two old halls by a stone gate tower in his palace, and Bishop Beauchamp of Salisbury (1450-81) is noted by Leland as having made the 'great haulle, parler and chambre' of the palace with tower porch. Leland, I (1964), 267.

[52] R.A. Griffiths, *The Reign of King Henry VI: the exercise of royal authority 1422-1461* (London, 1981), 304.

[53] *Ibid.*, 246.

implied by his association with the foundation of Eton, is further shown by his movements in the early 1440s, during which time he was mostly either in court, or in France on embassies.

The crisis of Henry VI's government broke at the end of the 1440s. It has been identified that 'the crisis of 1449-50 broke with greatest force over the heads of the members of the household, and it placed the political organisation of which they were a part, both at Westminster and in the country, in serious jeopardy.'[54] Beckington, as an active member of court, was closely associated with other leading Lancastrian prelates, including Richard Aiscough, bishop of Salisbury, and Adam Moleyns, bishop of Chichester. Inevitably Beckington must have felt in a position of uncertainty by the time of the 1450 uprisings. Richard of York's arrival in Somerset to settle the dispute between Bonville and Courtenay in 1450 must have further caused anxiety for the bishop. Not only would Beckington have been aware of the murders of the bishops of Chichester and Salisbury, the hated supporters of the already murdered William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, but also the attitude of the rebels to both supporters and members of the council to Henry VI and clerics in general. In Kent rebels were targeting religious houses, including attempting to loot specific valuables from the priory of Christ Church, Canterbury.[55] Further anti-clerical uprisings occurred in Hampshire and throughout Wiltshire in the summer of 1450. Aiscough's murderers had entered the church of Edington and pulled him from the chancel, after which they had proceeded to loot the monastery and returned to launch a further attack on the bishop's palace, stealing charters and registers.[56]

Documentary evidence exists that shows how Wells was not immune to these difficulties. References in the Communar's Accounts of 1449-50 imply that Beckington was concerned his church might also suffer at the hands of looters. In 1450, for example, a

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[54] *Ibid.*, 304.
[55] I.M.W. Harvey, *Jack Cade's Rebellion of 1450* (Oxford, 1991), 64.
[56] Harvey (1991), 125.

payment is made to a mason 'to hide goods and jewels of the church'.[57] Furthermore, clear effort was being made to protect the cathedral church: it is recorded that four clerks, acting as guards, were considered insufficient, and awaited the arrival of reinforcements in the form of Welshmen, presumably arrow-men from South Wales.[58] Evidently, there was perceived a need to defend the cathedral from an 'unknown' group of rebels, and the sending of a messenger to discover the amount of French men rumoured to have arrived in Southampton suggests further concern.[59] The fall of Caen on June 24th, 1450 prompted two further fears: that of French invasion, and of the large numbers of unemployed soldiers in the south of England in 1450.[60]

Beckington had resigned his post as keeper of the privy seal in 1444, just after his consecration at Wells, and began to spend an increasing amount of time in his new diocese. His court connections were still strong and he received the king at Wells in 1448 and 1452.[61] A few indicators during this time indicate that he was making plans for new building and works at the cathedral. In 1446, for example, collections were made from each parish, with indulgences of 40 days being promised to contributors.[62] Although these funds could have been for work to the central tower there is further evidence that Beckington was preparing for his own project. Three key documents, all dated to 1451, explain Beckington's thinking at this time. First, he summoned a meeting of the canons to take measures for the repair of

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[57] Communar's Accounts, 122: the entry goes on to say that the same mason was granted for his pension '10d for his expenses for life for keeping it a secret'.

[58] *Ibid.*

[59] *Ibid.*: mention is made firstly of four clerks guarding the church, and then to 'men of Wales [to] defend the church by hands of the Steward'. Subsequently expenses are paid to 'William Orewell to go to Southampton to find out about the arrival of as many frenchmen as possible'.

[60] Harvey (1991), 131. See also 128: that the bishops fears of recriminations were not unfounded is implied by Harvey's comment that on '21 July 1450 Bishop Beckington met with local disturbances on such a scale that he called Lord Bonville to help him control the situation', the sources for this are cited only as those here referenced in note 50 from the account books, which makes no mention of the role of Bonville.

[61] B. Wolfe, *Henry VI* (London, 1981): Henry VI's itinerary for July 1448 lists progress from Shaftesbury, Sherborne, Glastonbury, Wells and then Bristol. In July 1452 he travelled through Bridgewater, Glastonbury, Wells and Bristol; 367 and 370 respectively.

defects in the roof and elsewhere, and the defence of the church against enemies unspecified.[63] Secondly, a faculty was made to the dean commenting, amongst other things, that the cathedral's rights, possessions and liberties were oppressed by enemies.[64] Thirdly, a licence was granted to Beckington, which makes explicit his plans for building around the cathedral. This document explains his intention to create a walled environment, with controlled access to both the precinct and the palace and details his dependence on the earlier licence granted to Ralph of Shrewsbury in 1340. This licence is granted to Beckington in 1451:

> 'to execute all things specified in the letters patent dated 29 March, 14 Edward III, in favour of Ralph, then Bishop of Bath and Wells, hitherto not executed, and to enclose the churchyard of the cathedral church of Wells and the precinct of the houses of them and the canons of the church in the city of Wells with a stone wall and to crenellate the same and make towers there for the greater security of the bishops and canons; so that the gate and posterns whereof mention is made in the said letters be shut and opened at the due times as shall seem good to Thomas and his successors or to the dean and canons resident there, for surety of the peace and quiet of them and of the other ministers of the church; and mandate to the bailiffs and other officers and the citizens and ministers of the city to be intendant to the bishop and his sucessors herein and to commit to prison till further order any rebellious herein'.[65]

The bishop's palace, already on a walled and moated site, had the added protection of being entered through the architecturally most splendid of the gatehouses, the Bishop's Eye. With its polygonal buttresses and arrow loops this gateway is visually the most defensible, possibly representing Beckington's awareness of potential invasion of the palace.

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[62] H.C. Maxwell-Lyte and M.C.B. Dawes, eds *The Register of Thomas Beckington Bishop of Bath and Wells 1443-1465* SRS, 49 part I (1934), xxxv; and Cal. II (1914), 675.

[63] Maxwell-Lyte, SRS (1934), xxxvi.

[64] H.C. Maxwell-Lyte and M.C.B. Dawes, eds *The Register of Thomas Beckington Bishop of Bath and Wells 1443-1465* SRS, 50 part II (1935), no. 554, 157-8: London January 29th 1450 (51) a faculty to the dean of Wells stating that the cathedral was in need of very great repairs in its roof and elsewhere.

[65] Calendar of Patent Rolls, *Henry VI, 1446-1452* V (Nendelm, repr. 1971), 473; dated March 22nd at Westminster, 29 Henry VI. The control and power that is given to the dean and bishop for access to close and imprisonment for rebellion must be seen as a direct consequence of the fears as illustrated in the Communar's Accounts, 122.

Furthermore, the palace had its own drawbridge in case of real threat.[66] Controlled access to the close by the gateway seemed to be the primary purpose for these constructions, as evidently there was a real need to have the capability to keep people out. The lack of any such defences to the east of the cathedral suggests that the trouble was commonly coming from the town, a situation paralleled at Salisbury. During the episcopate of Bishop Beauchamp of Salisbury (1450-82), Aiscough's immediate successor, considerable work was done on the bishop's palace, a portcullis was added to the north side of the North Gate and repairs were done to the walls around Salisbury Cathedral close.[67] It may be no coincidence that it was at this time of unrest that Beckington created his own chantry chapel within the cathedral, ready for dedication on January 12th, 1452.[68] It was also in this year that he was granted an exemption from attending parliament on account of his age and infirmity, in which circumstances preparation for his own death is less surprising. This exemption was confirmed in 1461.[69]

The end of precinct campaign

Although the 1451 licence indicates the campaign of construction was underway (or about to begin), there is no recorded date for completion. It is evident, however, that the precinct campaign was given priority from the late 1440s onwards, and this provides the explanation for the completion of work to the central tower being delayed until the 1460s: the lack of structural threat from the central tower resulted in it becoming a low priority. A series of references to other works from the end of the 1450s onwards are indications that the west side of the precinct was complete. A 'systematic collection' of funds within the diocese

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[66] The arrow loops on the west side of the Bishop's Eye are not shown in the Buckler drawings of 1827, although the position of the small glazed windows he illustrates correspond to the position of the arrow loops and must have been there originally. The arrow loops on the east side are shown in the Buckler. BM Add.ms 36,384, folio 148 and 149.

[67] T. Tatton-Brown *pers comm.*

[68] Maxwell-Lyte (1934), xxxix, 175, and 178.

[69] D.N.B., II, 87.

was made in 1457-8,[70] and it is at exactly this date that the paving of the east cloister walk is recorded.[71] In addition, the Chain Gate is closely dated to 1459-60: this unusual structure was a response to the vicars' concerns over safety to the north side of the cathedral (Fig. 3.7 A&B). The grant from the dean and chapter to the vicars choral states that the passage was constructed to defend the vicars, who were 'much exposed to rainy nights and other perils...and also for their greater protection and security'.[72] Only after this does it appear Beckington turned his attention to less high priority projects, such as the reconstruction of the west range of the cloister. Matching Bubwith's east range in all its details this walk is covered in the heraldry and insignia of Beckington, although the presence of the heraldry of his executors implies it was not completed by the time of his death in 1465.[73]

So far it has been shown that Beckington's motivation for the re-ordering of the precinct was a reaction to the local uprisings in a period of political upheaval for the clergy. This may be interpreted as an antagonistic reaction in some ways, however, it is important to appreciate Beckington's plans were part of a more holistic approach to the interaction of the city and the cathedral chapter. In addition to the gatehouses Beckington constructed a series of buildings to the west of the Penniless Porch referred to as the Nova Opera in subsequent fabric records. Leland tells us that he had intended to create a similar row of houses to the south side of the market place as well, of which he says 'if he had complished it had bene a spectable to al market places in the west country'.[74] The construction of the conduit and drainage channels in the market area add further weight to the interpretation that Beckington's intention was to create a market place for the townsfolk in addition to creating a 'defensive' entrance to the cathedral precinct. It seems Beckington's response to the

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[70] Cal. II (1914), 85-86; and Maxwell-Lyte, SRS (1934), xxxv-xxxvi.

[71] A reference to John Turpyn paving 14 bays of the cloister consisting of the east walk and one bay of the south walk : Fabric Accounts, 12-13.

[72] J.H. Parker, *The Architectural Antiquities of the City of Wells* (Oxford, 1866), 39, note a.

[73] Four bays display his coat of arms; four display his rebus of the flaming ton and four are combinations of his initials T and B.

potential local anger towards the clergy was to embark on a project that benefited the local community as well as keeping them at bay as required. This positive approach fits well into the image of Beckington as 'the last reforming bishop of the medieval Wells'.[75] Other contributions made by him support this identification of him as reforming and, furthermore, it becomes evident that his re-use of the licence granted to Ralph of Shrewsbury was only one of many such renewals. He created statutes for the choristers, who were housed in a building constructed by Ralph of Shrewsbury.[76] In these statutes, which appear to be the first time information about the choristers daily life is documented, Beckington insists they are based on the existing practice of the schoolmaster, but are none the less extremely detailed.[77] He also re-issued Ralph's statutes of the vicars' choral, and having described the building of the vicars' close as dilapidated in 1459,[78] proceeded to repair them, replacing chimney stacks and marking them with his own heraldry, and that of his treasurer and executor Swan (see Fig. 3.9A). This work was almost certainly exactly contemporary to the construction of the Chain Gate and the work to the west range of the cloister, further evidence of the completion of the precinct. Beckington's concern to uphold standards was achieved by the creation of documented rules and statutes, as well as the provision of good services and facilities for the vicars: a parallel to the approach for the precinct and market place, as a two-way venture for the cathedral and the town described above. Identification of Beckington's patronage is through heraldry on the chimneys and west range of the cloister (Fig. 3.8 A-C). The first bishop of Bath and Wells to use heraldry to this extent, Beckington is keen to identity himself with reform as an educated bishop and part of a group of scholars

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[74] Leland, I (1969) 145.
[75] A. Grandsen 'The History of Wells Cathedral *c.*1090-1547' in Colchester (1982), 41.
[76] The remains of which exist in the Mary Mitchell Garden to the west of the cloister west range.
[77] Grandsen in Colchester (1982), 41.
[78] *Ibid.*,38.

and humanists from Oxford.[79] His specific preference for educated clergy was further demonstrated by the foundation of a grammar school at Wells, and it is for this purpose that he rebuilt the west range of the cloister (Fig. 3.8A). His adherence to the architectural form and details of the east range reflect both his own acknowledgement of the works of his predecessors and the significance of design consistency.

The only major architectural projects not yet discussed are the additions to the bishop's palace and construction and foundation of his chantry. The palace accommodation was increased in size by the construction of a 'a cloister, parlour, chambers for visiting lords, and a very large kitchen, with conduits of water to the kitchen and buttery, cellar, bakehouse, and stewponds for keeping fish.'[80] This cloister area, and a tower house were still extant in the early 17th century, and were marked with Beckington's own heraldry.[81] The details of these buildings are largely lost and insufficient evidence is available currently to reconstruct them for use in an architectural comparison. A useful parallel to such provision of extra accommodation is found in the construction a new hall, parlour and tower porch at the bishop's palace at Salisbury by Beckington's contemporary Bishop Beauchamp. Beckington's Chantry Chapel is, however, still extant, and despite having been dismantled and moved at varying times in its history it is now back in its original location, to the south of the high altar. This is best described in the section below on design in the episcopate of Beckington.

In conclusion, Beckington relied heavily on the work established by his predecessors, and was happy to acknowledge his debt. His achievements are in the establishment of a structure for education and daily life at the cathedral, which involved both

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[79] *Ibid.*, 42: Oxford humanist Thomas Chaundler, also educated at Winchester College and New College became canon of Wells 1452-67, for example.

[80] Worcestre (1969), 295.

[81] See R.W. Dunning, 'The Bishop's Palace' 227-247 in Colchester (1982) for a brief history of the palace and a summary of 19th-century interpretations of the arrangements attributed to Beckington.

writing and re-writing statutes. His belief in maintaining standards and creating a well-structured environment was paralleled by his attitude to the buildings in which those affected were housed. These too had to be maintained and functional. The project that results directly from his own initiative is that of the precinct: reviving a 14th-century licence, he achieved a clear division between the town and the precinct, providing the chapter with the facilities to control entrance of townsfolk. This had been stimulated by the political upheaval and antagonism towards political clerics in the 1440s and 50s. Even in this project his holistic approach involved making provision for the town as well as the chapter, no doubt a politically expedient move to keep the lay community content with the resident bishop and cathedral chapter. This project disrupted the works to the central tower and the east range of the cloister and these were not completed until the end of the 1450s. At which time he could turn his attention to his other projects of vicars' choral and close, the cloister and grammar school. Having established the motivation and attitude of the patron, his personal intervention and the effects on the chronology of the various projects, what remains is to attempt to understand the impact of all of this on the architectural design of these projects; and what this can reveal about the status of the workshop in the middle of the century.

Architectural design at Wells in Bishop Beckington's episcopate

This section concentrates on the designs of the Penniless Porch, the Bishop's Eye, the central tower, and Beckington's Chantry Chapel. An analysis of these constructions demonstrates different sources of influence as dictated by their building type. It is hardly surprising that like building types provide the precedents for their general appearance. As the east cloister walk developed specifically cloister precedents, so the central tower makes reference to other comparable 15th-century towers in the West Country. Beckington, as patron, seems to have been the driving force behind the construction of the gatehouses and as a direct reflection of this they follow, in general form, Perpendicular college gatehouses.

By contrast, the stylistic details betray the presence of a local designer from the Wells workshop, and mark the distinction between precedent and style in 15th century

Perpendicular at Wells. The chantry chapel, like details from the gatehouses, is demonstrably derived from an inherent workshop tradition and a precedent from an earlier workshop product.

The central tower

Constructed from *c.*1315-22, the central tower gained its present form from the works of re-casing in Beckington's episcopate. It has been explained above that these works appear not to have been structural, and Nicholson's drawing demonstrates that the disposition and proportion of buttresses and window openings was inherited from the early 14th-century design (Fig. 3.9 A&B). Despite this constraint on design potential for a new tower, the work was successful in creating the impression of a late medieval great tower. The inside of the tower consists of 14th-century work and the only new work appears to have been a rather superficial application of detail to the exterior between the earlier buttresses, and the addition of a parapet and pinnacles to the top. Some of these details are derived directly from other works at Wells, the parapet of cusped triangles, for example, is a clear derivative of the east-end work, and introduces an element of continuity between new and old. In fact, it has already been suggested that this may echo the form of the tower parapet before the fire.[82] Other small details, such as the addition of miniature crenellations to the parapet and the transoms are directly inherited from later 14th-century work at the cathedral, specifically from the west towers.[83] This self-referencing by the workshop only accounts for these minor additions and the other aspects of the decorative additions suggest knowledge of other monumental crossing towers of 15th- century date.

The tower at Wells adopts paired two-centred lights with cinquefoil cusping in two rows, separated by a band of quatrefoils and crenellated transom, and surmounted by a quatrefoil within a frame of finials. The corner buttresses are finished with niches flanked by small finials set below a central pinnacle and a further set of small finials (Figs 3.9A and 3.10A). The general disposition of two levels of windows separated by a band of quatrefoils is found at Gloucester central tower of exactly contemporary date (Fig. 3.11A).[84] The fundamental differences between these two designs can be attributed to the constraints of the 14th-century work at Wells, so that Wells has three pairs of lights matching the three pairs of lancets from the earlier tower. Gloucester tower, in turn, is clearly dependent on the late 14th-century central tower at Worcester, and the similarities between these two are greater. The continuity between the upper and lower stages of design at Gloucester is also a move away from Worcester.

The nature of the alterations at Wells, which had to fit into the existing structural framework, results in a smaller scale of detail than these two precedents, and the link between the two stages at Wells is attributable rather to the 14th-century tower design and its presence of tall lancets. It is in the use of extended crocketed ogees over the window and blind tracery panels at Wells that the designers have emulated features found at the tower at Gloucester and its derivatives, for example the south porch at Northleach parish church which derives its niches from the Gloucester tower (Fig. 3.10 A&B).

The absence of local precedents for recent and monumental central towers in the South West, and by contrast the constructions in the 14th and 15th century at Worcester, Gloucester and Great Malvern, probably explain the awareness of the Gloucester design demonstrated by the Wells master. At Great Malvern Priory the Perpendicular rebuilding of the east end was terminated by the reconstruction of the central tower. Both the chancel and tower resemble Gloucester in their moulded details, suggesting a direct influence of Gloucester masons (Fig. 3.11B). At Wells the similarity to the Gloucester tower is

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[82] Nicholson (1912), 627-28.
[83] *Ibid.*, and Colchester and Harvey (1974), 210-211.
[84] Gloucester tower is usually dated to the 1450s: Welander (1991), 251.

superficial by comparison and indicates instead a more general knowledge of recent tower designs. That the Gloucester tower was known outside the Worcester diocese is shown by a group of parish churches that copied, not the wall panelling and niche work, but the more distinctive 'corona' feature.

This feature was first adopted in the urban centre of Bristol, being used at St Stephen's, dateable to the mid-15th century and situated in the city (Fig. 3.12A); and later at St John's, Dundry, on a prominent hill-site overlooking Bristol from the south (Fig. 3.12B). The adoption of the corona in the Bristol region is related to the aim of creating a visible and prestigious landmark in and around the mercantile city, exemplifying competitiveness between parishes. It is perhaps not surprising that the earlier examples are north of the Avon and in the diocese of Worcester. It is as a consequence of its appearance in Bristol that it is subsequently adopted in Somerset at St John's, Dundry (1485), St John the Baptist, Cardiff (*c.* 1490), St John's, Glastonbury (1498), and St Mary Magdalen in Taunton (1488-1514) and to the north of Bristol at St Mary's, Thornbury (*c.* 1540).[85] The differing requirements of a cathedral great tower, and a selection of urban parish churches, are reflected in this choice of disparate features from the Gloucester model.

Comparatively little detail was added to the Wells central tower in *c.* 1460, but its new appearance appears to have been highly influential in its own right. Somerset church towers have often been studied as a subject in their own right, and each author has treated the churches as a geographical grouping and divided this into sub-groups based on various criteria.[86] These criteria were assumed to be the products of teams of masons. Ground plans and pinnacle arrangement are the main criteria for Poyntz Wright, for example. Details of

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[85] Dundry is effective by virtue of its position over the harbour of Bristol, Glastonbury compensates for its relatively low-lying position by having the corona on top of the second tallest tower in Somerset.

[86] Allen (1904)A, 1-29; Poyntz Wright (1981); Harvey (1982)B, 157-83; Freeman (1852), 1-46; and Warre (1852), 47-60.

decoration form for him a subsidiary category in his attempt to link the towers to each other in 'generations'. Poyntz Wright states that 'the towers must be looked at, not in the context of great cathedral building...but within a much more local sphere.'[87] A further study of the details used on a series of Somerset towers reveals, on the contrary, that the Wells Cathedral central tower was highly significant in the transmission of style throughout the diocese. Bands of quatrefoils and lozenge parapets are examples of motifs inspired by the central tower: the former can be found on the towers of Huish Episcopi, Kingsbury Episcopi, North Petherton, Ruishton, Taunton St Mary and Shepton Beauchamp. Evercreech and Wells St Cuthbert's also have quatrefoil bands, but have a closer relationship with Wells Cathedral, as the band acts as a transom in a long window panel (Fig. 3.13 A&B). Turret pinnacles on top of the corner buttresses of St Cuthbert's in Wells, Evercreech, Wrington, and Lympsham echo those at Wells but in a simpler form. A more complex variety was adopted that has small flying buttresses from the main pinnacle to those surrounding, and can be found at Kingsbury Episcopi, Wellington, North Petheron, Hatch Beauchamp, Huish Episcopi, Ile Abbots, Staple Fitzpaine and Kingston St Mary. With the exception of St Cuthbert's, Wells, Evercreech and Wrington, all the above mentioned parish churches belong to an area that might be defined as central south Somerset, and this region seems to have the greatest amount of highly identifiable details taken from the Wells central tower. Most of these towers are of the late 15th- or early 16th century,[88] and it seems that the influence was somewhat delayed. Wrington, Evercreech and St Cuthbert's, Wells in contrast follow directly on from the completion of the central tower of the cathedral, all being dated to *c.*1460s, and as such constitute a first phase of direct influence. Those to the south of the county are instead dependent on the arrival of the details in this area, and then appear to

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[87] Poyntz Wright, (1981), 2.

[88] Taunton St Mary 1486-1514, Ruiston, 1530s, Kingsbury, Ile Abbots, Huish and North Petherton, Wellington, Staple Fitzpaine, Kingston St Mary, Hatch Beauchamp are all early 16th century according to Poyntz Wright's dates: *Ibid.*, 208, fig. 70.

largely copy each other: it is likely that Taunton St Mary was the link between Wells and the series of subsequent constructions in this locality.[89] Although this is only a brief synopsis of those towers with obvious links to the central tower at Wells,[90] it is already evident that they should be looked at in the context of the great cathedral building, as it is from there that the forms and details are gathered. Often a series of reinterpreted details are used together, and the growing tendency in the 16th century to achieve the most elaborate design can at first mask the reliance the designs have on basis elements inherited from Wells. It could be speculated that the 1460s group was carried out by the master of the Wells lodge, whereas the south Somerset churches (in this case second generation) were carried out probably by a series of masons making a visual reference to the greatest tower in the diocese.

The bishop's own projects: his precinct and chantry

The Bishop's Eye and Penniless Porch are the two most architecturally splendid of the gatehouses. The Dean's Eye is to the north west of the cathedral green does not face on to the market place, and consequently, is less highly decorated. The general form of the Bishop's Eye, with its octagonal buttresses and turrets draws on recently constructed gatehouses at colleges and universities. Beckington, educated at Winchester College and New College Oxford, would have been familiar with their gatehouses opening on to quadrangles, and these provide the likely sources. Although the choice of octagonal buttresses for the Bishop's Eye may be a reflection of those used on the gatehouse into the bishop's palace, it is notably also found as a standard feature for college gatehouses patronised by other members of the court. Old Court Gate for King's College, Cambridge (Fig. 3.14 B-D), and the outer gate at Queen's College, Cambridge of the 1440s, provide the

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[89] Both from the known dating, the fact that it is a large and prestigious church at the head of the archdeaconry attached to an impressive town church, meant that it served as model for local churches.
[90] Others have been looked at already in connection with the influence of the west towers.

most recent general precedents for alternating sculptures and windows, and octagonal buttresses.

The tracery is distinct from anything else found at Wells at this time,[91] and was probably also inspired by secular architecture, as it had already made an appearance in great halls, for example at Minster Lovell in Oxfordshire in the 1430s,[92] but was new to Somerset. It was a form that became popular for transom designs in Somerset parish churches much later in the century. The Penniless Porch uses similar features, but lacks the grandeur of the Bishop's Eye: flanked by buildings, and without buttresses and arrow loops it lacks the statement of defence (Fig. 3.14A). These general comparisons show only that the gatehouses, inevitably, were based on precedents of like building type. These particular precedents would have been known to Beckington, who may have had a precise image of what he wished to create.

The details of the Bishop's Eye, however, suggest a local mason at work. Statues on high panelled pedestals flanked by diagonal side-shafts exist on its market place elevation. The formula of using alternating statues and windows is not uncommon and can be found, for example, on the 14th-century works at both the Edgar Tower and the central tower at Worcester. The arrangement of the statues in two tiers on the Bishop's Eye can be generally likened to screen arrangements, for example, the west front of Exeter Cathedral, but more specifically the 15th-century reredos on the east wall of the north transept of St Cuthbert's church, Wells (Fig. 3.15 A-B), which has proportions similar to those of the Beckington

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[91] The tracery was replaced after the Reformation and is shown with single glazed openings in1827 by Buckler: Buckler Architectural Drawings, vol. XXIX, BM Add.ms 36,384, folio 124, 148 and 149. The panelling however was left unaltered and the replacement of the tracery to this design at some time after 1827 probably ensures its correct form. The Penniless Porch had two sash windows placed in the place of the lower two lights on the west side, the remains of the heads of these can still be seen and the current tracery is now different from the rest and may be less reliable.

[92] Minster Lovell is dated to 1431-42, see M. Wood, *The English Mediaeval House* (London, 1985), 360.

gatehouse. The St Cuthbert's reredos is documented as being by the mason John Stowell.[93] Stowell's name turns up in the list of Wells freemasons in the 1450s,[94] and it is not unreasonable to speculate that St Cuthbert's employed the master mason of the cathedral lodge to execute their stone reredos. With this in mind it may be that whilst Beckington was responsible for the general precedent of a college gatehouse, the details of the niches were the products of Stowell's designing hand.[95]

In addition, a further element of the design that owes nothing to either Beckington or court precedents is the vaulting. The vaults of both gatehouses are elaborate lierne designs. Although completely different from each other both utilise earlier West Country designs, superimposing them on other patterns to create a complex net of liernes. The Bishop's Eye has for its basic element a design previously used at St Edmund's chapel, Exeter Cathedral (*c.*1330), in combination with a stretched polygon (Fig. 3.16 i and vii). A variation of this basic design was also used in Bristol, for example in the crypt of St Nicholas' church and a more decorated version in the aisles of St Mary Redcliffe (Fig. 3.16 iv). The Bishop's Eye appears to be a development from this use, preferring extra liernes and cusping. It is to other vaults in the cathedral buildings at Wells that the Penniless Porch makes reference. A basic hexagon vault design, like that first used in the choir aisle vaults of Wells, probably in the middle of the 14th century (Fig. 3.16 iii), is used with diagonal ribs and a central square boss inherited from the cloister design of the 1420s, and a series of cusped lozenges (Fig. 3.16 vi). A further variation of this idea was used at the vicars' stair. In 1448 a vaulted porch was added to the vicars' stair, that leads from the vicars' hall into the close, and this also uses the hexagon design of the choir aisles, but with a standard tierceron vault super-imposed on to it. This series of three vault designs clearly show the dependence of the workshop on the

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[93] Harvey (1984), 286.

[94] Shilton and Holworthy, SRS (1931), 149.

innovations in lierne vaulting in the 14th century, and betray a certain introspection at this stage. Examples of vaults over single bays at other cathedral workshops with a history of lierne vaulting also show similar developments at this date. Thurbern's Chantry in Winchester College was vaulted, in about 1450, with a variation of the combined hexagon and tierceron design (Fig. 3.6 viii), and is distinguished from the vicars' stair vault in its distortion of the regular hexagons into irregular ones. This 'stretching' of regular geometric shapes in vault design is evident in the second half of the 15th century, as seen in this example and that of the Bishop's Eye, and is seen much later in the north nave aisle of Sherborne Abbey, which is discussed in a subsequent chapter.

One other vault of exactly contemporary date with these is the vault of Beckington's Chantry Chapel, which was ready for dedication by January 12, 1452 (Fig. 3.16 ix).[96] The basic form of the chapel, which is situated in the south arcade of the presbytery,[97] owes much to the chantry founded thirty years earlier by Bishop Bubwith in the nave. Details inherited from Bubwith's Chantry Chapel include the tracery, and the hanging cusping to the canopy; others, such as the use of miniature crenellations on transoms, are used in a similar way to both those on Bubwith's Chapel and the west towers of the cathedral (Fig. 3.17). Beckington's Chantry departs from Bubwith's in two significant ways. First, the presence of the effigy with open tomb chest and cadaver below, surrounded by feathered angels. Second, the canopy is no longer just panelled stone but a complex stone vault with liernes and pendants. The concept of the vault is based loosely on the lozenge ideas formulated in the early 14th century at Wells, but with greater complexity. The use of square panels in the

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[95] This 'screen-like' handling of niches, window tracery and buttresses at forty-five degrees is subsequently adopted for the Chain Gate constructed in 1459-60, and helps provide an architectural unity to this unusual building which combines a gateway function with a through passage above.

[96] Maxwell-Lyte (1934), xxxix, 175, and 178.

[97] For a brief description of the movement and re-erection of Beckington's Chantry Chapel in the 19th and 20th centuries, see G.H. Cook, *Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels* (London, repr.1948), 121-122.

central section is closest to the chancel vault of St Mary Redcliffe (Fig. 3.16 ix, and v), but this effect is masked by the presence of the extravagant pendant in the centre of each bay.

Despite the apparent variety of the vaults in this period in Wells the designs all appear to emanate from ideas of the early and late 14th century in Wells and the buildings within its influence. The only novelty in Beckington's Chapel vault is the use of pendants, a feature showing an awareness of the increasing use of pendants in the chantry chapels of the nobility in the 15th century: for example, the chantry of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Worcester in Tewkesbury Abbey (*c.* 1422), the dean's chapel, to the south of the chancel of St Mary's Warwick, and the chantry of Beckington's patron, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, in St Albans Abbey (*c.* 1441).[98] The increasing complexity of the vaults at Wells in the mid-century, demonstrate the introspective nature of the lodge at this period. Such introspection and awareness of its own traditions does not produce conservative and overused designs, but reinterprets them to produce vaults that are complex and sophisticated.

These vault designs have limited influence in the locality, and the porches and towers of the later 15th century tend to favour fan vaults instead. Lierne vault development continued in other workshops where opportunities for new vaulting were created, for example at Winchester and Sherborne. One specific and direct comparison can be made with the Penniless Porch. The single other example of this complex lierne vault is found in the Beauchamp Chapel in St Mary's Warwick. This is a well-dated building, being under construction from 1441-1462, with the building shell probably completed by *c.* 1450 (Figs 3.16 vi and 3.18 A&B). Although begun in advance of Beckington's gatehouses it seems to

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[98] Warwick Chapel erected by Lady Isabella de Despencer for his first husband Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Abergaveny and Worcester. The small chapel in St Mary's Warwick was probably built for masses for Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, or his family, who died in 1437, and was also responsible for the Beauchamp Chapel to the south of the choir. A Licence was granted to Humphrey Duke of Gloucester for endowment of his chantry, he was killed in 1447, from Cook (1948), 144, 159 and 138 respectively. For date of Duke Humphrey's Chantry Chapel see VCH Hertfordshire II (London, 1908), 494: the chapel was set up before 1450 by John Stoke on the site of an earlier tomb.

have been completed at approximately the same time. The Beauchamp Chapel, as a well-known and high prestige building, might be perceived as the influencing factor on a market place gatehouse vault; however, the Wells vault has already been shown to be a direct descendent from its own workshop tradition. The source for the design at Warwick appears, therefore to be from the West Country, although its use of ring bosses is more directly related to the chancel of St Mary's Warwick of *c.* 1370-80, than to its appearance at Wells. An option for the simultaneous appearance of this vault might be that the master of the Beauchamp Chapel copied the design from Wells, although the closeness in date makes this unlikely, and certainly impossible to prove. Other details at the Warwick, however, betray a close knowledge of the design of St Mary Redcliffe. Discussed further below the moulding links to Redcliffe are indicative of a mason with a working knowledge of both this building and the Wells precinct. This may mean that aspects of the Beauchamp Chapel were designed by a master from Wells or Bristol.

Conclusions

The workshop at Wells Cathedral in the first half of the 15th century appears to have developed a certain conservatism, through an awareness and dependence on its workshop tradition and the innovations in vaulting in the early 14th century. It has been shown that there was a significant interchange of both ideas and masons between Wells and the area of the west midlands, covering Worcester, Gloucester and Warwick particularly. The following chapter on St Mary Redcliffe provides further evidence that the Somerset diocese has direct links with the west midlands area. The nature of the building projects had a profound influence on the output of the workshop, and the necessity to find appropriate precedents not available at its own workshop was a decisive factor in its development. It has been shown that these precedents were found largely in Gloucester and Worcester, although sometimes indirectly through West Country buildings. The evidence shows not only that the Wells workshop had moved away from the London and court circle of masons, but that its own influence was directed by the types of constructions. The great church building period at

Wells was over by the middle of the 14th century, and its prestige and influence became related specifically to towers and vaults. Other buildings took over from Wells in the development of church building, and in the locality, whilst Wells carried on with its cloister and towers, major new projects were underway at both Bristol and Sherborne. A period of enforced conservatism was directly related to the construction of the west range of the cloister and the north-west tower, and is demonstrated in the lack of new mouldings developed at Wells during this period.

The motivation and intentions of the two patrons have been discussed and have shown that Bubwith was responsible for the destruction of a large amount of 13th-century fabric, for both the library and north-west tower projects. The latter was solely for the purposes of an architecturally unified west front. The gatehouses and precinct buildings were constructed by Beckington in the 1450s, as his own response to civil unrest. Inconsistencies in earlier chronologies have been addressed, and it has been argued that Beckington prioritised his precinct works at the expense of the completion of the central tower and cloister, but that he returned in the later 1450s to tidying and organising the statutes and buildings of the cathedral. It has also been proposed that these underrated precinct buildings may provide the most significant links available between the workshop at Wells and the Beauchamp Chapel, one of the most prestigious private chapels of the 15th century.

During the period of 1360 to 1465 at Wells the move away from building the cathedral-church led to a change in the nature of the workshop and its approach to creativity. The period at Wells is largely one of continuity. The building projects described above have demonstrated that an interchange of ideas existed between the dioceses of Bath and Wells and that of Worcester, and that the workshop at Wells was dependent on the innovations of the early 14th century in the construction of the east end of the cathedral. Although the development of precedents in cloister and tower design has been shown, the cathedral workshop has contributed little in the area of moulding design in this period. The absence of church building negated the opportunity for this development at Wells itself, and it is in the constructions of St Mary Redcliffe and Sherborne Abbey that the development of mouldings and church elevation design in the early Perpendicular period can be analysed. In the following two chapters these buildings are examined in detail. The subsequent analysis of their sources and influence, within the context of building at Wells Cathedral and at parish churches in the locality, contributes to our understanding of the nature of stylistic transmission in the region.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Late Medieval Reconstruction of St Mary Redcliffe, Bristol

The church of St Mary Redcliffe is situated in the parish of Bedminster and Redcliffe, within the diocese of Bath and Wells. A number of obvious differences exist between the context for this building and for those discussed in the previous two chapters. With the absence of status associated with the seat of the bishop, and the lack of collegiate foundation, Redcliffe has no documented ecclesiastical patron associated with its late medieval rebuilding. Its size and scale, however, necessitate comparison on architectural terms with cathedral and great monastic churches, and it stands apart from any other parish church in the diocese. Its urban location creates a further divide between the works of both Wells Cathedral workshop and the surrounding rural parish churches. Such grand architectural ventures are not uncommon in prosperous mercantile towns in the late Middle Ages: Hull, Boston, Newark, Nottingham and Coventry are all examples of large scale Perpendicular churches in urban environments. Redcliffe competes in its scale and degree of elaboration will all of these, and can perhaps be best compared to the great urban churches on the continent: as a major port Bristol was in direct contact via trade with these so-called 'burgher cathedrals'.[1] Considering the amount of documentation that survives regarding the commercial activities of major merchants in this city, the busiest port in Britain, it is surprising that St Mary Redcliffe is so badly served by useful documents. It was as early as 1813 that Britton said: 'in examining the history of the church of Redcliffe the inquirer is alternately confounded by the opposite statements of different historians and topographers; discouraged by the absence of all satisfactory information and perplexed amidst the mazes of

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[1] Wilson (1990), 216-217.

falsehood and forgery.'[2] Rather than an increase in clarity regarding the patronage and design of St Mary Redcliffe since Britton, the restorations in the second half of the 19th century, and the subsequent accounts of its history have served only to complicate further an understanding of the church.

With regard to Redcliffe, as the most impressive parish church in the region, this chapter aims to assess three things: the building sequence of the late medieval church through an analysis of the archaeology and architectural details of the standing fabric; the wider context for its design and the potential source for the designing masons; and the documentary evidence that has contributed to the current understanding of the building history. What evidence do we really have for the nature of the patronage and the design of this building?

The church itself comprises a great tower at its north-west corner, attached to an aisled, cruciform church with clerestorey and stone vaulting throughout (Fig. 4.1). In plan, the present church has a number of features associated with cathedral building, not least the staggered east end with ambulatory and Lady chapel, and the double-aisled transepts (Fig. 4.2). Salisbury provided a model for this east-end plan in the early 13th century, but no other local building could have provided a source for the use of double-aisled transepts. Winchester and St Paul's Cathedrals, for example, may have provided the ultimate source for this feature in England. The majority of the surviving building is attributed to either the 14th or 15th century, and the view from the north demonstrates the architectural consistency of the reconstruction of the main body of the church, with only the north porch and west tower standing out as separate campaigns.[3] The north porch is attributed to before *c.*1320, and is

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[2] Britton (1813)B, 3.

[3] For reference source for all relevant mouldings at Redcliffe, including the tower arcade and north porch see dossier B.

added to an existing porch (*c.*1190-1200) leading directly into the nave of the church.[4] The tower was constructed in the late 13th century, and is comparable in scale and design to the early 14th-century crossing towers of Salisbury Cathedral and St Mary's Oxford. From the south side of the church it is immediately evident that the south porch, associated nave aisle and south transept are not part of the homogeneous rebuilding of the rest of the church. It is on this side of the building that the majority of the archaeology survives, and where the analysis of the building sequence will be started.

The main body of the church is here defined as the central aisle of the nave, north nave aisle, north transept, choir and choir aisles, ambulatory and Lady chapel, based on the overall impression of consistent design throughout these areas. It is the reconstruction of the main body of the church that has been attributed to the patronage of the Canynges family, a wealthy merchant family in Bristol in the 14th and 15th centuries. The Canynges' involvement is attributed to a period from 1374 to the mid-15th century, and this attribution and the validity of its documentary foundation will be discussed after the earlier building sequence has been established.

Wells, Bristol and Redcliffe: lodges and workshop influences

Having seen the development of a lodge at a cathedral site as the primary source of training masons in the region, often with named patrons, and in some instances designers identified for specific campaigns, what evidence is there for masons' activity in and around Redcliffe? This question addresses the issue of evidence for the physical presence of a working lodge linked to the church, and that of the workshop allegiances of the masons or master mason, that ultimately influence the output of that lodge. Bristol, as a city, cannot be identified as 'a workshop' in the way seen at Wells, and the large and diverse amount of

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[4] Constructed as a vestibule to the north porch, which acted as the focus for the cult, the outer porch is extremely unusual in being hexagonal in plan. Local sources for some of the details have been

stone building that occurred must have been the product of a number of major lodges around the city. One would expect a lodge at the abbey church of St Augustine's, now Bristol Cathedral, to have been full of activity during the first half of the 14th century, and with additional works continuing on the crossing and transepts in the late 15th century. Evidence for a lodge in the Redcliffe area is extant, but this refers mainly to repair work to the 'backes' in 1448. This work consisted of freestone repairs to the edges of the river-side and the slip.[5] Worcestre, however, referred to a lodge at Redcliffe, suggesting he saw a group of working masons in a dedicated building.[6] It is likely that a well-established lodge associated with the church would service the surrounding area for dock and city repairs.

Although it may be expected that Redcliffe would have a lodge associated with it during and after the major reconstruction, how did this relate to other lodges in the region? It has already been pointed out that design aspects of the north porch make direct reference to the tombs at St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol, and can be related to doors at Berkeley Castle, and St David's Cathedral. This particular stylistic conceit appears to be derived ultimately from north of the river, probably from the abbey, and adopted by masons working at Redcliffe in the first years of the 14th century. The most obvious explanation might be that a mason working at the cathedral was employed to provide the designs for the Redcliffe porch. Discussion concerning the relative roles of the Wells workshop and architectural design at various buildings in Bristol has been the focus of earlier literature: Pevsner, for example, has discussed the influence of a 'Bristol lodge', whilst Harvey has sought to identify certain

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identified and these include the tomb recesses in the choir of St Augustine's Abbey: see Alexander and Binski (1987), 413, catalogue entry 490.

[5] Adams's *Chronicle of Bristol written 1623-48* (Bristol, 1910), 66, folio 93.

[6] D. Dallaway, *Antiquities of Bristow in the Middle Centuries; including the Topography of William Worcestre and the Life of William Canynges* (Bristol, 1834), 64: Worcestre takes a measurement from the street of Redcliffe Hill to the house of the freemasons for building Redcliffe church.

masons' styles with early careers in Bristol.[7] Designs that appear to have originated at Wells have been identified in buildings in and around Bristol, including the chapel at Berkeley Castle and the south porch of St Mary Redcliffe. Both of these have been attributed to William Joy, who was master mason at Wells from *c.*1329 to *c.*1342,[8] and Harvey has interpreted this as meaning that Joy was trained at Bristol. The evidence for Joy's career seems to imply that he worked with Thomas of Witney at Winchester; that he then followed Witney to Wells to construct the main elevation of the choir; and then to Exeter, where he was responsible for parts of the west front.[9] The sources for the features identified by Morris have been shown to be associated with Witney attributed works, for example in the retrochoir at Wells Cathedral.[10]

Evidence exists to suggest that Redcliffe's stylistic dependence on the Wells workshop continued for the construction of the main body of the church. The development of the south side of the building demonstrates a variety of influences at different phases, which must be attributed to changing master masons over a relatively short period. It will be further demonstrated that this rapid succession of stylistic changes exists only for the first half of the 14th century, contrasting with the overall approach to the subsequent complete rebuilding of the church. It is the combination of the consistent design, the attribution to the Canynges family and the works assumed to be related to the collapse of the spire in the middle of the 15th century, that seems to be responsible for the current perception of the building's architectural history and chronology. Although links with the Wells workshop are evident, the work at Redcliffe becomes influential as a source of designs in its own right,

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[7] Pevsner (1953), 89-93: he mentions a 'Bristol Lodge' and its influence on Gloucester; Harvey more specifically suggests that Joy's work was markedly in the Bristol manner, and that he probably trained at St Augustine's Abbey; Harvey (1984), 165.

[8] Morris in BAACT Bristol (1997), 43-46 for Joy and Witney; and 49-51 for Joy at Berkeley.

[9] Draper and Morris in Crook (1993), 185.

[10] This could mean, in fact, that Joy was trained under Witney, as the period of his work at Winchester, Wells, and Exeter covers a period of over twenty-five years.

both for other major buildings in the locality, for example the crossing and transepts at St Augustine's Abbey, and for a wealth of parish churches in North Somerset.

Redcliffe church has been seen by some as a building with many 14th-century additions, but with the prestigious and influential upper stages of the elevation, including triforium panelling and clerestory tracery, attributed to the mid-15th century. This has been based on the references to the collapse of the spire in *c.*1445, after which it has been thought that these upper stages were rebuilt or completed.[11] The appearance of the sub-reticulated design in Somerset from the 1360s (see Yeovil parish church in Chapter Two), with this late dating for Redcliffe, would imply that at Redcliffe the tracery pattern was copied from a standard format from local parish churches. The following analysis of the design of the church will establish instead that the elevation was part of a single design, completed long before the spire's collapse, and that the vague and inconclusive arguments for a separate and later campaign for the upper stages are nonsensical.

Building Sequence - the development of a great church

It is clear that the scale of Redcliffe church did not originate with the late medieval rebuilding. Remains of late 12th-century fabric on the present west front and the survival of the inner north porch, combine to indicate that the church was of approximately its present width from this relatively early date (Fig. 4.3A). The 13th-century tower, which must have been added to a church of significant proportions,[12] provides the only archaeological evidence relating to the Early English structure that was otherwise completely replaced by the present church.[13] That this was a church of grand proportions is supported by evidence

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[11] Harvey (1978), 217, for example, acknowledges the 'notoriously vague dates' for Redcliffe, but attributes the upper stages of the elevation to a design of the 1440s in response to the damage cause by the collapse of the spire.

[12] Or possibly to a church that was about to be rebuilt in such as scale.

[13] Its position, in the north-west corner of the site probably indicates that there were always fears about the stability of the crossing and the support of the north transept: the land falls away to the

that the church was fully vaulted in stone in the 13th century. A scar on the south wall of the tower, below the present vault, shows the arches of vaulting bays, which suggests a vault of about forty feet (Fig. 4.3B). Remains of stiff-leaf decoration running down the corner of the south-west buttress of the tower are visible inside the nave roof space, with a corbel head and the beginning of a string course below. The deliberate truncation of this decoration below the corbel head is a further indication of the original height of the roof (Fig. 4.4). These details appear to have been protected from the 19th-century restoration of the tower's external stonework.

Stone vaults in parish churches are not uncommon in the South West, but those examples quoted by Hoey do not include fully stone-vaulted parish churches, but rather vaulted chapels or chancels.[14] It is likely that if the nave at Redcliffe had been vaulted in stone, the transepts and choir would also have had stone vaults. The majority of the churches discussed by Hoey are unaisled and vaulted chancels, but with two notable exceptions: the prosperous port towns of New Shoreham and Hythe, which both have fully stone vaulted and aisled chancels.[15] Precedents such as these support a hypothesis that Redcliffe was a 13th-century church of grand proportions, possibly consisting of an aisled chancel with eastern aisles to the transepts and completely vaulted in stone.[16]

To this 13th-century church was added a new south transept, a new south nave wall and a south porch. Although these were early 14th-century additions, and therefore strictly outside the scope of this thesis, the chronology and workshop context for these works is a necessary precursor to an appreciation of the main body of the church. Despite the simplistic

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north of the church and the present building compensates for this through the construction of a deep undercroft.

[14] L. Hoey, 'Stone Vaults in English Parish Churches in the Early Gothic and Decorated Periods', CXLVII, *BAAJ* (1994), 37, 39 and 40.

[15] *Ibid.*, 37.

[16] Vaulted eastern aisles to transepts are found in other parish churches in combination with an unaisled choir: see *ibid.*, 38.

impression that these were the result of three distinct campaigns, an assessment of the evident building breaks and stylistic development suggests a more complicated series of reconstructions. A considerable part of the later designs are inherently related to the features established in these earlier phases, and as such the sources for these are important. In fact, it is largely through an understanding of the similarities and differences between these early phases and the main body of the church that the sources for the major campaign can be identified.

The south side - rebuilding in the first half of the 14th century

Three building-breaks are identifiable on the south side of the building, occurring at three of the four corners of the south transept. An analysis of changes in window design and moulding details in this area suggest a series of phased alterations (Figs 4.5 and 4.6). It will be demonstrated that the west aisle of the new transept was completed before the arrival of the designer who rebuilt the rest of the transept in its present form. Yet it was details from this relatively minor addition that were influential in the formation of the aisle design favoured for the later rebuilding of the whole church. The three building-breaks have been identified here as the points of distinctive change in moulded details, and are therefore considered indicative of separate phases. These breaks result in the separation of the south side of the church into four successive campaigns of rebuilding: the west aisle of the south transept, the south nave aisle wall (Fig. 4.7B), the south porch (Fig. 4.7A), and the main body of the transept with its eastern aisle (Fig. 4.8).

The most readily identifiable changes are those of window tracery and wall height. Low segmental-headed windows with intersecting tracery in the west aisle of the south transept contrast with larger four-centred windows in the adjacent south nave aisle. Differences in the height of these two aisles, and the designs of the plinths are also immediately apparent. The meeting of these two aisles is identified here as 'break one'. The corner of the west aisle of the transept with the south wall of the transept is 'break two', where the plinth details remain consistent but the tracery design and some moulding details are new. At the north-east corner of the south transept a further set of distinctive changes occur in mouldings between the east wall of the transept and the south chancel aisle, marking 'break three' (see Figs 4.5 and 4.6). A progression of the use and adaptation of a series of templates is evident from an analysis of the mouldings used for these successive phases.

The west wall of the south transept appears to be the first phase of works to this side of the building. The south wall of the nave abuts this wall, rather than the other way round, and it uses a distinct set of mouldings (identified on Fig. 4.5 as B1 C2 M1 V1(a) J2, see also Fig. 4.6). This aisle was added to the 13th-century transept to create additional altar space, and its height probably reflects the height of the 13th-century nave aisle and possibly a 13th-century east aisle to the transept. Precedents for 13th- and 14th-century churches with eastern transept aisles are found at Patrington, Amesbury, Sompting and Wareham St Mary.[17] Its internal details consist of a three-part jamb, a double chamfer with angled rebate for the mullion, a roll and ogee moulding and a wave for the frame (Fig. 4.9 iii). The origins and development of this mullion have already been described,[18] where it was shown to be related to a series of similar designs in Bristol and around Wells throughout the 14th century, and could be perceived as an alternative to its simpler predecessor, the double or stepped chamfer, which was used for the north porch at Redcliffe. On the exterior the same mullion is used, accompanied only by the wave moulding of the frame (Fig. 4.9 iv). Relatively simple bases and capitals are used for this wall and a vault respond of three rolls separated by chamfers is favoured (Figs 4.6, V1(a), and 4.10 ii and v). The tracery of the transept west aisle, consisting of intersecting lancets would be consistent with an early 14th-century date, probably within the first third of the century (Figs 4.11 i and 4.7B). At the south-west corner of the transept a notable change occurs; the tracery is no longer a simple intersecting design, but a three-light window with batement lights, subdivided into a repeat of the main pattern,

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[17] *Ibid.*

and this form of 'sub-reticulated' tracery uses ogee headed lights (Figs 4.7A and 4.11 ii). At this corner, the design of the bases alters slightly, and the interior mullion also changes to an axial roll-and-fillet, flanked by small hollow chamfers and straight chamfers (Figs 4.10 vi and 4.9 v-vi). These changes are maintained for the rest of the transept. With the single exception of the south transept main window, which uses a double version of mullion 'M2' to provide the necessary articulation for the tracery design (M4, see Fig. 4.6). Three possible explanations might account for a change of details at this point: either that the west aisle was replacing an earlier one, and the west wall was reconstructed abutting a 13th-century south wall; or that at some point after the completion of the west aisle, when it was decided to reconstruct completely the transept, the south wall of this aisle was rebuilt to create a symmetrical south transept façade; or that the south transept was intended to be completely replaced, beginning with a new western aisle, and that a change in the planned design occurred at the point identified as 'break two'. The east aisle of the transept adapts the sub-reticulated and newly introduced design at 'break two', to a four-light, segmental arch version, as if by way of a concession to the earlier west aisle design with its segmental rere-arch.

Whilst the changes in moulded details are relatively minor between these two phases, suggesting a conscious retention of templates from the earlier design, the south nave wall, by contrast, uses a much more complex set of mouldings. Whilst the mullion is the same (as the double chamfer with angled rebate), the jamb is formed from a complex series of details, consisting of a demi-roll-and-fillet, a small roll flanked by two chamfers, an asymmetrical unit of ogee and fillet basis, a hollow chamfer, wave moulding for the frame and small hollow in the adjacent wall plane (Fig. 4.9 i). Externally the mullion is repeated with a simpler jamb of raised chamfer, hollow chamfer and demi-roll-and-fillet (Fig. 4.9 ii).

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[18] See Chapter One, and for more details Chapter Five.

This aisle is dated to *c.* 1325 by Pevsner, because of the curved ribs of the aisle vault,[19] and has been attributed, with the south nave arcade, to William Joy of Wells Cathedral.[20] Little evidence suggests that the south nave arcade and south aisle vault, however, should be associated with the campaign to up-date the south aisle wall. Archaeological evidence in the form of the south nave aisle capitals suggest the vault was added to an existing vault respond and capital: that is, the addition of a polygonal member with Perpendicular foliage on the top of the Decorated capital appears to be an afterthought (Figs 4.10 i and 4.12A). This added feature compensates for the small size of the original capital and must be part of the vaulting of this aisle after the construction of the south transept and the south nave arcade later in the 14th century. In the wall of this aisle are two tomb recesses (see Fig. 4.12A), which are part of the group of hexagonal tomb and door shapes in Bristol already referred to and exemplified by the north porch of Redcliffe, dated *c.* 1320. Although these suggest the possibility that masons from north of the river were used for this specialist aspect of the wall, the design of the window jamb bears no resemblance to works from the lodge of St Augustine's Abbey. The series of mouldings that constitute the window jamb of this aisle is an unusual one, and as a complete formation is closely reminiscent of the interior window jamb of the Lady chapel at Wells Cathedral, dateable to *c.* 1320 (Fig. 4.13 vii-viii). Executed by Thomas of Witney the jambs of this chapel comprise rolls with angular fillets axially placed, separated by a small roll. At Redcliffe this form has been very slightly adapted with the introduction of a prominent ogee form. Further evidence that the designer of the south nave wall at Redcliffe was from the Wells Cathedral lodge is found in the exterior profile: although simple in comparison to the interior jamb the use of the raised fillet can be matched by a similar use in the east end of the cathedral at Wells, seen in the continuous jamb arch of the choir clerestory (Figs 4.9 ii and see 4.25 vii D).

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[19] Pevsner (1953), 91.

[20] Morris in BAACT Exeter (1991), 73, and note 77.

The south porch has been attributed to William Joy, Witney's successor at Wells, on the basis of a number of comparisons with work attributed to Joy at Wells Cathedral, Ottery St Mary and the chapel at Berkeley Castle.[21] Joy was made master mason at Wells by 1329 and had probably died by 1352. He was at Ottery between 1338 and 1342, and the inserted orders at Wells must post-date the 1338 document that refers to the instability of the tower. Considering the close nature of the comparisons between these different building campaigns, the porch at Redcliffe could reasonably be dated to *c.*1340 (see Fig. 4.13 i-vi). In responding to the Lady chapel at Wells, the south nave aisle at Redcliffe does not relate directly to Joy's own work; and a re-interpretation of the window jamb could be carried out by any mason trained in the workshop under Witney.[22] The choice of the Lady chapel jambs as a precedent for the Redcliffe aisle, however, may indicate that this was the most recently completed campaign at Wells. With this in mind, the south nave aisle at Redcliffe should be dated to before the choir and choir aisles at Wells. The south porch was then apparently added to the aisle and this displays features, which can be specifically related to Joy's other works. Evidence exists to suggest that Joy was already at Wells, working with Witney before being made master mason,[23] and therefore it is reasonable to assume that Joy was responsible for the outer wall of the south nave aisle and the south porch.

One anomaly in the design of the south nave aisle is the window tracery. The basic design is very close to that in the east aisle of the south transept, with the additional presence of super-mullions continuing from the central batement light to reach the frame (Fig. 4.11 iii-v). This kind of detail would normally be considered a Perpendicular rather than Decorated stylistic conceit. A reference to the possible replacement of these windows is first recorded

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[21] See particularly the Lady chapel mouldings and fittings at Ottery, and the mouldings of the inner door jamb and arch of the Redcliffe porch. These are almost identical to those used for the added moulded order, in the eastern arches of Wells Cathedral nave. Further comparisons can be made between the niches on the outside of the porch at Redcliffe and the sedilia at Ottery.

[22] It is the change in handling of the features that suggests this work is after Witney, rather than by him.

in 1789, by Barrett, who suggests the fall of the spire necessitated refenestration: 'the south aisle, where the mischief fell heaviest seems to have been rebuilt with a somewhat more elevated arch and in a lighter style than the north'.[24] The problem with this reference is how to interpret Barrett's reasoning. Is he suggesting the spire collapsed on the south side of the building only because the windows are different from the rest of the building; or, is he referring to archaeological evidence no longer visible after the thoroughness of the Victorian and 20th-century restorations?[25] Unfortunately, no early 18th-century (or pre-Barrett) views of this side of the church seem to exist,[26] and the extant antiquarian engravings represent the windows in their present form.[27] Considering the difference in the detail in the head of the window it is likely that these windows post-date those used for the rest of the building. The replacement of the south nave aisle windows after the middle of the 15th century would work well chronologically after the reconstruction of the main church (and the jambs, of course would remain from the earlier construction), the opportunity being provided, by the

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[23] See Harvey (1984), 164-5; and Draper in BAACT Wells (1981), 26.

[24] W. Barrett, *The History and Antiquities of the City of Bristol: compiled from original records and authentic manuscripts* (Bristol, 1789), 570-571.

[25] Barrett's other comments referred to below concerning the spire collapse and the extent of the damage are highly questionable, and it is equally possible that he is misquoting an earlier manuscript source about damage to the south aisle. It is only a comment by George Pryce in 1854 that lends weight to Barrett's comment. For fuller explanation of this see below.

[26] Barrett's own engraving of the church is also of the north side, and Turner's water-colour of the south porch, although showing the tracery as it is now, is post Barrett. (Turner painted the church on visits to Bristol in 1791-2, now in Bristol City Art Gallery). Reports of early 18th-century restorations exist: in 1709 reference is made to payment of masons for scraping of blocks and much glass replacement; P/St MR/ChW 3 (a) in Bristol Record Office (BRO). There is also a contract for the rebuilding of two windows of St Mary Redcliffe in March 1792, but notably it states that 'all new mullions to be formed of similar materials and of the like pattern with the present windows and correspondent with those adjoining thereto that the jambs shall be dovetailed', P/St MR/ChW 7(d) in BRO.

[27] Smith (1995), 60. Britton (1813)B, plate V shows half of a four-light window adjacent to the south porch before the alterations that removed the construction attached to the east side of the porch, the design correlates with the present one. A slight complication may be added by the representation of the easternmost window of the south aisle from the interior in Britton's plate XI which he shows as a three light window, this is in fact a four-light window with one light blocked by the west aisle of the south transept. It is possible that Britton was using artistic licence as the window is shown in its present form in an engraving by Blore of 1824 (Memoirs of Bristol).

spire damage, for the windows to be made consistent with the rest of the building.[28] If this was the case, then this raises the inevitable question of the appearance of the original windows. The choir aisle windows at Wells, carried out whilst Joy was master mason include both ogee reticulated designs and the use of a three-light vesica design (Fig. 4.11 ix). That some form related to the vesica pattern was used at Redcliffe might explain the use of sub-reticulated version of this for the east aisle of the south transept.

In summary, the three phases identified as the west aisle of the south transept, the south porch, and the south nave aisle, were all carried out by *c.* 1340, and although the mouldings of the aisle and porch are distinct from one another, their source can be traced to the same workshop. The south transept aisle uses a simplification of the multi-part moulding profile of the south nave aisle, but retaining the mullion and the wave moulding for the frame (Fig. 4.9 v-vi). The construction of the choir aisles at Wells Cathedral demonstrates several phases in the differences of its mouldings, and the three furthest west windows of the north side use three-part jambs of type comparable to the Redcliffe south transept, and an evident simplification of the earlier forms. Although slightly complicated by the ambiguity over the tracery design for the south nave aisle, the progress of construction at Redcliffe, therefore, appears to have been a new south nave aisle, followed by a special south porch, with designers from the Wells workshop being employed. This two-phase project was abutted onto the recently completed west aisle of the south transept, necessitating the slight misalignment of the easternmost vault respond in order to avoid the existing return of the transept west wall. It was at some stage after the south porch campaign, that a decision was made to rebuild the south transept completely.

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[28] In the absence of confirming evidence to Barrett's implications it is impossible to be certain about these windows, there appear to be no early 18th-century views of the south side of the nave, most antiquarian drawings are of the south east or more commonly the north side of the church.

The main part of the south transept (phase four) consists of the main elevation and clerestory windows, south wall with feature window, and eastern aisle. There is evidence that Wells designers were no longer used, and a combination of evidence exists to suggest designers with knowledge of London workshops and the contemporary rebuilding at the east-end of St Augustine's, Bristol. Aside from these two potential sources of influence, a considerable reference to the earlier works is maintained. Although this may appear to create a conflict for potential sources it is likely that the distinction is explained by the presence of a new designer, and the local input of masons in the handling and execution of a new design.

Wilson has noticed connections between this transept design and the work of Old St Paul's chapter house and cloister in London, executed by William Ramsey *c.*1332. He has drawn attention to the handling of the spandrels and the use of crenellations in the tracery as related details (Figs 4.11 vi and 4.12B), and has suggested that the general tracery of the clerestory and the south window of the transept show a close knowledge of distinctive works associated with Ramsey, at for example, Ely, and the choir at Lichfield. His suggested date in the 1340s is based on this relationship.[29] Wilson's observation that the designer came from the London workshops may be supported by the profiles of the mullion at clerestory level. As a particularly distinctive moulding, its use of small waves flanking the axial roll (Fig. 4.14 i) can be most closely related to the mullions at Old St Paul's and St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster (Fig. 4.14 ii-iii). Less closely related examples are found in the vault ribs of St Augustine's, Bristol, and the Pulpitum at Exeter (Fig. 4.14 iv-vi).[30]

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[29] Wilson PhD (1979), 314.

[30] Not untypical in the first half of the 14th century in West Country buildings, for example it is also found as an arch over respond in the south porch of the west front of Exeter Cathedral. The pulpitum (1317-1325), with its Purbeck detailing of a roll flanked by small waves, was designed by Witney, who, with experience of the Court workshop himself this could support the notion of a common influence. It also suggests that by 1320 this feature had been introduced into the West Country, and its appearance thirty years later at Bristol need not be directly related to the original court source.

It has been already indicated that the aisle elevation of the transept owes much of its detailing to the earlier west aisle. The window jamb and frame moulding for the interior profile is retained, as is the mullion and jamb for the exterior. A minor change in this set is restricted to the replacement of the earlier mullion with a version using an axial roll (Fig. 4.6 M1 and M2). Slight variations in the bases and the vaults responds are also apparent, and all these changes are consistently used for the rest of the south transept (Fig 4.6 V2 and B3). Other aspects of the lower parts of the elevation of the main arcade suggest the input of local masons. In the reconstruction of the east end of St Augustine's the pier profile consists of two ogees, separated by a deep hollow: the pier design of the transept consists of a similar triple shaft respond, and comparable arrangement of ogees separated by a hollow. In the design of the arcade of the transept the asymmetrical ogees relate to the arrangement of the corner respond in the south porch at Redcliffe (Fig. 4.14 vii-ix). The high vault of the transept also takes its lead from the south porch, as do a number of details relating to the tracery design. Not only is the use of double cusping, found in the tracery of the clerestory of the transept, seen first on the cusping of the niches on the south front of the porch; but additionally the porch has cinquefoil ogee cusps, as well as ogee cusped sexfoils, which prefigure the handling of the ogee quatrefoils that border the three tracery lights of the clerestory (Fig. 4.15 A&B).[31]

The tracery pattern, however, makes no reference to earlier works at Redcliffe. Petal designs, used for the south transept window, had been used for the aisles of St Augustine's, as had traceried transoms. At Redcliffe, the petal patterns are of a more 'flowing' form, closer to those favoured for the east window of the Ely Lady chapel, but the transoms are complex and could be developments from the petal-like transom details of the east window of the Lady chapel of St Augustine's, Bristol (Figs 4.16 A and 4.11 viii). The clerestory

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[31] Sexfoils with ogee cusps had been used earlier in the region in the tracery of the Wells Cathedral

windows are obviously related to the three-light windows at the south ends of the transept aisles: these may be referring to the lost windows of the south nave aisle, or represent a break with the earlier traditions of the building (Fig. 4.11 ii and vi). Copying this design for the clerestory, and framing it with a quatrefoil device may be an attempt to relate the new windows to three-light lancet windows of the 13th-century church, whilst still achieving an enlarged area of glass. Although this has been directly related to works associated with Ramsey, it is worth considering that some of the details in the practices of London based masons could be easy to copy. Evidence suggests that a series of features associated with a Ramsey workshop is found around the country. Quatrefoils are used at Mildenhall east window (Fig. 4.16B), for example, and the Bishop's Eye at Lincoln uses a variation of the Lichfield device of framing the tracery. Similarly the Witney 'fishscale pattern' is found around a tall central light in the transept windows of Exeter Cathedral (Fig. 4.16C).

As Wilson highlights, the south transept is a highly inventive and original design and shows some signs of awareness of London workshop practices. However, it has been shown that the aisle elevations are related to the earlier works of the south nave aisle and west transept aisle at Redcliffe and contemporary developments at St Augustine's Abbey. Furthermore, some of the details of the arcading and tracery appear to have been anticipated by the south porch of Redcliffe, which was completed immediately before the start of the south transept. Unlike the earlier campaigns this part of the building appears to owe nothing to the Wells workshop.

It seems the new transept corresponded in width and height to its 13th-century predecessor, thereby providing an idea of the height of the original nave to which it was attached. The difference between this and the height of the present church is seen in the necessity to increase the height of the wall above the clerestory windows in order to link it

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chapter house, of after 1288.

with the later, and loftier, medieval church (see Figs 4.7B and 4.8B). From this and the evidently phased nature of these campaigns, there was apparently no intention at this stage to reconstruct the rest of the 13th-century church.

It has been established that four phases of work occurred on the south side of the church in the first half of the 14th century; work which seems to have followed on soon after the completion of the north porch. All these phases appear to have been completed by the mid-century and at some stage after this the new church was planned. Initial visual comparison suggests the new design took little or no account of the south transept. It will be shown, however, that the aisle design stems firmly from the early 14th-century structures, primarily the south transept; and a closer look at the upper elevation will also reveal the details retained and discarded by the new designer responsible for the main church.

The Reconstruction of St Mary Redcliffe: documents, dating and design

In contrast to the piecemeal progress around the south side of the building, after the completion of the south transept an entirely new scheme was begun. This ambitious project constituted the complete reconstruction of the rest of the church. There can be little doubt that the church of Redcliffe was rebuilt with money made from the merchant trade of the nearby docks, and its prominent location close to the river and outside the walls (Fig. 4.17) has led to it being described as 'in effect a millionaires' suburb'.[32] References survive, largely in wills, to merchants' connections with the church, yet none as to the form of patronage or the potential employment of masons for the reconstruction. As a result, the late medieval history of the building has been based upon the assumed patronage of the Canynges family, wealthy merchants and ship owners of the late 14th and 15th centuries. Documentary references to two members of this family have generally been used as the basis for the presently accepted dating and sequence of reconstruction. This chapter contends that the Canynges' family contribution is a myth, and has prevented an accurate assessment of the architectural evidence of St Mary Redcliffe.

William Canynges the Elder was a successful merchant in the late 14th century, during the most prosperous period of Bristol's medieval history, and his grandson, William Canynges the Younger, was a ship-builder of significant wealth and status; both became mayors of Bristol, the Younger Canynges as many as five times.[33]

Documents and Historical Tradition

Four references have been used to construct the building chronology, of which three relate directly to these two men. The first is in Ricart's Calendar: a sentence under the entry 'William Canynges [the Elder] mayor', states that in 1376 Canynges completed the body of the church 'from the cross aisle downwards'.[34] The second, which is cited as being from Fosbrooke's manuscripts, states that in '...1441 William Canynges...with the help of others of...the town of Bristol, kept masons and workmen to repair, edifye, cover and glaze the church of Redcliffe, which his grandfather founded in the days of Edward III'.[35] The third, which mentions a storm in 1445 as being responsible for the collapse of the spire, is found in William Worcestre's *Itinerary* and Adams' 17th-century chronicle of Bristol.[36] The fourth, a charter of sale in the Great Red Book of Bristol for the year 1483 refers to William Canynges

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[32] Wilson (1992), 216-217.

[33] For the most thorough work on Canynges see Williams (1950) and J. Sherborne, *William Canynges 1402-74*, Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, (1985). The elder Canynges, active in the 14th century is referred to as Canynges the Elder, his grandson, active in the 15th century is referred to as Canynges, or William Canynges throughout the rest of the chapter

[34] L. Toulmin-Smith, ed. *The maire of bristowe is kalendar by Robert Ricart town clerk of Bristol, 18 Edward IV*, Campden Society, NS, V (1872), 36. The manuscript is held at the Bristol Record Office, BRO 04720(1) a, see fol.101: 'This yere William Canynges builded the bodye of Redclyf church, from the crosee Iles downewardes. And so ye church was ffynished as it is nowe'.

[35] Britton (1813)B, 8, suggests the source as a manuscript of the history of Bristol in the possession of Revd. T. Dudley Fosbrooke. Williams (1950), 80-81 note 1, identifies a whole series of manuscripts using this phrase from the mid-17th to the 19th century.

[36] Worcestre (1969), 131; and Adams (1910): 'This year Redcliffe Steeple in Bristoll was thrown down by a thunderclap which did much harm in other places', 66, fol. 93.

as 'the renovator and as it were in other respects founder and among others a very special benefactor of the church of Redcliffe'.[37]

Two stages of major rebuilding at the church are associated with these two members of the Canynges family. A local tradition has favoured the notion that the Elder Canynges reconstructed the nave, and that his grandson was responsible for the upper stages of the church. Writers on the architecture of the church have continued to accept these traditions, which has led to confusion about the progress of construction and subsequently the dates of particular design features. The impression provided by such secondary literature has implied some kind of break in the elevation design and building or a staggered reconstruction of the main body of the church.[38]

The myth concerning the level of Canynges the Younger's involvement with the rebuilding of the church was further perpetuated by the work of Chatterton in the 17th century, whose prose enlarged any already extant tradition.[39] Subsequently the tradition was further fuelled by the foundation of the William Canynges Society. Founded in 1848 to raise funds to restore the church, the church was initiated by the campaign to restore the Vestry in 1842. Its intention was to raise the profile of the building through historical association with Canynges. Rippingille's painting of 'the funeral procession of Canynges the younger in the church' (1820) serves to reinforce the links between Canynges and Redcliffe. Whilst a

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[37] 'The Great Red Book of Bristol' fol. 247, from Williams (1950), 81 note 3.

[38] Barrett mentions Canynges and others being responsible for edification and repair after the spire collapse; Barrett (1789), 570: 'William Canynges re-edified and enlarged the church of Redcliff almost destroyed by lightning in 1445'. This kind of remark led to what quickly became 'typical' misconceptions, for example a guide book of 1906 quotes that between 1441 and 1466 small clerestory windows were replaced by larger ones along with the roof; W.N. Madan, *A Short Guide to St Mary Redcliffe* (Bristol, 1906), 1. Twentieth century authors have followed the same line: Harvey identifies the problem that Redcliffe has notoriously vague dates but later states that the 'main vessel...[was]...Perpendicularised by William Canynges *c.*1446-70', suggesting also that the panelling was designed by John Norton, a mason spoken to by Worcestre in the 1470s; Harvey (1978), 162 and 217. Smith perhaps exemplifies the lack of clarity surrounding information on the perpendicular rebuilding in his statement concerning the spire collapse in the mid-century, which he states 'necessitated some repairs and at the same time stimulated the completion with some adaptations of the original 14th-century design'; Smith (1995), 78.

painting by Eric Board illustrating Canynges supervising the rebuilding of Redcliffe creates a vivid image of a supposed direct involvement with the process of reconstruction of the church, the recognition of his status and association with the appearance of Redcliffe is explicitly demonstrated in another of Boards' paintings. In Board's 'Those Who Made Bristol Famous' Canynges is represented holding a model of Redcliffe in a manner typically associated with patronage (Fig. 4.18 A&B). This particular image is a direct visual statement representing Canynges as founder and benefactor, perpetuating the myth of his pre-eminent role in the patronage of Redcliffe church. The culmination of this trend may be the south window of the south transept of Redcliffe: designed by Comper in 1910 it commemorates the Canynges' family and William Canynges' role as merchant, mayor and priest.

Documents and Dating

The 1376 reference implies that the nave was constructed from the crossing to the west end. The basis for this view has been scrutinised and three factors lead to it being disregarded. First, the sentence in Ricart's Calendar has been identified as a 17th-century insertion into the original manuscript.[40] Second, it has been established that the loyalty of Canynges the Elder lay not with the parish of Redcliffe but with that of St Thomas, supported by his request for burial in the parish of St Thomas and the lack of any reference to Redcliffe in his will.[41] Third, the building evidence contradicts the east-to-west direction of construction implied in the document. There is little evidence for a sequence of construction except for the presence of a moulded extrados on the two westernmost bays of the south nave arcade. Inherited from the south transept design, this feature provides a moulded base on which the mullions of the triforium panels stand. After these two western

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[39] Britton (1813)B, 54-72 on life and works of Chatterton; and Smith (1995), chapter 6, 111-132.

[40] Toulmin-Smith (1872), 32.

bays this feature is abandoned, and replaced instead with a plain unmoulded extrados: a reduction of complexity indicative of a west-to-east progress (Fig. 4.19 ii and iii for moulded extrados, and Fig. 4.20 for unmoulded extrados for rest of nave and chancel).

As this document cannot be relied upon for identification of the patron or progress of building, it is quite probable that its dating is equally unreliable. Other evidence cited for confirmation of this dating is heraldic, in the form of four shields in the eastern bay of the nave north aisle that have been identified as belonging to the Berkeley, Beauchamp, Stafford and Montacute families (Fig. 4.21 A&B). It is normally assumed that the shields relate to a marriage between the Berkeleys and Beauchamps, dating the vaulting of the north aisle of the nave and west aisle of the transept to the 1390s. Not only does this interpretation not take account of the other two shields, but, significantly, these are not quartered or impaled and this appears insufficient to be used for dating the building campaign.[42] In addition, marriages between these two families occur across a broad time span, for example between the period 1350 to 1460,[43] and as such these two shields alone indicate the potential for inaccurate dating.

It seems more likely that the shields represent prominent noble families: the Berkeleys and Beauchamps were wealthy local patrons. The Earls of Stafford are known for their church patronage in the West Country and around Bristol throughout the later Middle Ages as evidenced, for example, by heraldry on Thornbury parish church. With no obvious

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[41] T.P. Wadley, *Notes or abstracts of the wills contained in the volume entitled The Great Orphan Book and Book of Wills* (Bristol, 1886), 42; see also Sherborne (1985), 4.

[42] Dallaway (1834), 200; and, Smith (1995), 83: the marriage contract between Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas de Berkeley, 5th Lord Berkeley and Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick is dated 1392 and the marriage took place in 1397. It was with this marriage that the ownership of the manor of Bedminster was transferred to the Beauchamps (G.E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage* 13 vols (London, 1910-59) XII (1959), pt 2, 381-82).

[43] Marriages amongst these families include: the marriage of Philippe de Beauchamp, daughter of Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick to Hugh, earl of Stafford before 1350, had already linked these two families (Cokayne, XII, (1953) pt 1, 179). James Berkeley married as his second wife the daughter of Sir Humphrey Stafford of Hooke between 1415 and 23 (Cokayne, II (1912), 132)

marriage link with the Montacutes, the presence of their shield may represent the connection with the diocese of Salisbury as patron of the church. Neither these shields, nor the document, provide convincing evidence for dating the beginning of the rebuilding campaign. The random choice of one of these marriages as evidence of dating can best be explained by the desire to support the association of Canynges the Elder with the patronage of this part of the church. The association of Canynges the elder with the nave appears to have its oldest source in the 17th century, and may have been introduced to validate the links of Canynges the Younger with the building, by the creation of a long historical family association.[44]

A series of extant bequests, however, sheds some light on the period of construction of the church, and provides evidence that construction was taking place in the last two decades of the 14th century. Some general references to the money being left for the 'work' at Redcliffe exist for 1388 and 1394.[45] Neither of these bequests would be conclusive proof that reconstruction was underway if they were not supported by the will of John Stanes, who in 1386 requested burial in the 'new chapel of St Mary Redcliffe'. This reference is indicative that at least part of the church was complete and ready to accept burials. The request of John Frenssh in 1398, to be buried near the font, could further suggest a completed nave.[46] A couple of bequests from the Newcombe family refer to the east end of the building. Requests for burial in the chapel of St Nicholas (at the east end of the south choir aisle) in 1401 and 1418, may provide a *terminus ante quem* for this part of the building.[47]

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[44] '..which his grandfather had founded in the days of Edward 3d' is added to several manuscripts recording the younger Canynges' patronage; see Williams (1950), 81, note 1 for details and numerous examples.

[45] Wadley (1886), 39, no.47. The bequests of Henry Calf of 1394 is included in a list of other bequests to specific projects underway at other churches in the city: St Augustine's campanile, St James's glazing and St Ewen's roof renovation.

[46] See Wadley (1886), 14, no.20 and 109, no.56 for John Stanes and John Frenssh wills respectively.

[47] Wadley (1886), 69, no.131 and 101, no.191 for Walter Newcombe (1401) and Alice Newcombe (1418) respectively: they both request burial in St Nicholas' chapel (east end of the south choir aisle), both make general bequests to the fabric and vicar of the church of Redcliffe.

These limited documents and the slight archaeological evidence indicate the reconstruction was begun at the west end of the nave, and progressed eastwards. Brakspear's suggestion that the walls could have been constructed outside those of the early Gothic church may go some way to explain the nature of the rebuild.[48] His plan indicates that the inner north porch is aligned for a slightly narrower north nave aisle than the present one, a factor he interprets as meaning that the existing walls were constructed outside the 13th-century ones (see Fig. 4.2). The Lady chapel, and possibly the aisles of the chancel, could also have been constructed before the demolition of the Early English church. Some indication of the possible phases of construction can be gained from the differences evident in the aisle vaults. Differences include not only vault pattern, but boss type and method of cusping as well. Speculation on the order of construction is perhaps fruitless, but some changes appear to be developmental. It is clear that the south chancel aisle relates in vault design to the south nave aisle and that the south nave aisle relates in moulded detail and similar design to the south transept aisles. The most significant break in design is in the north chancel aisle where boss type, vault design and cusping types differ from the details favoured on the south of the building (Fig. 4.22). Bearing in mind the evidence which suggests that the south nave arcade was constructed first, these phased changes may support the idea that the south side of the church was vaulted at aisle level earlier than the north. As it seems that the majority of the church was laid out on a slightly altered plan and involved the removal of the earlier church, it was the linking of the new work to the mid-century works to the south of the church that was probably the most complicated aspect of the reconstruction. The south transept piers must have been constructed against the 13th-century crossing piers, as the south side of the new crossing pier retains the south transept form.

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[48] Brakspear (1922), 276. The inner north porch plan protrudes into the north nave aisle suggesting that the present aisle is wider than its predecessor.

Despite the frustrating lack of evidence, it can be reasonably suggested that the design of the church, which was adhered to throughout the campaign, was begun in the last quarter of the 14th century with the construction of the south nave arcade. Although the 1376 document contains reasons for doubting its accuracy, other sources indicate that work was in progress by the 1380s. John Stanes' reference to the 'New Chapel' might indicate a completed part of the building by this stage, and with that of John Frenssh's request for burial, this may be indicative of a finished nave. The east-end reconstruction may have continued into the early 15th century following the same design.

Architectural details and the source of the late 14th-century church design

The rebuilding of the main body of the church introduces a new set of details. Obvious differences between the nave and south transept design exist in the form of their tracery, handling of the triforium, and the mouldings for the pier design. Evidence of continuity, illustrated by the use and adaptation of certain mouldings, is, however, apparent.

The main elevation rejects the principle of a cornice used for the south transept, replacing it with continuous panelling that sits directly on the nave arcade. Other details, such as the mini crenellations and ogee cusping are also lost (Figs 4.19 ii-iii and 4.20). The ogee forms and decorated feel to the central three-light unit of the tracery is replaced with a five-light rectilinear version of sub-reticulation. A precursor to this form of sub-reticulated tracery was probably the five-light alternate designs popular in parish churches in Bristol in the second half of the 14th century, for example St Peter's and Temple Church,[49] whilst the sub-reticulated form was used for feature windows in transepts at Yatton, Yeovil and Axbridge, for example (Fig. 4.23 A&B). The nave clerestory mullion is a simplification of

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[49] For example, Yeovil has sub-reticulated tracery for feature windows and alternate for the nave, *c.*1380s; Wrington has sub-reticulated tracery designs for all windows in its complete Perpendicular rebuild.

that used in the transept, with the same general form of an axial roll, but with the wave being replaced by a simpler hollow chamfer (Fig. 4.14 i, xi, and xii). It has already been seen that the use of a moulded extrados was initially retained, but abandoned after the commencement of the project.

A dominant theme in the new phase was the desire for consistency and an architecturally homogenous effect, perhaps most obviously revealed by the design of the north transept. Its general similarity to the south transept has led some antiquarian writers to place it chronologically directly after the south transept as a part of a gradual stylistic evolution to the nave design, whereas it is an adaptation of the main church elevation with the stringcourse arrangement of the south transept which is chosen to create a more unified effect for the interior across the north-south axis.[50] The degree to which such unity was desired is further shown by the construction of the north transept vault to the same height as the south transept, whilst maintaining the north transept windows at the height of the rest of the church, to provide both internal and external consistency (Fig. 4.24 A&B).

The development of mouldings at aisle level has been shown through the campaigns on the south side of the church. The new aisles copy the tracery and set of profiles used for the east aisle of the south transept, with two main variations: that is, the addition of a sunk double ogee set in the wall and framing to the window, and a change in the handling of the cusping (Figs 4.9 iii-viii and 4.11 iii-iv).

Whilst the similarities are indicative of an awareness of earlier work and a consistency within the lodge, it is the differences that provide evidence for architectural influence on Redcliffe by the late 14th century. This is best approached through an analysis of the design and sources of the moulding details.

Nave Arcade Configuration

The analysis of the individual motifs has only limited use in this case, and an assessment of all the separate features would identify that they are all consistent with a 14th-century date, and appear to be based on ideas introduced into West Country workshops in the first half of the 14th century (Figs 4.25 i-iv).[51] It is the general disposition and the combination of these features that is more revealing about specific sources.

The configuration of the nave arcade arch consists of a sunk wave interrupted by a roll (Fig. 4.25 viii B), flanked by two raised double ogees for the inner order of the arcade (Fig. 4.25 viii A): the corner element of the roll with three fillets relates directly to the pier profile, leading to a raised chamfer to frame the outer order of the arcade arch (Fig. 4.25 viii D). This use of interrupting double ogees or waves can be related to the products of the Wells workshop and affiliated works: the same motifs, used by the Winchester workshop, is found in the presbytery of Winchester Cathedral (interrupted waves are found in the south-east arch of the east bay; interrupted double ogees are found in the main arcade bays 2-4) (Fig. 4.26 i). It was introduced to Winchester during the work directed by Witney and then probably Joy, before its use in the rebuilding of the west front under Edington in the middle of the 14th century (Fig. 4.26 ii).[52] Furthermore, the Wells chancel arcade uses a closely comparable formation to that at Redcliffe. It consists of exactly the same two raised double ogees, but with the sunk central moulding being another double ogee (Fig. 4.25 ix A and C). Sunk waves are common in the work of the Wells school of the 1340s, for example the inserted moulded orders adjacent to the crossing at Wells, the south porch of Redcliffe and

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[50] Brakspear (1922), 277-278. Later authors such as Pevsner acknowledge that the north transept could be copied from the south transept at any date; Pevsner, N. *North Somerset and Bristol*, B/E (Harmondsworth, 1990), 402.

[51] The roll with three fillets as a means of turning the profile through ninety degrees, the raised double ogee and the interrupted sunk wave, for example. Some of the features have longevity of use in the region, probably up until the mid-15th century; others, such as the roll set mid-way on a sunk wave is more useful as it appears to be restricted to a limited use at Winchester, Milton Abbey, Wells and Winchester between the 1330s and the 1360s.

the chapel at Berkeley Castle.[53] Wells is also the closest parallel for the raised chamfer of the Redcliffe arcade arch, in the blind panelling of the Lady chapel and the chancel clerestory (Fig. 4.25 vii & viii D). The influence of the form and disposition of the elevation of Wells is evident at Redcliffe (Fig. 4.27 A&B), where it is translated into a panelled Perpendicular aesthetic, highlighted by the differences from the south transept. That is, the shift from the horizontal definition of the string course to the triforium panelling of the nave and chancel may also be a more general aesthetic inheritance from the Wells chancel east bays, as could be the extension of the vertical members of the pier design to frame the clerestory. One distinctive aspect of the elevation design that does not have a direct precedent in the Wells east end is the vault respond. Wells chancel favours triple shafts for the vault responds in the choir (see Fig. 4.27B), and whilst this is used at Redcliffe for the east and west responds of the pier (Fig. 4.28 iii), the high vault respond that stretches beyond the height of the aisle uses a more complex and sophisticated design, not apparently found in the set of details at Wells, so far cited as precedents.

Vault Respond

The respond for the high vault consists of alternating rolls and tiny fillets, the nine rolls leading directly to the nine ribs of the vault. The idea is Rayonnant-inspired, close in concept to the Gloucester south transept vault respond moulding.[54] The closest parallel to the Redcliffe form is found in the Beauchamp Chapel at St Mary's, Warwick, after 1443 (Fig. 4.28 i-ii).[55] The design is absent from Wells Cathedral. A close parallel, however, is found in the south-west porch of Exeter Cathedral, which was constructed in the 1340s while

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[52] Draper and Morris in Crook (1993), 186-187, see also fig. 13.9.

[53] Morris in BAACT Bristol (1997), 50, figure 2D.

[54] Morris (1979), 5-7.

[55] The type of mullion used at the Beauchamp Chapel is also very closely related to that of the main church design of Redcliffe. In addition to this, therefore, the use of almost exactly the same respond moulding at Warwick, although on a smaller scale, is perhaps not surprising considering the Beauchamps involvement with Redcliffe. Not only are their arms in the new church, but they took

Joy was master mason.[56] This displays a series of tiny shafts leading straight into the ribs of the lierne vault, omitting the capital exactly as at Redcliffe (Figs 4.28 vi and 4.29A). A similar formation is used for the frame of the west window in the Grandisson Chapel also in the west front of Exeter, and in the now blocked original entrance to the Berkeley Castle chapel (Fig. 4.28 iv-v). This much simpler form is notably also found in the interior frame of the east window of the chancel at Wells Cathedral (Fig. 4.28 vii). Its notable absence as a vault respond in the chancel pier design at Wells may be explained by an attempt to conform with the bolder shaft groups of the retained Early English piers in the west bays. Despite its more impressive use at Redcliffe, its origins can be traced through works associated with a Wells master mason, and this denotes the final proof that the designer was from Wells. It seems likely that he would have worked with Joy in the second quarter of the 14th century in order to produce this design after the 1360s.

The Upper Elevation

The clerestory tracery has already been identified as relating to the principle of sub-reticulation introduced in the south transept, and as an elaboration of the use of 'alternate' tracery patterns. Sub-reticulation of this type is commonly found in parish churches in north Somerset; the suggestion that the Redcliffe clerestory was designed only in *c.* 1445[57] would mean that it emulated an already prestigious design. It has been used as a 'feature' window at Yeovil and Axbridge transepts for example, the latter being dated to between *c.* 1362 and the 1380s.

There has been considerable debate on the dating of the upper parts of the elevation, namely the clerestory and the vaults. Some writers have singled out the upper elevation for

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over the lordship of the Royal manor of Bedminster in 1397 through marriage with the Berkeley family, see note 44. Redcliffe stands in this manor in the parish of Bedminster and Redcliffe.

[56] Harvey (1984), 164-65: Joy almost certainly took over from Thomas of Witney at Exeter after the latter's death in 1342.

[57] Harvey (1978), 217.

separate discussion, and the dating of the upper stages of the elevation has remained confused. The above discussion has identified an approximate date span for the nave rebuilding and a source for the design, as well as having clarified the progress of the building at the lower levels. How then, does this interpretation relate to the upper stages of the elevation?

The distinction made between the upper and lower levels of the elevation appears to be based on documentary evidence rather than architectural or archaeological. The consensus has been that the Redcliffe clerestory and high vaults were part of a remodelling, in the third quarter of the 15th century, under the younger Canynges. Based on the documents concerning Canynges' patronage and the fall of the spire, as mentioned above, antiquaries and more recent authors have maintained that the upper stages of the church were reconstructed in the 15th century.[58] In an assessment of the likely progress of works for these upper levels of the church, two main factors must be taken into consideration: the perceived nature of the spire's collapse and possible damage, and the nature of the design of the elevation from ground level.

The Collapse of the Spire

It is only the collapse of the spire, rather than the effects of its fall, that is referred to in any contemporary record, that of William Worcestre. Worcestre does not describe the damage caused by the spire collapse; stating only that 100 foot of the 300-foot tower had been brought down. With his reference he provides an approximate date for the tower vault and work on the foundations of the tower, which are presumably delayed remedial works

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[58] See Barrett (1789), 570. Brakspear (1922), 279. All subsequent guides for Redcliffe summarise these sources: see Pevsner B/E (1990), 400 and Smith (1995), 77.

following the fall of the spire.[59] This incident is again described by Adams in his early 17th-century chronicle.[60]

The only reports on damage are post-medieval: the earliest appears to be by Barrett who, as already discussed, makes reference to the possible rebuilding of parts of the south aisle.[61] George Pryce provides the most useful account: as architect to the building in the mid-19th century Pryce's drawings and comments suggest he knew the interior, exterior and possibly roof spaces of the building. He not only provided 'Pugin-like' comparisons of the building before and after the proposed restoration, but also produced a document examining the building and questioning the accepted patronage associations. In this document he states that only the south aisle can have been damaged by the spire collapse, 'as if it had fallen on the rest of the building some indications of repair or restoration would appear in that part of the building, as well as in the south aisle; but nothing so'.[62] The render applied to the upper side of the nave vault now prevents further examination of the stonework to confirm this observation.

Comparison with other spire collapses tends to suggest that the potential damage could have been more limited. There was no major tower collapse from the foundations at Redcliffe, as seen in the telescoping of the tower at Chichester in the 19th century. The scale

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[59] Harvey (1984), 218: Worcestre's comments are dated to 1478. Worcestre describes the tower and its vault, stating that the former stands presently at 100 feet and that the latter is new at this time: 'memorandum quod longitudo turris campanilis in volta nova facta continet 24 pedes ab oriente in occidentem, et 22 pedes a boria in meridiem.'; Dallaway (1834), 71. Furthermore, he appears to learn of the spire collapse from Norton who is identifed as the master mason of the church in 1480; *ibid.*, 133.

[60] Adams (1910): 'This year Redcliffe Steeple in Bristoll was thrown down by a thunderclap which did much harm in other places', 66, fol. 93. The 13th-century arch in the south wall of the tower and the windows were reinstated by the Victorians.

[61] Barrett (1789), 571: the 'south aisle where [the] mischief fell heaviest seems to have been rebuilt with a somewhat more elevated arch and in a lighter style than the north'. Barrett appears to be using the fact that the south aisle tracery is slightly different as justification for his comment. Barrett's comments are inherited by a number of subsequent authors: C.T. Jefferies, *16 years' doing in the Restoration of St. Mary Redcliffe* (Bristol, 1850), 13: he copies almost the exact wording for his description of events; and as late as 1906, Madan (1906) still lifts the same information.

[62] Pryce (1854), 16.

of the disaster seems to be closer to the fall of the stone spire on the crossing tower at Lichfield Cathedral, which occurred in the 17th century. Individual stones were thrown through the adjacent vaults of the transept and chancel, causing patches of damage, necessitating some rebuilding of vault cells in the bays directly adjoining the crossing, that can still be identified.[63] It seems unlikely, therefore, that the fall of the spire at Redcliffe would cause such damage to the nave main vessel as to require total rebuilding of its clerestory and vault.[64]

Design

An argument against a 15th-century construction, or total rebuilding of the upper stages of the elevation, can also be supported through architectural analysis. The design of Redcliffe is an early example in England of the pier profiles dictating the upper stages of the elevation. This is a technique epitomised in the highly sophisticated late 15th-century design of St George's Chapel, Windsor.

As described above, a vault respond of small roll mouldings predicts the use of a nine-ribbed vault from the conception of the design. This inheritance from Rayonnant is clear, and the method is one retained in Flamboyant architecture, for example in the 15th-century parish church of Saint Maclou, Rouen (Fig. 4.29 B&C, and see Fig. 4.20). The virtual abandonment of capitals on these responds adds to the impact of this continuous moulding. Its form suggests that a complex lierne vault was intended from the start of this campaign and, considering the West Country tradition for inventive vault designs, was always planned to develop the split lozenge idea previously favoured in the high vaults of Wells and St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol (Fig. 4.30A). Design conventions such as the

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[63] W. Rodwell, 'Archaeology and the standing fabric: recent studies at Lichfield Cathedral,' *Antiquity*, 63 (1989), 288.

[64] Although it is possible that one or two bays of the nave could have been reconstructed after damage, which is no longer visible, this would have been to the original design, already extant in the rest of he nave and the chancel.

intersection of the roll and triple-fillet moulding for the pier and arcade arch show how the upper stages were planned with the lower, and the choice of vault respond means that there can be no question of the design of the upper stages of the elevation being altered greatly in the mid-15th century (Fig. 4.30B). The proportions of the windows are established by the triforium panels, that dictate the number of lights and the mullion profiles for the clerestory tracery.

The style of the nave vault has sometimes been used to support the idea that the upper stages are a later conception (see Fig. 4.20). Alfred Harvey placed the vaults in sequence by an analysis of the lierne vaulting patterns.[65] His study suffers not only from historical prejudice, but does not recognise the potential for a contemporary variety of design and pattern. Wells Cathedral, St Augustine's, Bristol and the stone-vaulted parish church of Ottery St Mary all show how, in the South West, inventive and imaginative vault designs were possible in one building within the same period of work (Fig. 4.31 A-C). Areas of the liturgical space at Redcliffe are differentiated by widely varied vault designs, in exactly the same way as at Ottery. In addition to this, the basic elements for the design at Redcliffe can be found in roughly contemporary vaults, such as the nave vault of Winchester Cathedral (Fig. 4.32 i-ii). This issue is complicated by the fact that the closest comparisons in style to the Redcliffe nave vault are dated to the later 15th century, that is, the transept and crossing vaults of the nearby St Augustine's. The south transept vault (Abbot Hunt 1473-81) uses exactly the same design principles as at Redcliffe (Figs 4.32 iii and 4.33A), and the slightly later crossing vault (after 1481), and north transept vault which followed, are similar in general treatment (Figs 4.32 iv-v and 4.33B). The south transept vault of St Augustine's appears to have been constructed contemporaneously with the tower vault of Redcliffe (Fig. 4.34).

It is often appropriate to use a firmly dated example of a style as a base for collecting and dating other related material. It would be tempting to do the same for the Redcliffe nave vault in this instance. However, there are two reasons why this appears not be suitable in this case. First, the evidence of the design of the elevation can account for a nine-ribbed vault by the late 14th century, long before the collapse of the spire. Second, William Worcestre comments on the new tower vault and works on the foundations of the tower, which are assumed to be a result of the spire collapse.[66] Yet he makes no such remarks about nave repairs or something as large and significant as a nave vault reconstruction. With this in mind and in the knowledge that masons were working on the tower vault of Redcliffe and the south transept of the St Augustine's at the same time, it may in fact be that St Augustine's was following the design at Redcliffe. Considering the long unfinished state of St Augustine's and the evident prestige of Redcliffe this would not be surprising. A further point in favour of the nave vault being a late 14th-century design is the use of the same basic design as for the Redcliffe crossing vault: there is no reason to associate this with a later rebuild as it was designed and constructed independently from the nave vault, yet provides the basic design used for both the nave at Redcliffe and the south transept vault at St Augustine's (Fig. 4.32 vi).

In summary, archaeological, architectural and antiquarian evidence all support the hypothesis that the design of the entire elevation was planned as part of the campaign begun in the second half of the 14th century, responding to but diverging from the mid-century south transept. There are indications of the nave being constructed from west to east, and the main church being completed by *c.* 1410.

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[65] A. Harvey, 'The vaulting of the church of St Mary Redcliffe,' *Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club*, 7 (1909-12), 51-64.

[66] Although these repairs of *c.* 1480 are somewhat delayed.

Canynges the Younger as patron: the extent of a myth

How do these conclusions relate to the notion of Canynges as a major architectural patron? Other references by Worcestre to masons working under Canynges have often been used as supporting evidence that Canynges built the upper parts of the church.[67] But the comments in question, from Worcestre's 1478 visit, clearly refer to Canynges as a ship-builder. He refers to having eight hundred men working on his ships, and a hundred men a day employed as carpenters, masons and workmen for a period of eight years.[68] These comments, although clearly associated with Worcestre's account of Canynges' ship-building, have been misinterpreted by those keen to find support for Canynges as the patron. Furthermore, Williams has pointed out that given Worcestre's known friendship and association with Canynges, it is surprising that he makes no mention of any connection between the merchant and the rebuilding of the church.[69]

As for the rest of the documentation, the 1441 reference to Canynges as 're-edifier' can be traced back only to the late 17th century and is based on the misinterpretation of the remark in the Great Red Book of Bristol in 1483. This refers to Canynges as a very special benefactor to the church. A bequest of £350 made to Redcliffe by William Canynges in 1466, appears to be related to the death of his wife, and is also contemporaneous with his ordination.[70] The money was clearly stated as being for the repair of tenements belonging to the church and was an attempt to revitalise the finances that helped support the priests associated with the church and its chantries. There is no indication of building works

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[67] Sherborne (1985), 24-25.

[68] Worcestre (1969), 130-33.

[69] Williams (1950), 80.

[70] Williams (1950), 81-82. It is apparent that Canynges was making some kind of withdrawal from public life after the death of his wife: this is explicit through his desire for ordination and foundation of a second chantry, as well as the evidence provided by a law suit against him, concerning the marriage of Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Middleton esq. of Staunton Drewe (1467-72): Middleton accused Canynges of not providing sufficient support for his daughter through the marriage because of his recent sales of property and possessions; E.M. Carus-Wilson, *The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 2nd ed.1967), 140, note 183.

affecting the church. The reference in the document to refoundation seems to relate directly to this injection of cash to revitalise the spiritual work of the church. Barrett records that: 'in 1445 at St Paul's tide was very tempetous *(sic.)* weather, but which Redcliffe steeple was overthrown in a thunderclap, doing great harm to the church by the fall thereof, but by the good devotion of William Canynges it was re-edified to his everlasting praise'.[71] This conflation of the spire collapse with the misinterpreted 1483 document typifies the kind of study that promoted the myth of William Canynges. The arguments in favour of William Canynges as a patron of the church are two: his position as mayor and merchant, and the presence of the merchant's mark found on his tomb also on the westernmost boss of the tower vault. His benefaction to the church in 1466, the naming of one of his ships the 'St Mary Redcliffe', and his choice of the church as his burial location show that he was involved with the church, in a way his grandfather appears not to have been. His period as an active patron was potentially from *c.*1430 to 1470,[72] although the evidence points to his patronage being concentrated in the 1460s. He endowed a chantry chapel in St Catherine's chapel in 1466, and a further chantry in St George's chapel in the following year. Having been ordained, a decision he appears to have made direcctly after the death of his wife in 1467, he celebrated his first mass in St Mary Redcliffe in 1468, and his gifts to the church of money and a Holy Sepulchre date from 1466 and 1474 respectively.[73] As such his period of involvement was after the design and construction of the whole church, and there is no direct documented association with the building fabric. His chantry chapels and subsequent burial location were all in the south transept and make no obvious association with the main church, which one might expect if he was responsible for its construction.

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[71] Barrett (1789), 570.

[72] He is considered an important merchant by 1430 and he died in 1474.

[73] Smith (1995), 89-93.

It has become evident that there was major work carried out at Redcliffe in a series of successive changes from the late 13th century onwards, until the completion of the present church in the 15th century. Although it has been concluded here that the main church was completed most probably in the early 15th century, and most importantly all designed by the late 14th century, there is evidence of further work in the later period. Some of this has been noted already, that is the Worcestre comments on the tower vault, for example. It is also generally maintained that the east bay of the Lady chapel was added to the church in the late 15th century, although continuing to use the same mouldings. Further evidence of the continuation of work, however subsidiary to the main campaign is provided by the reference of the account of the manor of Chew for the year 1459, where there is mention of 'one quarry above Dundry, late from John Popes, now granted to the church of St Mary Redcliffe'.[74] Some of these works were probably carried out during Canynges' period of interest in the church.

It appears that once the church was completed it became chosen for burials of mayors of the city: Philip Mead and William Canynges both created chantries and constructed tombs, and both were mayors from the middle years of the 15th century. The fact that these mayors were all merchants and Redcliffe church was situated in the wealthy suburb of the city poised above the port must have been an influencing factor in their choice of burial place. That these men and their families also constituted a collective patronage to the church in addition to the Canynges' is not only likely but can be shown to be the case through a note by Pryce. He notes in his own assessment of the role of Canynges that arms formerly emblazoned in the windows of the church included Harringtons, Hungerfords, Cradocks, Medes, Fitzwarrens, Inyns, Rivers, and others.[75] Canynges, as a priest in later life, was no doubt one of several benefactors to the church, but his contribution was in

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[74] *Ibid.*

financing failing tenancies, gifts to the church for fittings (he gave an Easter Sepulchre in the 1460s, for example), and probably a contribution to the tower vault of the 1470s. The prestige of the church as largely completed between *c.*1360 and *c.*1420 clearly attracted the patronage of the mayors of Bristol, and it was after this date that Canynges' involvement with the church began.

Architectural Influences

Considering the early date ascribed here to the Redcliffe design and clerestory windows, it can be said that Redcliffe was not emulating long-established designs favoured for parish churches, but utilising the latest expensive tracery designs to extravagant effect, thereby setting the standard for subsequent buildings. Therefore, although Yeovil may marginally precede Redcliffe, the Bristol church created a highly prestigious association with the design that led to the fenestration of whole churches in this style, for example the parish church of Wrington (Fig. 4.35A).[76] The rebuilding of Sherborne Abbey, begun *c.*1425, seems to be the first major monastic building influenced by the general design and proportions of Redcliffe (discussed in detail the following chapter) (Figs 4.35B and 4.36). Proof of the sustained prestige locally associated with the design is seen in the clear influence of Redcliffe on the late 15th-century rebuilding of Bath Abbey (Figs 4.36 and 4.37A). The closeness of the vault respond at the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick and the other similarities such as the panelling over the arches and the mullion may, in combination, suggest a direct stylistic influence (Figs 4.36 and 4.37B).[77] Although the most direct sources for the Beauchamp Chapel appear to relate to workmen of great individual patrons centred

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[75] Pryce (1854), 13.

[76] Wrington's tower is usually dated to *c.*1420-50, and the clerestory replaces an earlier roof line against this tower, so that it must be after this date. No date is known for the main rebuilding of the church, although details of the capitals and the pier profile could link it with the Newton Chapel at Yatton, dateable to *c.*1490.

[77] Other aspects of the design of the Beauchamp Chapel suggest a knowledge of West Country workshops, for example the vault design, and handling of bosses.

on Oxford, the Beauchamps' ownership of the manor of Redcliffe occurred at exactly the time when the great parish church was being constructed.[78] In the previous chapter it was shown that the vault at the Beauchamp Chapel could be related to the almost identical design of the vault of the Penniless Porch in the Wells Cathedral precinct. Other aspects of the vault, such as the handling of the central bosses and curved ribs can equally be seen as successors to the vaults in Wiltshire of the first half of the 15th century (for example Lacock Abbey cloister). That curved ribs were first seen in the area in St Mary Redcliffe perhaps reinforces the influence of the church over its immediate locality at this time. Too many similarities of such closeness exist between the Beauchamp Chapel and West Country buildings for it to be circumstantial. Either the design of the chapel should be attributed to a Bristol or perhaps West Country mason, or the designers spent considerable time searching for the latest and most appropriate methods of handling the vault for the new chapel.

Conclusions

The misunderstanding of the effect of the spire collapse has been one of the greatest causes of the theory of the great rebuilding of the clerestory in the middle of the 15th century. The significance of this event has been exaggerated and combined with the repeated misinterpretation of a document naming Canynges as a benefactor. It is this that has led to the myth that the church was the product of Canynges' initiative or individual patronage.

The 17th-century references to Redcliffe do provide historical evidence for the view that Redcliffe continued to be a symbol of the wealth of medieval Bristol. Evidence from an analysis of the building, however, correlates neither with the imposed dates and sequences of reconstruction, nor with the long-reputed association with Canynges. Redcliffe is the

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[78] The marriage contract between Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas de Berkeley, 5th Lord Berkeley and Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick is dated 1392 and the marriage took place in 1397. It was with

product of mercantile patronage, a collective enterprise, and surely this included the input of William Canynges the Younger. The church owes its major influence as an exceptional building to the fact that it was designed and constructed in the late 14th century, and not an extended campaign that took over one hundred years to complete.

All this suggests that the coherence of the design results from the fact that the project was not organised by an individual but by a single corporate patron. The nature of this patronage dictated continuity. Neagley found a comparable situation at Saint-Maclou, Rouen.[79] At Redcliffe the Wells workshop has the most direct effect on the design, with evidence of masters from Wells taking responsibility for the south nave aisle wall and south porch construction. The south transept appears to depart from the Wells influence and has signs of awareness of both London practices and the lodge at St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol. However, when the decision came to rebuild the rest of the church, the prestige of the 1340s design of the east end of Wells Cathedral was paramount. The details can be placed into a repertoire found in other major building campaigns in the South and South West of England in the late 14th century, and the formulation of these details is clearly an inheritance directly from the Wells workshop.

Despite these comparisons and evident architectural and workshop dependence on great abbey and cathedral workshops Redcliffe stands apart from these in its method of reconstruction. Ultimately the reason that the main church design at Redcliffe does not relate to either Gloucester or Glastonbury as contemporary works, for example, is because it is a complete rebuild, leaving no trace of its predecessor. Comparisons for the scale of the rebuilding at Redcliffe are extremely hard to find. The decision to supplant the Romanesque fabric in the 14th and 15th centuries often resulted in recasing or refacing as at Gloucester,

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this marriage that the ownership of the manor of Bedminster was transferred to the Beauchamps: see Cokayne, XII (1959), pt 2, 381-82.

Glastonbury, Winchester and Sherborne nave. The most ambitious rebuilding campaigns attempted to hide all evidence of Romanesque fabric such as the 15th-century chancel at Sherborne, or at Canterbury where it was completely rebuilt. The attitude to Early English often differed in that it could serve as a valid precedent for new work and would be linked with the rebuilding. Wells provides a useful example in that the heights of the building were dictated by the existing nave and chancel work. The retention of the west bays of the choir at Wells may have been largely due to fears of the structural stability of the central tower but nevertheless the arcade could be happily unified with the new work. Redcliffe is, therefore, unusual in its complete destruction of the Early English church, and as such Redcliffe with its 'great church' status is hard to parallel architecturally. In developing a standard for Perpendicular architecture, its inspiration came from local workshops and its influence was felt by monastic churches as well as parish churches and private chapels both within and beyond its immediate locality.

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[79] L. Neagley, 'The Flamboyant Architecture of St Maclou Rouen, and the development of a style' *SAHJ* 47 (1988), 374-96.

CHAPTER FIVE

The building development of Sherborne Abbey: chronology, style and context *c.*1360 to *c.*1459.

Sherborne Abbey is a major surviving church within the region, with the majority of its standing fabric attributed to the 15th century. Situated in the county of Dorset close to the border with Somerset, its proximity to the south Somerset Ham Hill quarries places it geographically close to the architectural developments of the diocese of Bath and Wells, as described in the previous chapters. Constitutionally, however, it was bound to the diocese of Salisbury, in which it stands. A building on the site of the present church held the status of the cathedral of St Aldhelm from the 8th to the 11th century.[1] By the time the seat of the bishop was transferred to Old Sarum in 1075 the building comprised a mid-11th-century church, constructed by Bishop Alfwold, added to the east end of St Aldhelm's church. The bishops of Salisbury retained the castle in Sherborne as one of their principal seats, whilst the abbots of Sherborne maintained a prebendal house in the Close of Salisbury Cathedral.[2]

The successor to the Saxon church, constructed in the 12th century, was left essentially unaltered until the late Middle Ages. The best known alterations in this later period were the addition of a chapel to the west end of the abbey church,[3] the reconstruction of the chancel, and the reconstruction of the nave (late 14th, early 15th and late 15th century respectively). Until the construction of the western chapel, dedicated to All Hallows, parish services had been held in the nave of the abbey church. After its construction parishioners

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[1] The See of Sherborne was created out of the See of Winchester. Sherborne was itself sub-divided in the early 10th century by the formation of the Sees of Wells and Crediton, and the seat of the bishop was moved after the conquest. For a brief summary see J.H.P. Gibb, *Sherborne Abbey* (publ. Friends of Sherborne Abbey, 2nd edn. 1989), 1-2.

[2] The King's House, no. 65, The Close retains fabric from the 15th-century replacement of the 13th-century house of the abbot. See RCHME Salisbury Houses (1993), 215-225.

favoured hearing their services in this new chapel, but because of its status as a chapel-of-ease they still retained the use of the abbey nave for baptisms and processions.[4] All Hallows acquired the status of a parish church in the mid-15th century (see below) and was demolished as a result of the Reformation, when Sir John Horsey sold the abbey church to the parish.[5] Many of the monastic buildings, situated to the north of the abbey were also lost at the Reformation,[6] but the main body of the church survives largely intact (Fig. 5.1).[7]

A certain amount of scholarly attention has been given to both the lost and existing buildings at Sherborne. Articles by Willis and R.H.Carpenter form the basis of the 19th-century literature.[8] After the production of the Royal Commission volume in 1952, it was Leedy and Harvey who contributed to the later history, but throughout the 1970s and 1980s Gibb has contributed the greatest towards our understanding of the building. Although this has resulted in detailed study of some aspects of the building, a comprehensive assessment of the standing fabric as a whole is lacking. This chapter aims to redress this imbalance, providing an understanding of how the present building developed.[9] Once set within the context of the region as established above, the significance of this building can be appreciated. Primarily this is that a major workshop existed at Sherborne, one that was to exert considerable influence towards the end of the

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[3] Probably on the site of the Saxon church of Saint Aldhelm: see J.H.P. Gibb, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cathedral at Sherborne,' *AJ*, CXXXII (1975), 71-110.

[4] 'Ordinance made by the Robert (Neville), Bishop of Sarum, between the Convent of the Monastery of Shirborne and the parishioners there' translation in Willis (1865), 187-190. In the transcript the chapel-of-ease is referred to as the place '...ubi parochiani divina servitia audire solent...'; Appendix I, 197-8.

[5] RCHME Dorset, I (London, 1952), 200.

[6] The monks' kitchen, abbot's house and parlour, abbot's hall with undercroft, west cloister range, south bay of dormitory with slype below all survive and are now part of Sherborne school.

[7] The east end of the church suffered most with its conversion into a grammar school and headmasters house in the 16th century (see fireplace and alterations in east bay of south choir aisle). The 13th-century east bays were demolished, as was part of the Bow Chapel constructed by Abbot Ramsam. The chapels were restored to the abbey in 1921 at which point a new east bay to the Lady chapel was constructed in Perpendicular style by Mr. W.D. Caroë.

[8] Willis (1865) and Carpenter (1877).

[9] Building on Gibb's archaeological examinations of the building, especially the fire damage of the east end of the church: Gibb (1985), 101-124.

study period. Subsequently, it will be shown how the lodge at Sherborne responded to the buildings in its locality, and how it formed important links with the schools of design emanating from Wells and Winchester.

The late medieval appearance of the abbey is thought to have been the result of two major rebuilding campaigns: the reconstruction of the east end of the church, and the reconstruction of the nave. The former has been much discussed for its presbytery vault, which is the earliest large-span structural fan vault to survive in England.[10] The occurrence of a fire part way through this east end reconstruction programme has attracted much interest, with a wealth of literature on the date and cause of the fire having been produced, and furthermore on the order of construction and date of the chancel.[11] The latter has been discussed in terms of the contemporary building of Stillington's Chapel at Wells Cathedral,[12] and consideration of the campaigns during and after Peter Ramsam's abbacy (1475-1504), to which the nave reconstruction belongs, will be left for the following chapter.

The suggestion that the present late medieval building was the result of two phases of construction can be traced back to Leland. After describing the circumstances leading up to the fire he stated that:

> 'Al the este parte of S. Mary chirch was reedified yn Abbot Bradefordes tyme, saving a chappele of our Lady an old peace of work that the fier came not to...[and]...Peter Ramsumme next abbate saving one to Bradeford buildid *à fundamentis* al the weste part of S. Maries chirch'.[13]

Willis, whose plan of 1865 distinguishes between first and second Perpendicular (Fig. 5.2), inherited this interpretation.[14] His plan shows that the size and scale of the present

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[10] Leedy (1980), 11-12 and 201-204.

[11] Willis (1865), 187-90; and Gibb (1985), 101-124.

[12] See Buckle (1894), 32-63; Leedy (1980); and Colchester and Harvey (1974), 209-14.

[13] Leland, I (1964), 152-3.

[14] From Willis (1865), facing 196.

building was determined by the earlier building work, with remains of the Romanesque abbey identified as in the walls of the west front, transepts and crossing. Romanesque arcading exists on the internal walls of the eastern chapel of the north transept (Wykeham's Chapel), and on the exterior wall of the north choir aisle (now visible as the interior wall of Bishop Roger's Chapel).[15] A square ambulatory with axial Lady chapel and Bishop Roger's Chapel were added to the Romanesque church in the 13th century.

Eighty-five years after Willis' interpretation the Royal Commission produced a more refined version of the plan, with the addition of the Saxon remains at the west end, and more Romanesque material in the nave aisle walls (see Fig. 5.1).[16] Gibb has identified further evidence of the Saxon church at the north and south ends of the west wall.[17] The tracery and facing of the north nave aisle is attributed by both to the 14th century. Ogee reticulated windows in this wall confirm that this was roughly contemporary with the reconstruction of the cloister,[18] which is attributed by Leland to the abbacy of John Frith (1349-73).[19] Both sources consider the construction of All Hallows to follow that of the cloister. The main difference between the two plans is revealed in the dating of the south side of the church. Willis' somewhat simplistic view was that the south transept and its eastern chapel (chapel of the Holy Sepulchre) belonged with the east-end campaign, and that the west chapel of the south transept (St Katherine's chapel) should be associated with the adjacent nave campaign.

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[15] This is known not only through the type and size of the masonry used but also explicit evidence in the form of the remains of Romanesque arches in the east wall of the south transept, for example, which would have been part of a Romanesque clerestory or external panelling.

[16] RCHME Dorset, I (1952), facing 200.

[17] Gibb, *pers comm.* 01.09.98: including a doorway in north aisle, and a rough rubble plinth which forms the base for the outer pilasters flanking the north aisle of the Saxon doorway and continues north into the south wall of the west cloister range. This wall terminates in a 14-foot high, megalithic, Saxon long-and-short jamb.

[18] The present windows are all 19th-century replacements, although a drawing by Buckler of *c.* 1828 shows the windows as reticulated, and it is assumed that the present appearance is a reflection of the original; from Buckler Architectural Drawings, BM Add. ms. 36361, folio 169.

[19] Leland, I (1964), 153. This wall and the processional door at its east end were probably carried out just in advance of the cloister campaign, that is in the 1330s; see Morris and Monckton (in preparation).

The Royal Commission plan provides an alternative hypothesis: both small chapels are attributed to the late 14th century, but the windows and buttresses are associated with the east-end campaign of the early 15th century; and the window and arcade details of the south transept are attributed to the nave campaign of the late 15th century.[20]

An assessment of the mouldings and details on the south side of the church, however, suggests an alternative explanation. It will be argued below that the building is not simply a two-phase construction of east and west ends, but consists of a series of distinct campaigns previously unnoticed. The evidence presented will show that the south nave aisle, rather than being part of Abbot Peter Ramsam's campaign, was a separate attempt to update the south side of the church in the late 14th or early 15th century. Furthermore, that considerable works were carried out to the south transept and its associated chapels. All these works should be placed before the construction of the east end. Having established this chronology, the east-end campaign will be looked at in detail, including a reassessment of the context for its moulded details.

The south nave aisle and associated designs

The nave campaign, which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter, consisted of the recasing and rebuilding of the piers, the reconstruction of the elevation above the arcade, and the construction of a stone fan vault (Fig. 5.3A). Although the north aisle wall retained its 14th-century appearance, backing onto the cloister (Fig. 5.3B), the interior was renovated: responds were added to this wall and a new vault built. Abbot Ramsam's heraldry (1475-1504) is evident on the vaults of both this aisle and the nave, and

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[20] Carpenter like Willis believed the Holy Sepulchre chapel to belong to the period of the chancel. He further suggested that the Wykeham Chapel had been constructed at this time. Carpenter appears to be an unreliable observer as he fails to note that the Wykeham Chapel maintains most of its Romanesque fabric while the Holy Sepulchre is a more complete reconstruction of an eastern transept chapel belonging to the Romanesque church. He also justifies his conclusion that they are contemporary, to each other and to the chancel, by the fact they both have fan vaults. Not only is this

the south nave aisle has always been attributed to this rebuilding campaign. Whereas the responds, vault springers, capitals and heraldry of the north aisle all match exactly those used for the nave of the church, those of the south aisle are, in fact, quite dissimilar. The elevation of the south wall, its tracery, mullions and jambs, is quite distinct from the north aisle wall.[21] It will be demonstrated, however, that this repertoire of mouldings is unrelated to the main nave campaign and that it provides sufficient information for dating purposes.

The first of these stylistic differences that can be identified between the south aisle and the rest of the nave is the form of the vault respond. In the south aisle the respond is composed of a single shaft, which is in contrast to the standard Perpendicular respond favoured for the north nave aisle and clerestory vault responds. Supported by this respond is a foliage capital with simple moulded abacus and vault springer of two fan mouchettes leading into a lierne vault (Fig. 5.4A). The main nave campaign and north aisle use double-tiered fan springers, on top of simple capitals with a narrow band of foliage, also leading to a lierne vault (Fig. 5.4B). The south aisle vault consists of a regular lierne, designed by the combination of a hexagon pattern, a standard tierceron, and a set of liernes creating a central diamond shape (Fig. 5.5A). Hexagon vault patterns, as already identified, were first used for the choir aisle of Wells Cathedral in the 1340s. Combinations of hexagon patterns with tierceron and lierne ribs can also be found at Wells in the vault of the Penniless Porch (*c.*1451), although this also adds hexagonal lozenge shapes to the overall scheme. Further parallels include the vault of the Fromond Chapel at Winchester College, the construction of which is dated to *c.*1425-30, and more local examples such as the tower vault of Winscombe parish church (*c.*1430s), and the Lady chapel vault of Christchurch Priory (after 1420) (Fig.

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incorrect, as the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre has a lierne vault, but the fan vault in the Wykeham Chapel is of a completely different form and type to those used in the chancel. Carpenter (1877), 145.

[21] This may account, in part, for the fact that the different repertoire of details has previously gone unnoticed.

5.5 B-D).[22] By contrast, the north aisle of Sherborne nave is covered by a lierne vault which appears to derive from the same basic models but is composed of irregular geometric patterns. This tendency towards distortion of regular geometrical shapes can be compared to Thurbern's Chantry in Winchester College Chapel (*c.*1450) (Fig. 5.6A&B). Fundamental differences in the decoration of the vaults between the two nave aisles also exist: the south aisle has large foliage bosses at all its main intersections, whereas the north aisle has smaller foliate bosses mixed with heraldic shields and displays (Fig. 5.7 A&B). The complete absence of heraldry in the south aisle contrasts with its abundance on all works attributed to Ramsam in the rest of the nave.

The stylistic evidence makes it clear that this south aisle is a separate campaign, and the nature of the stylistic variations suggest it was at a period well before the Ramsam campaign. Archaeological evidence confirms that the south aisle vault was constructed before the remodelling of the nave arcade. A slight oddity in the capital of the south aisle is the large abacus, with foliage beneath, protruding well beyond the shaft below. This appears to be designed to accommodate the fan springer, and on the westernmost bays of the nave solid masonry exists in a band between the springer and the surface of the pier (Fig. 5.8A). An explanation for this may be that single shafts were attached to the old nave piers, and the vault constructed. When, at a later date, the nave arcade was refaced and rebuilt, irregularities in the piers were rectified, resulting in the cutting back of the south side of some of the piers. As the south aisle vault had been constructed to the size of a pre-existing bay size, the new work caused a discrepancy in size, and this difference was accommodated

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[22] Winscombe is dated to *c.*1435 by Poyntz Wright as the last of the 'Cheddar Group' of towers based on his evolutionary methodology: Poyntz Wright (1981), 52-3. Harvey agrees that Winscombe tower is related to the design of Cheddar, dateable to *c.*1403-13; Harvey (1982), 166. Christchurch Lady chapel is said to be after the middle of the 15th century by the VCH, with the high vaults of the chancel inheriting a similar design but not being constructed until the early 16th century; *VCH Hampshire,* V (London, 1912), 101. Harvey, however, links the construction of this chapel with a bequest made by Sir Thomas West of £100, which he left to the work of the 'New Chapel' in 1405.

by the modification of the existing capitals and the creation of a new single shaft being cut from the old pier. This unusual protrusion can be paralleled in the south nave aisle of St Mary Redcliffe, where similar modifications were necessitated by the incompatibility of the vault size and the new bay size created from the south nave arcade reconstruction (Fig. 5.8B).[23]

It has already been demonstrated that the vault pattern of the south aisle compares well with designs dated to the first half of the 15th century. The tracery pattern, which, as a simple Perpendicular type, could be attributable to any period between *c.*1380 and *c.*1480 in the region, is less helpful. Other details of the aisle, however, are more useful. The mullions of the windows are composed of double chamfers separated by an angled rebate, leading to a jamb, with a variety of double chamfer, a hollow chamfer and then the wall plain with vault respond of a single shaft (Fig. 5.9 i). The mullion can be identified as a type characteristic of 14th-century works in Somerset and Bristol. Use of the rebate has been shown to be found as early as 1320s in the Lady chapel at Wells Cathedral, and the vault rib of St Thomas' church, Bristol,[24] only with a roll-and-fillet, rather than a chamfer, as its axial moulding.[25] The exact form favoured at Sherborne can be found in the first half of the 14th century at St Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, in both the south aisle of the nave, and the west aisle of the south transept; the south transept of Milton Abbey, Dorset (see Fig. 5.11 viii);[26] and in the middle

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Harvey further associates many of the details with works by south east masons of the third quarter of the 14th century: see Harvey (1978), 152.

[23] The capital of the south nave aisle of St Mary Redcliffe is discussed in Chapter Four, where it is explained that a Perpendicular abacus was added to the existing capital in order to accommodate a vault being added onto the existing south wall constructed with the south nave arcade. The Sherborne south aisle differs slightly in that it is the pier side capitals which are constructed to accommodate an existing vault at the time of the reconstruction of the south nave aisle, as opposed to the wall side capitals at Redcliffe.

[24] Fragments of masonry and bosses in the crypt of St John's church, Bristol show a vault rib with a profile identical to that of the Wells Lady chapel, with large foliate bosses from a lierne vault. The boss is identified in the crypt as coming from St Thomas' church in Bristol.

[25] See Chapter Two for details.

[26] Stepped chamfers without the rebate had been in use in Bristol from the beginning of the 14th century, for example, the north porch of St Mary Redcliffe. No precise date is available for south

of the century in the vicars' close at Wells. It has been shown above that this continued in use at Wells on the work of the south-west tower by Wynford in the 1390s, and subsequently in the 1420s for the matching north-west tower.[27]

The history of this feature might serve only to confirm that the aisle is probably late 14th or early 15th century in date. Its presence in combination with the jamb moulding, however, is more useful, as both sets of details can be found in both Yeovil and Ilminster parish churches. The chancel at Ilminster uses a slightly simpler form of the jamb for the interior, and the type of mullion at Sherborne is used only for the exterior of the window (Fig. 5.9 vii-viii). At Yeovil the nave aisles form the closest comparison to the work at Sherborne: a double chamfer, here with fillet and rebate, is used with the jamb and leading to a single shaft respond (Fig. 5.9 ix). The overall visual impact and articulation between these two aisles is also very close (Fig. 5.10 A&B). The hollow-chamfer element, although absent from the Yeovil aisle, is used for the east windows of the transepts with a demi-roll-and-fillet, and 'Sherborne-like' mullion (Fig. 5.9 x). As the exterior mullion at Sherborne is a roll-and-fillet, it is evident that all the features can be found in both buildings in similar combinations (Fig. 5.9 ii, and x-xii). As regards the date of the work at Sherborne, several factors should be taken into account, not least that Yeovil is dated by the will of Robert de Samborne (rector at Yeovil from 1362), who specifies money to be made available towards the completion of the work in 1382.[28] Ilminster's date is less clear, but the chancel should probably be attributed to before 1450.[29] On stylistic grounds alone a likely date span for

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transept of Milton Abbey, ogee reticulated tracery and mouldings inherited from the chancel attributed to *c.*1315 (by the RCHME Dorset, II (London, 1970), 183), and hence dated to 'later in the 14th century'.

[27] See Chapter Two for details.

[28] For further information on Yeovil and its relationship to a group of Somerset parish churches see Chapter Two.

[29] Sir William Wadham, who constructed the south transept for his chantry chapel, died in 1450. It has been suggested that the church post-dates this: the tower has been ascribed to *c.*1500. It seems most likely that the main body of the church preceded this addition and that is pre-1450, and as such 1450 should be seen as a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the chancel and transepts. For

Sherborne, therefore, might be between the 1360s and the mid-15th century. The distinct nature of the details from the choir campaign, which is dated to *c.*1425 to *c.*1450, and the closeness to the above comparisons, indicates a separate project in advance of the east-end reconstruction, narrowing the possible span to *c.*1360 to *c.*1425.

It has already been mentioned that two building campaigns had previously been identified as occurring in the second half of the 14th century at the abbey: the cloister, dated to the abbacy of John Frith (1349-73),[30] and All Hallows, undated but considered to be late 14th century or *c.*1400.[31] The remains of All Hallows show that the wall was articulated with jambs that, like the south nave aisle, ran to the floor, and with single shaft vault responds (Fig. 5.11 i-ii). The jamb detail, however, consists of a single wave moulding and the piers of a wave and an ogee. In isolation this is hard to date, examples in the region of waves for jamb mouldings are Leigh-on-Mendip, Mells (west window), Wrington (aisle windows) and North Cadbury (aisle windows) and the chancel clerestory and south transept at Milton Abbey (Fig. 5.11 iii-viii). Examples of waves in pier design are also relatively common. Because the wave, like the double chamfer, was extensively used from its introduction into the workshop of Wells Cathedral in the early 14th-century Lady chapel, it provides insufficient evidence for a comparative date with the south nave aisle. The first recorded vicar of the new chapel-of-ease, however, is John Mulborne in 1397,[32] and it is reasonable to assume that the construction took place in the 1380s-90s, after the completion of the cloister campaign. Perhaps the parish funded the construction of the new south nave

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Ilminster see anon., 'Ilminster' *SANHSP,* 13 (1866), 42-45; anon., 'Ilminster' *SANHSP,* 49 (1903), 36; anon., 'Ilminster' *SANHSP,* 73 (1927), l-li; and Wickham (1952), 41.

[30] Leland, I (1964), 153.

[31] Richard Rochell, the keeper of the accounts of the almshouse of St John, Sherborne, is recorded as being one of the churchwardens of All Hallows in 1419: J. Fowler, 'Sherborne Almshouse Building Accounts 1440-1444,' *SDNQ*, XXIX (September, 1969), part 290, 76. See also Willis (1865) and J.H.P. Gibb, 'The Battle of the Fonts and the Fire in Sherborne Abbey' privately published (n.d.), 1-18.

aisle after the completion of the new chapel, as the Romanesque elevation would have been in stark contrast to the newly constructed chapel-of-ease. Comparable monastic precedents exist for the construction of public sides of naves in this way in the 14th century, for example, at the cathedrals of Gloucester, Worcester and Chester.[33]

The details of the windows, mullions and jambs in St Katherine's chapel (situated at the east end of the south nave aisle) match exactly those of the nave aisle at Sherborne and are evidently part of the same campaign (Fig. 5.9 iii-iv). The vault does not fit comfortably on the capitals of the vault responds, and its fan form indicates that it must be a later addition, presumably after the choir (Fig. 5.12 A&B); consequently the suggestion that this chapel belongs to either the chancel campaign, or that of the nave, cannot be substantiated. St Katherine's chapel has previously been dated by the design of the vault alone, and this has formed one of the reasons for its incorrect association with the nave campaign: the chapel has been ascribed to *c.*1500 as relating to Canon Doggit of Salisbury.[34] This is based on Leland's comment on a chapel to the south. Leland in fact refers to a chapel in the 'chirch yard' and it is likely that this has wrongly been associated with the south nave chapel. In conclusion its seems that this side of the church was updated to provide some general architectural consistency with All Hallows. The recently completed parish church of Yeovil, a prestigious rebuild of a complete church geographically close to Sherborne, served as an appropriate precedent. Taking all the above into account, the reconstruction of the south side of the nave at Sherborne should probably be attributed to the period of Robert Brunyng's abbacy, that is between 1385 and 1415.

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[32] Only source for this is currently the guide book on the abbey by Gibb (1989). A vicar of 1401 is recorded in Canon C.H. Mayo's Guide to the abbey of 1924, namely William Dalton: *pers comm.* Jim Gibb.

[33] For documented date of Gloucester south aisle see R.K. Morris, 'Ballflower work in Gloucester and its vicinity,' *Medieval Art and Architecture at Gloucester and Tewkesbury* BAACT, VII (Leeds, 1985), 100. For Worcester see Morris in BAACT Worcester (1978), 116-143.

[34] Leedy (1980), 202.

The south transept and its eastern chapel

The south transept remains largely composed of Romanesque fabric, with the later alterations of a large south window of eight lights, an eastern arch, and two massive external buttresses, leaving the structure essentially intact. The eastern chapel (chapel of the Holy Sepulchre), would have replaced a Romanesque structure on the same site (Figs 5.1 and 5.13), a counterpart to the Wykeham Chapel off the north transept. Both the south window of the transept, and of the Holy Sepulchre chapel are stylistically related to the south nave work by the use of the same jamb profile (without hollow chamfer). The Holy Sepulchre chapel also has the same internal mullion, differing from St Katherine's chapel only in its use of a polygonal axial moulding for the exterior mullion (Fig. 5.9 v-vi).

In contrast to St Katherine's chapel, the eastern chapel seems to have been vaulted at the time of its remodelling, and its octagon lierne vault is of a type used increasingly in the West Country from the end of the 14th century onwards (Fig 5.14A).[35] It also lacks the fan springers used in the nave (Fig. 5.14B). All the external details of the buttresses match those of the south nave aisle and of St Katherine's chapel, and it seems likely that the Holy Sepulchre chapel remodelling was chronologically close to the nave aisle (Fig. 5.15 A&B) The archway into the chapel from the south transept favours a small roll moulding in a hollow chamfer, rather than the wave of the arch that opens from the south nave aisle to St Katherine's chapel. This feature is also found in a series of parish church designs from the late 14th century onwards, for example, Yatton, Nailsea and Wrington. Further local examples are found in the west window of Yeovil parish church and the cloister jamb at Lacock Abbey (see Fig. 5.9 xi-xiii).

Of the internal mullion and jamb of the south transept window, the frame moulding of the latter relates closely to the south nave aisle, although the depth of the Romanesque wall probably necessitated the tripartite jamb, comprising mullion (m), casement (c) and frame mouldings (f) (Fig. 5.16 i). The casement feature, a roll set in a small hollow chamfer, can be loosely related to the handling of the hollow chamfer, interrupted by a roll in the eastern arch, leading into the Holy Sepulchre chapel. More specific parallels can be found in the early 15th century, for example the window jambs of the Trinity chapel, St John's Cirencester, dated to the 1430s. These may be making reference to the same feature in the west front of Gloucester Cathedral (*c.*1420) (Fig. 5.17 i-ii). Differences between the mullion of the south transept window and that of the south nave aisle and transept chapels could be explained by virtue of the scale of the window and more significantly the necessity of major and minor mullions for a window of eight lights. This general form had a period of popularity, with variations, throughout the 14th century at Gloucester and Winchester, for example. Much more specific examples can be found in three windows at Wells Cathedral: the south east chapel of the south transept (St Martin's chapel) in the cathedral has an ogee reticulated window, probably dateable to the 1320s, and the two west windows of the north choir aisle, undated but probably after 1350 (Fig. 5.16 ii-iii).[36] The mullion in St Martin's chapel shows only a general resemblance to the Sherborne 'south transept profile', and it has a roll and roll-and-fillet as the frame moulding of the jamb. The two north choir aisle windows at Wells, however, have a mullion almost identical to the Sherborne south transept design, and in addition a tripartite jamb. But these examples are both early in the century and associated with decorated aisle windows, rather than large feature windows. A closer parallel is found in the north window of the north transept at Milton Abbey (Fig. 5.18 A&B).

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[35] Winchester Cathedral nave aisles (*c.*1390), and cloisters at Worcester (*c.*1370s), Wells (*c.*1425), and Exeter (*c.*1380) for example. For more details and dating see chapter two.

[36] Draper in BAACT Wells (1981), 22-23: Draper is more concerned with the south side aisle west windows and their sequence, although the implication is that the campaign for the aisles began at the west end of the south aisle and moved east, then to the east end of the north aisle and moved west. This would place the two west end windows of the north aisle probably at the end of the choir campaign, maybe even at some time after the hurried completion to the upper stages of the choir, and the strengthening to the tower. This would probably place them in the 1350s.

Not only is there an obvious comparison with the tracery design, but it has an almost identical mullion to the Sherborne south window (Fig. 5.16 iv-v). Milton Abbey has a more complex series of mouldings in association with these details, including what appears to be a roll set within a small hollow. The particular combination of details in the Milton north transept can be specifically related to groups of mouldings associated with the Wells workshop and its products in the late 14th century. Furthermore, it appears to provide a link between features used at Wells, Sherborne, and Winchester. Because of the potential significance of the north transept at Milton Abbey for the Sherborne transept, it will be discussed below with the aim of assessing the development of both transept designs, and its relationship to the cathedral and great church workshops of the region.

Milton Abbey north transept, dating and stylistic transmission

Milton Abbey north transept is usually dated to the abbacy of William Middleton (1482-1525), based on the presence of his heraldry on the vault. This is combined with the association of his abbacy with a period of great building: he is attributed with the abbot's hall and lodgings to the north side of the abbey church, a chantry chapel, the reredos, the vaulting of both transepts, and the crossing (Fig. 5.19). Despite this there is reason to believe, from architectural evidence, that the transept was a final stage in the early Perpendicular rebuilding that occurred sometime after the fire that devastated the church in 1309.[37] This rebuilding had begun with the reconstruction of the chancel and then the south transept, both of which display a proliferation of wave mouldings for window jambs and arches. Although the north transept is architecturally distinct from these, its details associate

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[37] RCHME Dorset IV (1972), 396: the church was burned down in 1309 and rebuilding began in 1321, when a patent was granted 'pro constructione abbatie'.

it with a group of major church works in the second half of the 14th century, rather than an isolated revival of *c.*1500.[38]

The Window Jamb

The extensive jamb moulding which frames the transept windows at Milton Abbey is composed of a series of distinct motifs: a demi-roll-and-fillet, an interrupted wave, a roll flanked by fillets and a roll in a hollow chamfer (Fig. 5.16 iv: r,w,c,h). The first of these is commonly used in isolation in window jambs, and examples of this with similar mullions exist in the already referred to aisle windows of Wells Cathedral of *c.*1320-50 (Fig. 5.16 ii-iii). What is here described as an 'interrupted wave' consists of a standard wave moulding with a centrally placed roll. This unusual form is found only in the nave of St Mary Redcliffe, the south-east presbytery arcade arch, and the central portal of the west front at Winchester Cathedral (Fig. 5.16 iv: w; vi, viii-ix). Its form can be related to the similarly contrived 'interrupted double ogee' (a double ogee with a centrally placed roll), which is also found in Wells workshop works (St Mary Redcliffe for example), and the presbytery arcades of Winchester Cathedral. The interrupted double ogee became popular in significant building projects in the 15th and early 16th centuries, as is evident through its use at the Divinity School, Oxford (in the Richard Winchcombe work of 1424-39)[39] and its revival in the Windsor-Westminster workshop of the late 15th to 16th century. It can be found also on the exterior of the north transept at Milton Abbey. The use of the interrupted wave is far less extensive, and with its only known appearances at Redcliffe and Winchester, its use appears to be restricted to designs of the 14th century: the Winchester presbytery examples can be dated to *c.*1310s and the west front as the next major workshop campaign at the cathedral, in

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[38] My thanks to Dr. Richard K. Morris for first drawing my attention to the presence of these profiles, and their 14th-century context.

[39] Harvey (1984), 337.

the 1350s-1360s.[40] At Redcliffe it is introduced in the design for the nave arcade, after 1360.[41] The extensive nature of the campaign at Redcliffe meant that it remained in use for the whole campaign, which was not finished until the early 15th century.

The next motif in the Milton Abbey jamb can be described as a roll with lateral fillets. Its appearance is of a short chamfer with the roll set at the mid-point and is reminiscent of a similar feature at Wells and Redcliffe. In the eastern-most arches of Wells Cathedral nave, inserted as part of the central tower strengthening, there exists a similar detail flanking the sunk waves; a much closer comparison is found in the south porch of St Mary Redcliffe, also flanking a wave (*c.*1340), and the chapel entrance at Berkeley Castle, near Bristol (Fig. 5.16 iv: c; vii and see 4.28 i-vii for Berkeley Castle and comparisons).[42] The use of this feature flanking an interrupted double ogee is found in the works of Richard Winchcombe at the Divinity School, Oxford (1424-39) and Adderbury parish church (1408-1418).[43] The adoption of these two motifs in Winchcombe's work suggests he was influenced by, or aware of, developments in late 14th-century Bristol. By contrast the roll in hollow chamfer, the final feature of the Milton jamb has closer parallels in Winchester, in the presbytery arcades of the 1310s-20s. It can also be related to the already identified early 15th-century examples in Gloucester west front (door jamb) and the Trinity chapel, Cirencester (window jamb) (see Fig. 5.17 i-ii).

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[40] Draper and Morris in Crook (1993), 182: Witney who was present at Winchester, until his transfer to Exeter in 1316, favoured Decorated 'raised wave' forms for the arcade. See the north-east arch of the east bay. The south-east arch of the east bay uses a roll set mid-way in hollow chamfer and mid-way in wave mouldings adapted by Witney's successor William Joy to roll and fillet in hollow chamfer and roll in double ogee.

[41] See Chapter Four.

[42] Series of associated designs related to this feature in the Bristol and Wells area in the middle of the century indicate the presence of William Joy, such as the chapel in Berkeley Castle, near Bristol. See Morris in BAACT Bristol (1997).

[43] Harvey (1984), 336-337.

Mullion

There appear, so far, to be elements present at Milton Abbey that could indicate an awareness of both Wells and Winchester workshop products. The mullion and tracery of the north transept strengthen the possibility of a direct link to Winchester. A three-part mullion exists at Milton Abbey, taking the form of an axial roll with canted fillets for the main or axial part, and a smaller version of the same feature for the minor part (Fig. 5.16 iv: m and s). The minor mullion also comprises a filleted chamfer that provides the profile for the cusps of the tracery. Edington's work on the west front of Winchester Cathedral favoured a three-part mullion that similarly repeated the roll and canted fillets motif, linking it to the already completed works at the east end of Gloucester Cathedral, and at the west end and cloister (Fig. 5.17 iii-v). Similar mullions found at Shaftesbury Abbey and Bruton Priory (Fig. 5.17 vi-vii) suggest that Winchester was a source for designers of local monastic houses, of which Milton was one. The form of the minor mullion at Milton relates more closely to the 14th-century examples at Wells and Bristol as cited above, and of course the Sherborne transept, although these others make no reference to the 'Gloucester' derivative.

Tracery

The north window at Milton is an impressive eight-light window filling the end wall of the transept (see Fig. 5.18A). Its use of major mullions and a transom to accommodate the stacked up lights covering an end wall compare with the great west window at Winchester Cathedral (Fig. 5.20A).[44] At Winchester supermullions are used in both the aisle and main windows of the west front, whereas at Milton the main mullions cross through the abatement lights of the alternating design. The aim at Milton may be for a coherent pattern of lights across the width of the window head, rather than the tri-partite effect of the

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[44] The upper stages of the west front could be attributed to William Wynford 1394-1405, who was responsible for the nave elevation and the nave vault design. Crook and Kusaba in Crook (1993): see 219-221 for a discussion that indicates the entire exterior is Edington's phase, with the interior side of the west wall being Wykeham's phase, whereas Willis suggests only the gable was post 1394.

Winchester west window, perhaps to reflect the reticulated ogees of the south transept window opposite (see Fig. 5.22B).

In Somerset the use of alternate tracery forms, rather than sub-reticulated, would indicate an early Perpendicular date. At Milton Abbey, the apparent influence from Winchester, combined with that of the reticulated window opposite, could explain the use of this design. The moulded details all fit in with a complete repertoire of details found at Winchester Cathedral and St Mary Redcliffe in the late 14th century. It has already been shown that the interrupted wave was restricted to a brief history in this period, and the development of mullions in major architectural projects further suggests the likelihood that all these details together could only appear in the early Perpendicular period. Although three-part mullions continued to be used in great windows, the roll with canted fillets was gradually replaced by the roll 'without fillets', for example in the 15th-century works at Winchester and Windsor. Its use in the 'Gloucester' form is apparently restricted to the late 14th and early 15th centuries at Gloucester and Winchester, with related occurrences being found locally at Cirencester and Shaftesbury respectively. Although the Wells identified type began as early as the 1320s, it became popular in the late 14th century (Redcliffe) and continued in use in the first half of the 15th century in works in and related to Oxford (Divinity School, 1420s and the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick, 1440s).

In conclusion, the details found at Milton Abbey in the north transept can be traced to late 14th-century work in the region, emanating both from the Wells and Winchester workshops. Many of the details appear to have a mixed pedigree in being found in similar form at both locations, potentially confusing the issue of influences. However, many of the details can be traced back to works of the early 14th century at both cathedral workshhops and, of course, the presbyteries at both were worked on by the same masons.[45] It is the

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[45] Draper and Morris in Crook (1993), 182-192.

combination of details at Milton Abbey that makes it likely the designer was aware of St Mary Redcliffe, whereas the mullion, with its 'Wells' minor mullion and 'Winchester' major mullion may be the result of a designer looking to Winchester for an appropriate precedent for large multi-light windows. The Redcliffe transept would have been an unsuitable precedent for a transept of the scale of Milton. If the construction of the north transept at Milton Abbey can be considered contemporary with work to Winchester's west front and the reconstruction of Redcliffe, it confirms the significance of details used at Bristol in the region, as well the overall awareness of the Winchester nave rebuilding. The complication, of course, as already highlighted, is the presence of heraldry on the vault of the transept dating it to the end of the 15th century.

The north and south transept vaults at Milton Abbey have heraldry referring to Abbot Middleton (1481-1525) and Thomas Langton (Bishop of Salisbury 1485-93, and Winchester 1493-1501). The vault design is essentially the same for both transepts, with the north being smaller by virtue of only being two bays long (Fig. 5.22 A&B), and the style of the bosses in each transept is different. In the north transept the heraldic bosses are all in the central area of the vaults and there are none where the vault ribs join the wall ribs. These tend instead to be foliage designs, which in the north transept are rather 'seaweedy' designs reminiscent of those in the south nave aisle at Sherborne Abbey.

The south transept, with its ogee-reticulated tracery, double chamfer mullions, and wave mouldings, is dateable to the third quarter of the 14th century (see Fig. 5.11 viii) and it is assumed that the existing vault was added to this transept by Abbot Middleton. It is equally possible that the vault of the north transept is not contemporary with the main body of the transept and, like that of the south transept, was added during Middleton's abbacy. An alternative hypothesis might be that Middleton's only contribution to a series of extant vaults was the insertion of some new bosses. Certainly the design of the south transept would be appropriate for the mid-14th century, and differences do exist between the handling of the two vaults, for example the north transept has smaller, more delicate, ribs.

Whenever constructed, it seems likely that the north transept vault was designed to match that of the south, although both have a relatively archaic design, established as early as the 1280s at Pershore Abbey.[46] Middleton had created his chantry chapel in the south transept and the addition of bosses above could have been to create an appropriate setting. Other bosses in the south side include Edward III and Athelstan: either these were original to the vault in the 14th century or Middleton was creating a consciously historic iconography. In the south transept these historic bosses are given priority in the hierarchy, being placed along the ridge rib, and it could be that Middleton chose a subsidiary location for his arms because of the presence of existing bosses. In the north transept his arms are on the central bosses of the southern bay. The replacement or addition of bosses in pre-existing vaults is thought, or known, to have occurred in other places. The timber vault of Winchester presbytery is probably a mid-15th century copy of the nave vault: Bishop Fox subsequently inserted bosses representing his arms in the 16th century.[47] Parallels in stone vaults are found in the abbeys of both Pershore and Tewkesbury.[48]

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[46] J. Bony, *The English Decorated Style – Gothic Architecture Transformed 1250-1350* (Oxford, 1979), 47 and 85 note 11.

[47] C.J.P. Cave, *The Roof Bosses of Winchester Cathedral* (Winchester, 4th impr. 1976), 19: Cave suggests that the bosses of the chancel vault were added by Bishop Fox in *c.* 1506, carved in wood and bolted on to an already existing wooden roof. This line of thinking has been followed more recently in A. Smith, *Roof bosses of Winchester Cathedral* (Winchester, 1996), 18-25. Lindley, however, has advocated an early 16th-century date for the vault based largely on evidence presented by Munby and Fletcher: they state that the roof structure and vault go together, and that the roof should be dated to the early 16th century based on evidence with comparative dated roof structures; see P. Lindley, 'The Medieval Sculpture of Winchester Cathedral' 155 in Crook (1993). Despite their dating Munby and Fletcher still clearly identify the heraldic bosses of Fox as a secondary phase, added onto the primary bosses at some point after the construction of the vault; see J. Munby, and J. Fletcher, 'Carpentry in the cathedral and close at Winchester' 105-107, in T.A. Heslop and V.A. Sekules, eds *Medieval Art and Architecture at Winchester Cathedral,* BAACT for the year 1980 (Leeds, 1983). It does seem unlikely that Fox would have constructed a vault at the beginning of his episcopate in 1501 and subsequently added heraldic emblems only a few years later (the arms date the bosses to 1504-09). In the absence of any further details for dating, the timber vault is conjecturally ascribed to the mid-15th century on circumstantial evidence, although both vault and clerestory could stylistically be late 14th century onwards.

[48] Abbot William Newenton (1413-1457) of Pershore Abbey made changes to the 14th-century south transept vault by the addition of a stone boss on which was carved his rebus: See M. Thurlby, 'The Abbey Church, Pershore: An Architectural History,' *Worcester Archaeological Society Transactions*, 3rd Series, 15 (1996), 196. The 14th-century choir vault at Tewkesbury had Yorkist badges inserted:

In conclusion, the north transept of Milton Abbey should not be dated by the presence of Middleton's heraldry alone, as an assessment of the architectural details suggests a date significantly earlier. Although clearly a distinct campaign to that of the south transept, it would fit within current chronological guidelines after the establishment of the design at Redcliffe and the commencement of the Winchester west front project, and probably no later than the appearance of comparable details in Oxford. Although one argument could be that Milton Abbey was reviving earlier forms familiar to the locality, the limited period of time that the combination of profiles were fashionable and in use, suggests instead that it should be fitted into a period of great church building in the region. It might reasonably be dated to *c.*1380-*c.*1430.

Sherborne and its relationship to Milton Abbey

Having established an earlier date for the work at Milton Abbey transept, how does this assist our understanding of the south transept at Sherborne? A number of significant similarities and differences in the two campaigns exist; for example, the rebuilding of the north transept at Milton Abbey was a more major project using more elaborate, and expensive, detail than the south transept at Sherborne. In the north transept at Milton the double chamfer mullion, found in the 14th-century work at Milton and Sherborne, has been completely abandoned, suggesting a totally new phase of work at the church. By contrast, at Sherborne, the transept jamb design makes particular reference to the designs of the nearby south nave aisle. Although the tracery designs are not identical, both favour eight-light windows with major mullions, but perhaps the most obvious link between them is the way that the main mullions cut through the middle of the batement lights. Whereas Milton Abbey favours what is essentially an alternate tracery pattern adapted for a large transomed window, Sherborne shows a more direct adherence to the traditions of parish church

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N. Pevsner and D. Verey, *Gloucestershire: the Vale and the Forest of Dean* B/E (Harmondsworth, architecture in the Somerset area, through its use of sub-reticulated tracery (Fig. 5.21 i-ii). The differences between the two windows appear to highlight the nature of the relative projects to their respective buildings, whilst a number of similarities suggest that one was constructed with the knowledge of the other. Sherborne, in fact, demonstrates continuing links with its Somerset hinterland of parish churches.

The appearance of the south transept at Sherborne may be dependent on the fact that neither Wells nor Redcliffe had transepts that provided appropriate models for expansive Perpendicular windows, but that precedents could be found in Somerset parish churches, for example, at Axminster, Yeovil and Ilminster. Yeovil had a feature window for the transepts (Fig. 5.21 ii), and it was a simple change that resulted in the early 15th-century addition of a transom to a five light window that retained the sub-reticulated design of the tracery head, for example Ilminster south transept (Fig. 5.23). Sherborne transept is, therefore, an adaptation of this local and parish church precedent with the handling and scale of window at Milton Abbey. No direct knowledge of the Winchester west front is evident in the design, and it has already been shown that Somerset parish churches provided the models for the south nave aisle. In the same way that the designer at Milton may have looked towards Winchester for an appropriate window on that scale, the designer of Sherborne may have looked to Milton Abbey for an appropriate transept model. That is, the nature of the work (as a transept refurbishment) may have brought about a conscious comparison with Milton Abbey, which was of comparable scale to the Sherborne work.

Without firmer dates for these works it is impossible to attribute relative positions with greater confidence. Whether Sherborne turned to the more impressive Milton Abbey for comparison, or whether the Sherborne model, as inherited from Somerset parish churches, was mixed at Milton Abbey with a Winchester influence is hard to establish. Both

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1970), 365.

have a place in the understanding of the development of transept design and early Perpendicular mouldings in the West Country. Independently both can be ascribed to a similar date range of post Sherborne south nave aisle and pre Sherborne chancel design.[49]

In summary, the south transept appears to relate closely to Somerset parish church precedents, following the work to the south nave aisle, but may have strong affiliations with contemporary work at Milton Abbey. Chronologically this transept and its associated eastern chapel must be closely related to the south nave aisle and probably forms a secondary phase to the updating of the south side of the church. An exact parallel to a progressive south (or town) side rebuilding from the nave to transept and ultimately to chancel is found in the first half of the 14th century at Gloucester Cathedral. Evidence for the construction of the chancel beginning in *c.*1425 must provide a *terminus ante quem* for this south side campaign.

The east-end reconstruction and the fire of 1437

The exact date for the commencement of this phase of reconstruction is not recorded. Documentary and visual evidence exists for a fire in the chancel part-way through its construction. Both the historical circumstances surrounding the fire, and the implications for date and progress of construction, have been studied. Willis presented his reconstruction of the events surrounding the fire at a meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute in 1865, and Gibb's research into the causes of the fire have further refined and reassessed this information.[50] Gibb has most recently addressed three significant issues. Firstly, by using the resources of the annals of the abbey and ordinance of Bishop Neville he discovered that the fire actually took place in 1437, which fact has provided the key to understanding the reconstruction. Second, his analysis of the standing fabric has produced a thorough study of

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[49] Gibb presents some evidence that the south transept was roofed in the late 14th century, which would roughly correlate with the proposed time scale for the south side works: Gibb (1988), 168-9.
[50] Willis (1865), 179-199 and Gibb (1985), 101-124.

the distribution of the fire-damaged stone in the east end of the abbey church.[51] Third, he provided an interpretation for sources of the chancel design. Having entered into a dialogue with Harvey about this last aspect, Gibb retracted some aspects of his initial paper on the subject. The aim of this section is therefore two-fold: to re-assess all the information collated by Gibb concerning the order of construction and progress up to the fire, and to analyse the design details of the east-end campaign in the light of this reassessment and of the above new chronology for the south side of the church.

The Fire: cause and effect

Leland attributed the entire east-end rebuilding to Abbot William Bradford (1436-1459) and made reference to the cause of the fire: 'the monkes and tounes-men fell at variaunce...[and]...a preste of Al-Hawlois shot a shaft with fier into the toppe of that part of S. Marye chirch that devided the est part that the monkes usid from the townes-men usid: and this partition chauncing at that tyme to be thakkid yn, therofe was sette a fier'.[52] Despite Leland's comment that 'al the este parte of S.Mary chirch was reedified yn Abbate Bradefordes tyme',[53] the fire damage on the existing chancel building proves that the rebuilding campaign was initiated under the previous abbot, John Brunying (1415-36). Gibb recounts the story of a quarrel between the monks and the parish, as described by Leland and Willis before him.[54] The church of All Hallows had been constructed against the west front of the abbey nave and was used as a chapel-of-ease by the parish. It seems that the construction of a font in All Hallows, and the claim by the parish that the abbot had removed the font from its usual position in the abbey to another part of the nave caused the disagreement. The abbot was further accused of narrowing the doorway in the west wall of

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[51] See Gibb (1985), figs.1, 3, and 8.
[52] Leland, I (1964), 152-153.
[53] *Ibid.*
[54] Gibb (n.d.), 1-18.

the nave south aisle, which led into All Hallows (Fig 5.24 A&B).[55] The failure to solve this disagreement resulted in the enquiry of November 12th, 1436, and the ordinance dated January 8th, 1436/7. The subsequent failure of the two parties to respond to the terms of the ordinance, as given by Bishop Neville, resulted in the fire of October 28th, 1437.[56]

Leland's description of the fire suggests it began at the point of the partition between the chancel and the nave, and this is supported by the visual evidence, which shows the greatest intensity of flames to be in the area of the crossing.[57] The fire was prevented from travelling further west by the presence of a stone pulpitum, the foundations of which were discovered by Gibb in 1985 (Fig. 5.25).

The distribution of fire damaged stones provides information on the level work had reached by 1437. This can be summarised as follows: the chancel was constructed up to the level of the top of the arcade on the north side, whereas on south side the fire damage is evident up to the level of the vault springers and adjacent window voussoirs. Although the tracery was replaced by Slater, so that no evidence of scorching remains on these, the present window design probably follows the pre-fire plan. It is explained below how the profiles and spacing of the mullions had been set by the design of the triforium level panelling. Evidence is provided by Gibb to support the idea that the clerestory windows were designed before the fire halted the work; he suggests the bottom row of twelve lights in the tracery head had been reached by the time of the fire, hence establishing the format of the tracery design. The structure of the tower had been completed by the time of the fire, and the east

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[55] *Ibid.*, 4.

[56] Leland, I (1964), 152-153; Willis (1865), 193-195; Gibb (n.d.), 4-8, 12; and Gibb (1985), 101-105.

[57] Leland states that the 'shaft with fier [was shot] into the toppe of that part of S. Marye chirch that devidid the est part that the monkes usid from the townes-men usid'; Leland, I (1964), 152. This may be the partition that was mentioned in the ordinance of Bishop Neville, and perhaps was one of the only instructions actually carried out by the monastery between the ordinance date of 1436 and the fire in 1437: Bishop Neville ordered that 'there shalle be made, at the expense of the monastery, an intermediate partition in the nave of the monastic church, close to the choir of the monks, so that there

tower arch had been heightened (Fig. 5.26 A&B). It has been suggested that the presence of scaffolding carried the fire from here into the chancel. The discussion on the extent of the rebuilding before the fire has been deemed significant because of the importance of the chancel vault design. A drawing by Gibb illustrates burnt stones at the apex of the eastern crossing arch, demonstrating that the lierne ribs and panelled heads were part of the pre-fire design. With the evidence that the springers on the south side of the chancel had also been completed, it can be shown that the essential elements of the vault design were established before the fire (Fig. 5.27).[58] Furthermore, in combination with the evidence that the east wall of the chancel had not been built by the time of the fire, and remained in its Romanesque form,[59] it seems the construction was proceeding from west to east.

The date span

The extent of work carried out by 1437 proves conclusively that work must have started some time before the abbacy of William Bradford (1436-59). A date of *c.*1425 is usually quoted as a reasonable starting date for the reconstruction, certainly within the abbacy of John Brunying (1415-1436).[60] Although it is not clear exactly when work resumed on the chancel, it is known that work was being carried out in 1446. A licence dated to 1446 is addressed to the abbey allowing the acquisition of lands in mortmain to the value of 10*l* per year. The licence refers to the poor state of the abbey and convent as the result of a sudden fire that lately consumed the choir and campanile of the abbey.[61] Leland's misleading attribution probably relates to the fact that the work was completed within Bradford's abbacy, and therefore by 1459.

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shall be a distinct separation between the monks of the aforesaid parishioners'; Willis (1865), 190 and Appendix 1.

[58] Gibb (1985), 115, fig. 8.

[59] *Ibid.*, 111-118.

[60] Harvey (1978), 165. He attributes the choir aisles and their tracery to this date, whereas Gibb suggests the chancel is this date and the aisles later. Gibb confirms that the extent of the campaign by the time of the fire would support an approximate starting date of *c.*1425; Gibb (1985), 119.

[61] Willis (1865), 195, and 198 for a transcription of the licence.

The Gibb and Harvey debate: order of construction, masons and design

Harvey published his interpretation of the design at Sherborne in 1978, before Gibb's analysis of the fabric had been produced. He associated the pre-fire phase, identified as the aisles and the arcade up to triforium level, with the work of Robert Hulle, master mason at Winchester Cathedral, probably from 1404 to 1442, after William Wynford. He believed that the clerestory windows were redesigned afterwards (*c.*1445-6) by a second mason, probably from the Bristol school.[62] Harvey's argument was based, firstly, on the assertion that the aisle walls had to precede the main body of the chancel to serve as buttresses for the rebuilding of the arcade and clerestory walls,[63] and secondly on his broad stylistic comparisons, which led him to believe that the aisle windows were earlier than the clerestory. This second assessment was based on the fact that the main comparison for the clerestory windows was identified as St Mary Redcliffe. Redcliffe's clerestory tracery, that Harvey dates to 1446 or later, uses the large scale sub-reticulated tracery pattern that forms the basis for the design at Sherborne.[64] In these terms the clerestory windows at Sherborne had to post-date Bristol and therefore had to been designed after the fire.

Gibb suggested a slightly reversed interpretation: that an unknown mason designed the chancel elevation, including the clerestory before the fire, and in agreement with Harvey that the clerestory tracery may be indicative of this mason coming from Bristol. He suggested that after the fire another architect took over the design and that this could well be Robert Hulle, the master mason at Winchester Cathedral, who succeeded William Wynford in 1404.[65] He attributed to this second designer the work of the chancel aisle windows.

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[62] Harvey (1978), 165.

[63] Correspondence from Harvey to Gibb, 24.02.86. Harvey here essentially reiterates his main points from *The Perpendicular Style* (1978), but places the arguments more clearly than in the published text.

[64] Harvey dates the choir aisle windows to *c.*1425 and St Mary Redcliffe to *c.*1446: Harvey (1978) 165 and 162 respectively.

[65] Harvey (1984), 152 and Gibb (1985), 119-120.

A subsequent dialogue between Harvey and Gibb resulted in the retraction of some of Gibb's original thesis, largely because of Harvey's insistence that the aisle walls could not post-date the chancel arcade, and the aisle windows were stylistically earlier than those of the clerestory.[66] A further analysis of these two factors, however, reveals that Gibb's initial hypothesis is well founded and can be supported by archaeological and stylistic evidence. Firstly, evidence shows that the Romanesque aisle walls were left standing during the construction of the main chancel elevation, and secondly, the reassessment of the date of Redcliffe and the south side of Sherborne, confirms that available precedents for the clerestory tracery did exist before 1437.

It has been shown that the rebuilding was a west to east campaign and that the east wall of the chancel was left standing during the construction of the chancel arcades to full height. Romanesque decoration on the exterior of two bays of the north choir aisle (now inside Bishop Roger's Chapel), and the Holy Sepulchre chapel to the south confirm that these walls would have remained intact during construction, only to be re-faced afterwards (see Fig. 5.1). The facing of the wall in the north aisle, that is the intermediary wall with Bishop Roger's Chapel and the free-standing wall further east, have scattered and isolated blocks of fire-damaged ashlar. The discoloration is clear on only a few individual, and unrelated ashlars, evidence of the fact that the wall as exists today was not subject to fire damage. No fire damage exists on the upper levels of the north arcade, and the only damage in the aisle is found in the central bay on the north side, which is badly scorched. The opposite aisle wall is remarkably untouched.[67] Other examples of scattered burnt stones were found on the exterior face of the north clerestory, within the roof space (an area

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[66] Gibb (1988), 163 based on letter from Harvey to Gibb, 24.02.86 and Gibb (1988), 168, note 4. My thanks to Jim Gibb for showing me the correspondence relating to this discussion: letters from John Harvey to Jim Gibb, 24.02.86, 24.04.86, 08.05.86 and 18.07.87.

[67] Gibb (1985), 109.

untouched by Slater), and the east wall of the chancel.[68] The sudden break in burnt masonry between the east piers and the chancel east wall, combined with Leland's comments that the fire did not reach the Lady chapel, confirm that this wall was left in its Romanesque state (see Fig. 5.26 A&B). It was likely that this wall remained to give structural support to the new work and provide a barrier between the construction and the Lady chapel that was probably used for the monks services while the chancel and crossing were out of use. The existence of randomly placed burnt ashlars on this wall, therefore, suggest construction or re-facing after the fire, with burnt stone salvaged (probably cut but not laid at the time of the fire) and used amongst newly cut stone.[69] The same can be said of the north wall of the elevation in the roof space and the north choir aisle, all of which were evidently constructed and re-faced after the fire. Although it is a structural requirement that aisle walls exist to support an arcade structure in between, the use of older fabric in aisle walls to achieve this is not without precedent. The presbytery of Winchester Cathedral and almost certainly the chancel at Bath Abbey,[70] provide useful late medieval examples of rebuilding within Romanesque building, and to this can now be added the nave of Sherborne itself, as the new nave arcades left the 14th-century walls of both aisles intact.

Construction of the new chancel was, unsurprisingly, dependent on the ability to build within the framework of the Romanesque fabric, and it is the relative states of the two structures at different phases of construction that allows for a sequence for the new work to be established. It has already been seen, through an analysis of the burnt masonry, that the chancel elevations were constructed consecutively: the south elevation being completed to vault springing level before the north. This method of construction is paralleled in the 14th-

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[68] *ibid.*

[69] My thanks for Jim Gibb's comments and correspondence: *pers comm.* December 1994-January 1995.

[70] The aisles of Winchester chancel apparently retained their Romanesque masonry until the early 16th century, despite the rebuilding of the presbytery arcades, etc. in the first half of the 14th century.

century nave reconstruction of Worcester Cathedral.[71] Stability was granted to the reconstruction of Sherborne chancel by the presence of the east wall of the Romanesque chancel and its aisles.

The clerestory windows in the chancel at Sherborne consist of six-lights divided equally by the presence of two main supermullions, which cut through the batement lights of the sub-reticulated pattern in the head of the window (Fig. 5.28A). A nine-light version of this window is placed in the east wall of the chancel (Fig. 5.28B). This design has been, appropriately, associated with the clerestory at St Mary Redcliffe (Fig. 5.29), although a suggested date for the upper elevation of Redcliffe as *c.* 1446 has misleadingly implied that those at Sherborne could only be part of the post-fire design. With the upper stages of Redcliffe firmly associated with the design of the lower stages in the late 14th century,[72] this presumption is no longer necessary. Furthermore, the design at Sherborne is most closely related to the design of the south window in its own transept, now dated to the early 15th century, just in advance of the chancel campaign (see above). It has been demonstrated that this design was drawn from a history of feature window designs favouring sub-reticulation in Somerset parish churches from the 1360s onwards, and the north transept of Milton Abbey (Fig. 5.21 i-iv). At Redcliffe this design, otherwise only reserved on that scale for east, west and transept windows, was applied to its entire clerestory to demonstrate its own prestige. This precedent was then emulated by the Sherborne designer, but along with a direct reference to its inherent workshop tradition, which was largely dependent on Somerset models available well in advance of the fire of 1437.

Archaeological and stylistic evidence has demonstrated that the chancel elevation was constructed independently of the aisles and that the latter should be associated with the post-fire campaign. In attempting an analysis of the architectural details of the chancel the

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[71] Morris in BAACT Worcester (1978), 116-143.

distinct nature of the pre- and post-fire campaigns is quickly evident. The main elevation of the chancel provides the full repertoire of features used in the pre-fire period, attributable to *c.*1425-1437. It will be argued that much of this repertoire is well established within the workshop at Sherborne in the late 14th and early 15th centuries, although the significant elements indicate more than this indirect association with works in and around Bristol. By contrast the post-fire work shows a marked change of style, introducing elements completely new to the workshop.

Sherborne from c.1425-1437: the design of the chancel elevation

The three bay chancel of Sherborne constitutes architecture worthy of the great church tradition, with its panelled triforium, large clerestory and most notably its large-span fan vault. Other aspects of its detailing contribute to this overall effect, such as the pier profile, which establishes the set of details used throughout the elevation (Fig. 5.30 i-iii). This method of predicting the upper stages of the design in the plan of the pier was a distinguishing factor in the main body of the church of St Mary Redcliffe, becoming standard in great Perpendicular churches, for example St George's Chapel, Windsor. A general aesthetic comparison can be made between the elevations of Sherborne and Redcliffe, most obviously in the panelling at triforium level and general resemblance of the tracery as referred to above (Fig. 5.31 A&B). Mouldings that frame the entire bay, sweeping from the pier around the clerestory, were first seen in the region in the form of a single wave in the choir of Wells Cathedral (*c.*1340). At Sherborne the clerestory arch also extends uninterrupted from the arcade level, taking the form of a double ogee (o), panel (p) and roll moulding (m) (Fig. 5.30 ii). This roll moulding becomes the wall rib for the clerestorey window and as such predicts the size and scale of the axial moulding of the main mullion (Fig. 5.30 i: m). Dividing at the point of the springing of the arcade arch, it also forms the

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[72] See Chapter Four.

exterior moulding of the extrados. On this plain extrados sits the continuous mullions of the clerestory and triforium level (Figs 5.30 iii & 5.32A). The arcade arch is also established in the pier profile, and capitals are restricted to the inner order of the arcades and the top of the vault responds. This arrangement differs slightly from that of the nave elevation at Redcliffe, where the clerestory mullion is not present in any form in the pier profile, and the corner element of the pier forms the outer moulding of the extrados and part of the clerestory continuous arch moulding.

A distinctive feature of the elevation is the introduction of panelling around the windows, so often described as the ultimate expression of the Perpendicular aesthetic. The application of panelling around the window itself has a close parallel in the Fromond Chapel in Winchester College, (*c.*1420s-30s) contemporary with Sherborne chancel (Fig. 5.32B). Gibb has already noted that the mouldings of the Fromond Chapel differ totally from anything found at Sherborne. Gibb has shown that the standard vault respond is the only feature shared by both buildings. The rest of the details found at Sherborne bear no resemblance to the works of this chapel or earlier works at the College. The proportions of the large clerestory windows and smaller segmental-headed aisle windows can be seen to be a general reflection of the Redcliffe design, and are notably different from the other campaigns to which the designer may have looked, such as Winchester nave, Wells chancel, Gloucester, or Glastonbury (Fig. 5.33 A&B). Redcliffe cannot be identified as the only church of proportions that are closely comparable to Sherborne and perhaps the most significant alternative example is the rebuilding of the Romanesque east end of Great Malvern Priory, Worcestershire, of roughly contemporary date. Dateable to *c.*1440-60, based on the evidence of glazing in the 1460s, Great Malvern provides further evidence that the existence of panelling and a Perpendicular organisation to the elevation are insufficient as criteria with which to link Sherborne to other examples of panelled interiors such as the

Fromond Chapel.[73] The Great Malvern east end has a very similar overall design to Sherborne, with a panelled triforium integrated into the extrados of the arcade arch, and the use of 'Perpendicular' vault responds. The details of the tracery betray a dependence on work as early as the south transept at Gloucester Cathedral (1330s), and the tower too, is clearly a copy of the work at Gloucester (1450s) (Fig. 5.34 A&B). This is further supported by the mouldings, which favour the roll and canted fillet as the main mullion, as well as features introduced into the Gloucester campaign only with the rebuilding of the west end of the nave (Fig. 5.17 iv, viii-x). Dated to *c.*1420 this west-end rebuild immediately precedes Great Malvern and shows that the workshop, having developed its repertoire of moulded details has retained basic aspects of 14th-century design from the earlier campaigns. It appears that Great Malvern can be linked to a series of buildings being constructed at this date utilising the same basic principles for a similar aesthetic goal, in which Sherborne and the Fromond Chapel at Winchester can also be included. However, the details in each are all from different sources, that is Gloucester Cathedral, Redcliffe and Winchester Cathedral respectively. The mouldings of each campaign therefore must be the aspect most appropriate for comparison bearing in mind the similar nature of the overall effect of three quite distinct buildings.

An analysis of the moulded details of the chancel elevation at Sherborne is revealing both about the nature of the design and its origins and about style and influence in the region in the early 15th century. At Sherborne the mullion constitutes one of the most distinctive features. The main mullion consists of an axial roll moulding with canted fillets, and the minor mullion is formed by a polygonal end with small rebate before the customary hollow chamfer (Fig. 5.35 i). The origins of rolls with canted fillets has already been discussed in

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[73] The church was consecrated by the bishop of Worcester on July 30th, 1460; A.C. Deane, *A Short Account of Great Malvern Priory Church* (London, 1914), 18, taken from the *Episcopal Register of John Carpenter*, i, f.165.

reference to Sherborne and Milton Abbey, and two separate sources for this general type were identified as Gloucester (subsequently found at Winchester), and Wells (found at Redcliffe).[74] Having established also that the south transept at Sherborne preceded this work, it seems that it is drawing on a form already introduced into the workshop. No direct link to the Winchester type is evident, and this is further proved by the form of the minor mullion. Polygonal mouldings with rebates and chamfers (or as at Sherborne, hollow chamfers) can be found in a variety of early 15th-century buildings. For example, it is used for the lavatorium of the Gloucester cloister, and subsequently in the Gloucester west window as a comparable minor mullion to that at Sherborne (Fig. 5.35 iv-v). These projects at Gloucester mark the shift away from the 'Gloucester' mullion type ultimately derived from the south transept, and adopted in the Edington work at Winchester Cathedral in the 1360s. Whereas this is a new feature at Gloucester in the aforementioned works, it is by contrast frequently found in Bristol throughout the 14th and 15th centuries, and henceforth will be called the 'Bristol mullion'. It is used in combination with double chamfer mullion designs from the 14th century, for example, the aisle windows of Yeovil parish church (interior mullion, after 1362-*c.*1400); the lateral windows of St John's, Bristol (interior and exterior mullion profiles); the west window of Temple church, Bristol (interior mullion *c.*1460)[75] and the south chapel of St Mark's, Bristol (exterior mullion profile, early 16th century) (Fig. 5.35 vi-viii).[76] Although these examples are similar to Sherborne it is found in a form much closer to that at Sherborne in the clerestory at St Mary Redcliffe, Bristol: not only is the rebate used here in combination with a polygonal moulding for the exterior of the clerestory, but furthermore the interior consists of an axial roll with very slightly canted

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[74] Before the main body of the church of St Mary Redcliffe was reconstructed the south transept favoured a moulding with a similar axial feature, inherited presumably from London rather than Wells directly.

[75] Harvey (1978), 199.

fillets, a rebate and then a hollow chamfer (Fig. 5.35 iii). The use of both features for a single mullion at Sherborne is determined largely by the need for a major and minor profile, necessitated by the articulation of the windows with dominant supermullions. The combined use of rolls with canted fillets and subsidiary polygonal features is used for the respond in the north elevation of the Divinity School, Oxford. This elevation was started in 1424 and is, therefore, exactly contemporary with the commencement of the campaign at Sherborne. The mullion at the Divinity School also favours the axial roll with canted fillets, but with a roll and hollow chamfer as its minor mullion (Fig. 5.35 x-xii). This work lacks the small rebate used at Sherborne, that connects it with works produced in Bristol, but is indicative of an increasing tendency by this date to use axial rolls with polygonal and roll mouldings as minor elements on the interior of buildings. Polygonal axial mouldings had more traditionally been used for exterior profiles, for example the mullions of the nave windows at Winchester Cathedral. The exterior of the Sherborne clerestory windows consists of a simple hollow chamfer for the mullions, with a large axial polygonal moulding for the two dominant supermullions that articulate the tracery design (Fig. 5.35 ii). Evidently a simplified form of this had been previously chosen for the exterior of the same supermullions in the south transept.

The rest of the moulded details of the Sherborne elevation further show an awareness of Redcliffe, but also a continuation of forms used in the construction of its own cloister, chapel-of-ease and south nave aisle. These other features can be described from the pier profile: this comprises a standard Perpendicular vault respond (R), leading to a double ogee (O), a single light panel (P), a roll (M) and raised wave (w), casement (r) and hollow chamfer separated by a free-standing fillet (f) and a triple shaft (t) (Fig. 5.30 ii).

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[76] The south chapel is thought to be before the Poyntz Chapel according to Pevsner, and he suggests it to be early 16th century. Pevsner B/E (1990), 393. This at least serves to show the longevity of the feature in Bristol.

The vault respond is of a 'standard' Perpendicular form: identical to that used in the cloisters at Wells and the east walk of Gloucester (*c.*1360 and 1420 respectively) (see Fig. 5.17 iii). It is also commonly used for pier profiles in parish churches throughout Somerset and fragments of it were discovered in the excavations of the cloister at Sherborne.[77] The use of the double ogee as a frame moulding is too common to be useful in isolation by this date.

The use of the raised wave in the chancel elevation at Sherborne has a very close parallel in the workshop of St Mary Redcliffe, where it was used for the interior jamb of the south nave aisle as early as the 1340s. In addition its form, a completely raised moulding with a hollow either side, is found as the frame moulding in the west aisle of the south transept and hence subsequently adopted for the rest of the aisle campaign window jambs around the church. It is therefore a feature that stayed in the workshop throughout the campaign, prolonging its life as a workshop template. Redcliffe is not the only relevant comparison, and a study of less ambitious parish church projects reveals not only the use of waves for tower arches and pier profiles in Somerset, but also as frame mouldings in window jambs. Examples in the region include Leigh-on-Mendip (west window), Wrington (aisle windows) and North Cadbury (aisle windows) (Fig. 5.11 iii, vi-vii). The use of a raised wave is significantly also one of the major features of the 14th-century work of the south transept Milton Abbey: two raised waves are placed consecutively for the window jamb of the transept (Fig. 5.11 viii).[78] Of greater direct relevance to the Sherborne chancel, the wave was a key element of the elevation design of All Hallows, highlighting the significance of Sherborne's own workshop tradition in forming the chancel design. The handling of this wave, and its use for the elevation articulation surrounding the window from ground level at

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[77] Morris and Monckton (in preparation), 24, 26, 33: this detail was probably used for three specially treated bays in front of the chapter house entrance.

All Hallows, is the closest link to the same feature in the chancel elevation (Figs. 5.11 ii & 5.30 ii:w). The use of waves throughout the design of All Hallows is continued in the workshop for the construction of St Katherine's chapel, which has a wave pier profile for its entrance arch (Fig. 5.11 ix). Pier profiles with waves are not unusual in the region. Although found at a number of parish churches such as Axbridge, Keynsham, and Winscombe among others, the form of the St Katherine chapel arch differs slightly from these. The chamfers flanking the wave are canted, a slightly less common form that is found in the parish churches of Mells, North Cadbury and Leigh-on-Mendip for example (all in east Somerset), as well as Berkeley Castle chapel (Fig. 5.11 vii and ix). These three parish churches are the same as those favouring the wave as a window jamb, providing a key source to the location of these features in combination. The tower arches at Mells and Leigh and the nave arcade arch at North Cadbury also all relate with the use of the three waves (the centre one sunk), influenced directly by the Wells chancel arcade format (Fig. 5.11 x).[79] Although dating is not certain for all of them, North Cadbury is dated by the licence to found it as a collegiate church, and was probably constructed *c.*1423. Berkeley Castle chapel is much earlier probably *c.*1320-30.[80] This disparity in date is easily explained by the role of Wells designs in establishing the formula for Perpendicular architecture in Somerset and the longevity of use in the locality once established.[81]

The arcade arch of the Sherborne presbytery is set on a triple shaft respond, a feature which, in contrast to the wave and double ogee, is less frequently used in parish churches. Triple shafts were a form favoured throughout the West Country as seen by its use in the

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[78] The use of the raised wave is common in the South West of England in general, and waves are found throughout the decorated building campaigns of Milton Abbas including the chancel (ribs of *c.*1330) and the south transept, probably of the mid-14th century. For context see Morris (1978), 22.

[79] The use of the sunk wave in the east end of Wells had a considerable impact on its use in Bristol and Somerset in the succeeding decades.

[80] Morris in BAACT Bristol (1997), 45-46.

[81] *Ibid.*, 50-51, Morris attributes the works of Berkeley Castle chapel to William Joy, master mason of Wells.

choirs of Wells (*c*.1340s), Gloucester (1350s), probably Glastonbury (1360s) and Christchurch Priory (early 15th century).[82] These were all main vault responds, whereas the triple shaft is used in the same position as Sherborne for the main elevation of Redcliffe, that is, as a respond to the arcade arch. Again it seems that the form itself was not new to Sherborne and was used, albeit on a small scale, for the vault responds in the mid-14th-century cloister. The handling of this feature in the Sherborne elevation is reminiscent of the articulation at All Hallows and Yeovil aisles: that is, it comprises a respond flanked by fillets and then a deep casement moulding. In fact, these details highlight part of the problem in identifying a source for the design of Sherborne chancel, as the mason chose a series of features that have had a long tradition in West Country buildings. These buildings, often parish churches in Somerset, may provide a means through which the motifs became accepted into the lodge at Sherborne. The complication is that many of these details in Somerset parish churches are themselves dependent on great church models such as Redcliffe and Wells. Comparisons with Redcliffe are therefore inevitable whether directly or indirectly. Sherborne achieves its objective of great church architecture, although this is gained from a combination of reasonably well established features in the region.

The mullions at Sherborne are the most distinctive of the moulded features in the chancel, and it has been shown that the combination of polygonal and roll mouldings can be related to a general trend in the early 15th century, for example the later phases of the cloister at Gloucester Cathedral, Gloucester west front and Oxford Divinity School. The type of axial moulding also should be seen as a part of the general development of mullions in the first quarter of the 15th century in Oxford and Bristol. Rather than the comparisons with major architectural campaigns and workshops available for the mullion,

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[82] Leland, V (1964), 288-289: Monnington appears to have responsible for considerable building at the abbey and is said to have finished the great hall, rebuilt the centre part of the chapter house and extended ('enloggid') the presbytery. Wilson PhD (1979), 319: Wilson identifies Monnington as the

this is found in major and minor campaigns throughout the 14th and 15th centuries, and particularly popular in early 14th century Wells School architecture. The Sherborne chancel can only be understood if seen in relation to its own development and the result of this analysis, and that of the south side of the church, is that a high degree of self-referencing occurred in terms of moulded details. The application and combination of these, however, reveals a direct influence from a great church tradition.

Patronage

The monastery would traditionally fund the east end of the church, in this case was supplemented by two other sources: Leland informs us that 'the tounes menne were forcid to contribute to the re-edifying of this chirch' under Abbot Bradford,[83] and evidence recorded in the 17th century indicates support of individually wealthy patrons. In contrast to the campaigns of the south transept and south nave aisle, the chancel vault carries the heraldry of a local family. The arms of Humphrey Stafford are displayed in the centre of each bay of the chancel vault. Stafford was also one of the founding patrons of the almshouse, which still exists at the boundary of the churchyard to the south west of the church. The building, comprising chapel, antechapel, hall, with dormitory above, still survives with additions by William Slater in the 19th century.[84] The survival of the building accounts provides information on the founders and masons associated with it from a period of 1440-1444. It is in these accounts that reference is made to Stafford's gift of four oaks towards the new building.[85] That other members of the local gentry provided funds for the chancel rebuilding is demonstrated by the former presence of stained glass representing numerous arms of local

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originator of the new choir at Glastonbury and, because of his death in 1374, suggests the starting date of the choir was no later than the early 1360s.

[83] Leland, I (1964), 152.

[84] William Slater was R.H.Carpenter's partner and successor at the abbey: *pers comm.* Jim Gibb

[85] J. Fowler, 'Sherborne Almshouse Building Accounts 1440-1444,' *SDNQ*, XXIX (March, 1970), part 291, 113.

landowners at the east end of the church, as recorded in 1600.[86] Stafford's heraldic prominence on the vault suggests he was the main financial contributor in the period 1425-1442.[87] He died in 1442, just at the completion of the almshouse and possibly before the construction of the vault of the abbey. It may be that the appeal for funds in 1446 was in part related to the loss of the abbey's most generous patron.[88] This level of patronage distinguished the chancel campaign from that of the south nave aisle, which by contrast was the product of smaller scale patronage on a parish level. Stafford's input provides a further direct link with the work at Redcliffe, of which he must have been fully aware: his daughter became the second wife of James Berkeley between 1415 and 23,[89] by which stage work at Redcliffe was probably nearing completion and the work at Sherborne about to begin.[90]

Sherborne perhaps exemplifies the problems and solutions posed by the nature of different building campaigns: the south nave aisle emulates the best in parish church design, while a more direct relationship to Milton Abbey is found in the south transept rebuild. The ultimate explanation for this appears to be the simple one of searching for like rebuilding campaigns as a source of inspiration for their own rebuilding scheme. The lack of a firm date for the Milton Abbey north transept or the south transept at Sherborne complicates the issue of influence. The shared features between the south nave aisle and south transept, and the differences between both of the these and the chancel, indicates that a two stage campaign was carried out before the chancel. The subsequent rebuild of the chancel retained

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[86] J. Hutchins, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset,* IV (1st publ. Westminster, 1870: 3rd edn Wakefield, republ.1973), 248.

[87] Jim Gibb has pointed out to me that a family connection through the daughters and heiresses of the Maltravers estate links the families of Bruning and Staffords at exactly this time, that is, late 14th and early 15th century, and from the Stafford and Maltravers marriage was issued Sir Humphrey Stafford of Hooke, the patron at Sherborne. This may explain, through a close family connection, why the Stafford's figured so prominently in Sherborne.

[88] J. Hutchins, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset,* II (1st publ. Westminster, 1863: 3rd edn Wakefield, republ.1973), 179, for a pedigree of the family Stafford of Hooke. Humphrey Stafford known as Humphrey Stafford of the Silver Hand, was buried in Abbotsbury Abbey.

[89] Cokayne, II (1912), 132.

and incorporated aspects of the workshop practice, proving continuity within the works at Sherborne. The handling of the elevation is an adaptation of that used in All Hallows and the south nave aisle on a grander scale. This inheritance of detail provides a complication in assessing a source for a master mason at this stage. However, details of the chancel design are demonstrably related to design features associated with parish churches in Somerset from the end of the 14th century, and as such neither the south side campaign nor the chancel bear any direct relationship to Winchester Cathedral. With this in mind, it is hardly surprising that Sherborne should look to the greatest parish church in the diocese of Bath and Wells for its general inspiration. Certainly the triforium panelling, the clerestory to aisle proportions, and the concept behind the organisation of the elevation are reflections of those used in the rebuilding of the main body of St Mary Redcliffe church. There can be little doubt that a mason fully conversant with this Bristol church had a hand in the Sherborne chancel design.

1437-1450: the completion of the east-end campaign

It has been argued above, through the examination of the extent of the fire damage, and the re-use of burnt masonry in the aisles and ambulatory, that the aisle walls and east wall of the chancel remained in their Romanesque state until the completion of the two main elevations. The design of the aisle tracery and mouldings are distinctly different from that of the main body of the chancel, which further supports this argument that the re-casing of the Romanesque walls was done after 1437 (Fig. 5.35 i and xiii). The unknown factor in this instance is the date of the design of these details. Differences in the mouldings are perhaps the greatest indicator of a change of mason and design. Certainly the panelled sections between bays and the vault springers had been planned, and the evidence of fire damage in the central bay of the north chancel aisle provides the necessary evidence for this. It is likely that the vault was already designed, as it is a simpler version of the chancel using the same

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[90] The Berkeley arms appear on the nave aisle vault at Redcliffe with those of the Beauchamps and

principles for design. Therefore, it is to the rather limited evidence of the tracery and window mouldings that an assessment of the post-fire campaign should be directed. The problems of attribution are compounded by the relative simplicity of the profiles compared to the clerestory windows. One argument could be that the design of the former is merely a purposeful simplification in an extended campaign that was loosing its momentum. Although it might be argued that the lack of surface panelling was for this reason, it is more likely that it was the result of the aisles being a less visually apparent part of the church. The windows adhere to the principle of major and minor mullions and subsequently require more complicated mouldings than, for example, the south nave aisle campaign. In fact, the profiles of the chancel aisles still betray the influence of a major workshop showing no return to the parish church tradition evident for the south nave aisle. Furthermore, the exact profile compares well with the standard workshop product of Winchester Cathedral (Fig. 5.35 xiii-xiv). This mullion, used for the interior of the nave aisles, was introduced into the nave work supervised by Wynford (from 1394).[91] The jamb at Sherborne is a slightly simplified version of the jamb also used in Wynford work. Aspects of this Wynford-like introduced design remain in the cathedral repertoire for the remainder of the 15th century, and completely replaced the Gloucester derived details of the west front discussed above. The evidence, therefore, suggests that a mason from a different workshop tradition to the pre-1437 work constructed the Sherborne aisles, and that this new mason was from Winchester.

Harvey noted a similarity between the tracery of the Sherborne chancel aisles and that of the Fromond Chapel in Winchester College.[92] John Fromond had died in November 1420, and his executors were responsible for building his chantry chapel over the top of the

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Staffords. For further details see Chapter Four.

[91] Harvey (1984), 354.

grave for him and his wife (d.1422) in the centre of the cloister garth. The altar was consecrated in 1437 after the roof and doors had been completed. College records refer to the glazing in 1443-4 done under the direction of the king's glazier, and the chapel was finally completed in 1446.[93] The architectural design and construction of the masonry of the chapel can therefore be placed between 1422 and the early 1430s. Harvey highlighted a stylistic connection between the windows at Sherborne and Fromond based on the use of 'drop' tracery at both. The form used at Sherborne is not identical with that at Fromond's Chapel, but it was a distinctively new feature in the Sherborne workshop, and tracing the origins of drop tracery in general is therefore useful (Fig. 5.21 v a-vi).

The use of similar 'drop' tracery can be found in other early 15th-century buildings, such as the parish church of Thirsk (*c*.1431) and the church tower of Walberswick (1426-41). However, none of these examples from the east of the country precede the design at Winchester. Elaborate drop tracery was used in the Oxford area in the 15th century, and although the actual design does not relate to the Fromond windows, there is evidence to link the Winchester College work with Oxford. The east and west window of the Fromond Chapel share common factors with work in Oxford at this date. They use a sub-arcuated form that can be exactly paralleled by the internal blind tracery on the end walls of the Divinity School (Fig. 5.21 x). In addition, the small mullion that divides the apex of the tracery of the end windows of Fromond's Chapel is a feature found on the same blind tracery of the Divinity School (Fig. 5.21 vb, ix). The disposition of the prominent 'Y' mullion, and the further sub-division of mullions in the head of the window, link this design to the blind tracery panels flanking the doorway of the Oxford building. This work at the Divinity

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[92] Harvey (1978), 162-3: Harvey suggests the almshouse tracery, Sherborne aisles and Fromond Chantry are all related through tracery and the latter two by similarity of panelling. It has already been shown that the panelling is insufficient and the mouldings are totally different in all three cases.

[93] H. Chitty, 'Fromond's Chantry at Winchester College,' *Archaeologia*, 75 (1924-25), 144.

School is associated with Richard Winchcombe and was executed by him from 1424 to 39, making it exactly contemporary with Fromond's Chapel.

The aisle windows at Sherborne use the prominent 'Y' feature and similar divisions, with the drop tracery consisting of stacked batement units in emulation of those of the chancel clerestory (Fig. 5.21 vi, ix). The Sherborne aisles therefore seem to combine features used in both the lateral and end windows of the Fromond Chapel whilst retaining a reference to the windows of its clerestory. A logical progression of stylistic assimilation may suggest that this would be the case only if both the Oxford and Winchester works had been completed, confirming the Sherborne windows to be after 1437. The use of drop tracery is impossible to parallel in the Somerset region at this date, but was popular in Oxford and was newly introduced at Winchester College. In combination with the specific evidence of the appearance of a 'Winchester' mullion and jamb combination, Sherborne's allegiances appear to have transferred from Somerset and Bristol to Winchester.

The arrival of Robert Hulle at the almshouse at Sherborne may relate to the change towards a Winchester involvement. The accounts of the almshouse at Sherborne specify that the mason Robert Hulle was working there between 1440 and 1442. It is to Hulle that Harvey incorrectly attributed the design of the main chancel elevation. The presence of Stafford's heraldry on the chancel vault indicate that the bosses had been constructed by his death in 1442, although it seems unlikely that vault was completed by this time. However, if the vault were complete by 1442 the circumstantial evidence of Hulle's appearance in Sherborne at exactly this time could indicate some involvement with the east-end campaign. A number of factors complicate the issue of the significance of Hulle's appearance in Sherborne. The licence of 1446 clearly demonstrates work was continuing well after Hulle's death (also in 1442), and the heraldry on the vault may have been placed after Stafford's death in recognition of his patronage. Therefore, 1440-42 may have been a period of little activity at Sherborne, still recovering from the devastation of the fire.[94] Certainly it seems likely that the rebuilding continued into the 1450s and hence Leland's association of the campaign only with the abbacy of Bradford may mean it was completed by 1459. Riots in the town and abbey of Sherborne occurred in 1450, and although the catalyst was Cade's rebellion, the result was the revival of the disagreement about the font in the parish church. The outcome was the consecration of All Hallows as a parish church, but the disturbances may have further slowed down the attempt to complete the chancel rebuilding.[95]

In addition, even if Hulle was responsible for supervising the construction of the vault, it has already been shown that the design was established before the fire in a period when the predominant architectural influence was from Somerset, not Winchester. Leedy supports Harvey's theory that Hulle would be an appropriate candidate for the vault design, largely based on the presence of a fan vault at Winchester College and the lierne qualities of the Winchester nave.[96] In the absence of other information these are reasonable precedents, but they fail to take account of two factors, that is, the nature of vault design tradition in Sherborne itself, and more importantly, the possibility of the influence of the lost vaults at Glastonbury.

The cloister vault design at Sherborne favoured an arrangement of lozenges.[97] Closely related to the ideas formulated in the choir vault of Wells and Bristol of the first half of the 14th century, this is evidence of the presence of lierne vaults from the most recent and

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[94] The east wall of the chancel at Sherborne was carried out according to the original presbytery design after the fire and would need to be done in advance of the vault construction. It is likely, therefore, that work at this date was all continuation of designs established before the fire.

[95] Leland says that 'after thys tyme (i.e: of the fire) Al-Halowes chirch and not S. Maryes was usid for the paroche chirch': Leland, I (1964), 152. It was in 1450 that Beauchamp, as Bishop of Salisbury, consecrated a new font in All Hallows, confirming its status as a parish church; Gibb (n.d.), 14. Gibb quotes an entry from the annals as transcribed by C.L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1913), from BL Harley 3906: the entry for 1450 describes the unrest and rebellion, the murder of Aiscough and the reconstruction of the font in All Hallows with guards set up around it; Gibb (n.d.), 12-15.

[96] Harvey (1978), 222; and Leedy (1980) 12.

[97] Morris and Monckton (in preparation): 30-34 for vault reconstruction.

prestigious works in the South West already at Sherborne in the mid-14th century. A tradition of inventive vault designs was present in the workshop long before the chancel vault, shown by the proposed early 15th-century date for the south nave aisle work and the lost cloister vaults.

Wilson has identified that the relationship of Monnington's lost choir at Glastonbury to Gloucester may provide the most obvious transmission of fan vaults to the West Country at this comparatively early date; specifically mentioning Glastonbury as the agency whereby the Gloucester springers of *c.*1360 are transmitted to Sherborne.[98] The first appearance of fan springers at Sherborne was in the south nave aisle, and must surely have been introduced through this source, the feature being generally accepted in the region by the 1420s (at Wells cloister and Sherborne chancel). Considering the nature of the identified influences on Sherborne for the main elevation of the chancel, this provides a directly compatible source for the vault, and further negates the possibility that Sherborne needed to depend on works at Winchester. The lierne quality of the vault bears no relationship to Herland's Winchester College fan vault, and is easily reconciled with the tradition for lierne vaults both at Sherborne itself and in the West Country as a whole. A West Country mason was, in fact, responsible for the lierne design of the nave at Winchester.

If Hulle was involved with the completion of the vault at Sherborne, this would parallel his situation as master mason of Winchester Cathedral, in supervising a vault designed by a predecessor. The continuation of works at Sherborne into the 1440s and 50s makes him an unlikely candidate as a designer at Sherborne. Although it is possible that he was employed to over-see structural considerations of completing the vault, his involvement was cut short by his death. Hulle's death in 1442 negates the possibility that he saw the campaign at Sherborne through to completion and it is possible that it was Hulle's successor

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[98] Wilson PhD (1979), 322-323.

that took on the role of mason at Sherborne.[99] The introduction of drop tracery favouring sub-arcuation derives from a combination of the Fromond Chapel and the Sherborne clerestory, and alone is insufficient to associate the designer specifically with the College. Bearing in mind that the aisles at Sherborne were not designed until the 1440s at the earliest, variations of drop tracery would have been well accepted by masons at Winchester and Oxford by this time. The mullion form at Sherborne can be associated with the cathedral rather than the college workshop at Winchester, although its continued use at the cathedral means we can be no more precise than stating a cathedral mason was responsible for its introduction into the Sherborne east-end campaign.

Conclusions

It has been demonstrated above that the architectural history of Sherborne Abbey should not be considered the result of a two phases of building. Instead, a series of campaigns from the late 14th century to the mid-15th century contributed to the present appearance of the church from the south (Fig. 5.36). The significance of this newly identified chronology is three-fold. It has made apparent the existence of a developing workshop at Sherborne and highlighted a continued dependence on a tradition of church building in Somerset emanating ultimately from the Wells workshop. In view of this, the ordinance of Bishop Neville, issued in response to the disagreement between the parishioners, monks and abbot, takes on greater significance.

The parishioners had responded to the abbot's complaints of the erection of an illegal font by arguing that the abbot had removed the font from its usual position in the nave of the church, and in addition had narrowed the door used for processional access from All Hallows to the abbey. The bishop subsequently ordered that the illegal font should be removed, and the font in the abbey nave to be returned to its original position and the

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[99] No information appears to be available for the name of the man who succeeded Hulle.

doorway widened.[100] It was the failure of any of these changes to be carried out that is thought to have been a contributory factor to the cause of the fire in the same year.[101] Gibb suggests the original position of the font, from which it had been moved, was near the south porch. Presumably this is based on the fact that the narrowed door in question was that leading through the west wall of the south nave aisle of the abbey, into the chapel-of-ease. This door is said to be a 14th-century doorway placed inside the Norman arch. The interpretation has been that it was a re-used doorway in *c.*1436 because of its mention in the ordinance of Bishop Neville.[102]

This ordinance states only that the doorway had been narrowed, and that the parishioners had become annoyed and erected their own font as a consequence. As Gibb has indicated, the arrival of a new abbot, who failed to deal with the problems, probably exacerbated a long-standing argument. No reason is provided for the removal of the font or the narrowing of the doorway. The rebuilding of the south aisle of the abbey nave, however, would provide an appropriate reason, especially in consideration of the suggested dating of the rebuilding as 1385-1415.

The above discussion has also resulted in the substantiation of Gibb's original thesis on the order of construction for the chancel. In addition it has shown that the east-end rebuilding was both self-referencing and affiliated with Redcliffe, further evidence of the fact that Redcliffe was the most recently designed appropriate model for a great church in the early 15th century in the region. Details at Sherborne reveal the masons' awareness, not just of Somerset parish church designs, but also the developments at local monastic houses, such as Milton Abbey and Glastonbury. Defining the exact relationship between Sherborne and

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[100] Willis (1865): 'Ordinance made by the Robert (Neville), Bishop of Sarum, between the Convent of the Monastery of Shirborne and the parishioners there,' translation 187-190, and transcript as Appendix I, 197-198.
[101] Gibb (1985), 102-103.
[102] J. Newman and N. Pevsner, *Dorset* B/E (Harmondsworth, repr.1975), 370.

these two buildings has been complicated by a lack of information. Milton Abbey is a building that, although understudied because of its incomplete state, both geographically and stylistically provides a key to the understanding of the stylistic transmission and its effects between the Winchester and Wells workshops. Unfortunately, the almost complete loss of Glastonbury inevitably creates a void in our understanding of early Perpendicular architecture in the West Country.

Despite Sherborne's association with Redcliffe, there is no sign of many of the complex 14th-century mouldings found there and at Milton Abbey. Instead the Sherborne chancel elevation relies on the application of a series of simple and long established profiles, to a system of Perpendicular architecture developed through Wells and Redcliffe. None of the individual profiles of the pier at Sherborne are new, and all can be traced to parish churches in Somerset, themselves the products of Wells' and Redcliffe's influence.

The appointment of a new master mason at Sherborne in the 1440s was the result of forced circumstances. An unexpected break in the construction of the chancel was the result of the fire and its damage. It seems likely that the pre-fire mason was no longer available by the beginnings of the 1440s. The shift from a Bristol to a Winchester mason was the result of available and appropriate sources. The change in direction for Sherborne was probably related as much to the prestige of Winchester, and the circumstances of building at the college and cathedral in the mid-century, as the lack of major ecclesiastical work at Wells, the abandonment of a major campaign at Milton Abbey, and the completion of the church of Redcliffe. There is no doubt that Sherborne was a productive and creative workshop that consistently employed the most prestigious designers for a series of rebuildings that resulted in a continuous but adapting workshop throughout the 14th and 15th centuries.

CHAPTER SIX

Wells and Sherborne: workshop identity from *c.*1465-1540

In the previous chapter it was shown how the workshop at Sherborne developed from the end of the 14th to the middle of the 15th century; and how, by the end of this period the Winchester Cathedral workshop had superseded the influence of both Wells and Bristol on the east-end rebuilding. It was the main chancel design, however, rather than the works of the aisles that afforded Sherborne its status as a great Perpendicular church. After the completion of this chancel campaign in *c.*1459, the Perpendicular east end and south side stood attached to the Romanesque nave until the episcopate of Abbot Peter Ramsam (1475-1504), whose prolific heraldry is testament to his contribution. The main body of the nave and the renovation of the north aisle should be attributed to him. At approximately the same time as this, major new work was begun at Wells, with the construction of Stillington's Chapel (otherwise known as the cloister Lady chapel) and the deanery. The latter will be discussed in more detail in chapter eight, and it is the relationship of the Sherborne nave to Stillington's Chapel that will form the starting point of this chapter.[1]

Buckle, Harvey and Leedy have all previously discussed these two buildings in relation to each other.[2] Buckle, in his description of Stillington's Chapel in 1894, stated that 'there is no doubt that a local architect was employed, who must have studied the rebuilding of Sherborne church, even if he was not the designer of that work.' He goes on to say that 'it is the nave which most nearly resembles the Wells chapel'.[3] Harvey also suggested that the designer of the Stillington Chapel was responsible for Sherborne nave, and developed this

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[1] For synopsis of documents and dates at Wells Cathedral relevant to this chapter, see appendix 1, and for Sherborne Abbey see appendix 3.

[2] Buckle (1894), 32-63; Leedy (1980); and Colchester and Harvey (1974), 209-14.

[3] Buckle (1894), 48.

theory into one of personal authorship. In the latter part of Stillington's episcopate the position of master mason for the cathedral is known to have been filled by William Smyth, who was master there before 1480 and had died before October 1490.[4] Harvey suggests the common authorship by Smyth of a group of works at Wells and elsewhere on the basis of what he calls an identifiable 'personal style',[5] implying a single regional style produced essentially by one master mason, and he includes the following works in his assessment of this style: Stillington's Chapel; Dean Gunthorpe's alterations to the Wells deanery (*c.* 1473-83); Treasurer Hugh Sugar's Chantry in the nave of Wells Cathedral; Wells crossing vault; the nave, the Bow Chapel and north transept of Sherborne Abbey (dated to *c.* 1475-1500 based on the heraldry of Abbot Ramsam); the crossing vault of Milton Abbey; and parts of the nave and the west front of Crewkerne parish church, (also usually dated to the last quarter of the 15th century).

These works constitute some of the major building campaigns in the South West of England in the last decades of the 15th century, and subsequently Smyth has been considered as 'the chief figure in the West of England at the last stage of the Perpendicular style'.[6] This chapter will re-assess the comparative influences of the workshops that existed at Wells and Sherborne. Although design aspects of Stillington's Chapel, and the crossing vault at Wells, show some dependence on the Sherborne workshop, there is little evidence to suggest the same designer was responsible for the nave of Sherborne Abbey. A further study of the buildings referred to by Harvey, and a series of other parish churches, demonstrates that the Sherborne workshop had become the most influential within the region. Neither of these workshops can claim complete independence from the developments of major centres

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[4] Harvey (1984), 277. Payment made to William Smyth mason yearly salary of 26s 8d, from Fabric Accounts for the year 1480/81, 19.

[5] Harvey (1984), 277.

[6] Harvey (1978), 204.

outside the region, and the role of Oxford and Winchester will be shown in relation to the indigenous designs of the area.

Bishop Stillington's Architectural Legacy

Bishop Beckington's successor, John Phreas, died in the year of his appointment and before his consecration, and it was Robert Stillington who became the episcopal head of the diocese from 1465 to 1491.[7] As a canon of Wells (1445), chancellor (1447), and archdeacon of Taunton in 1450 (under diocesan control of Winchester) he had made a career working in the West Country and he remained in office at Wells until his death in 1491. He spent the majority of his time in London, probably largely as a result of his appointment as Lord Chancellor from 1467-1475,[8] and there is only one recorded episcopal visit to Wells in his register.[9]

During his episcopate works to the west cloister range, begun by Beckington, probably continued, adhering in most details to the original design of the east walk.[10] Stillington's own architectural legacy was the Lady chapel entered from the east cloister walk, constructed on the site of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral, and demolished within seventy years of its completion. Stillington's absence makes it likely that his personal involvement was minimal, although his financial contribution was not, and his will states that the chapel was built at his own expense and he was buried there in 1491.[11]

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[7] J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541: Bath and Wells Diocese* IHR, VIII (London, 1964), 2.

[8] *D.N.B* XVIII (London, repr.1949-50), 1265. He had a break in the middle of the Chancellorship at the time of the Lancastrian Restoration, because of his Yorkist political stance.

[9] H. Maxwell Lyte, ed. *The Register of Robert Stillington, Bishop of Bath and Wells 1466-91, and Richard Fox, Bishop of Bath and Wells 1492-94* SRS, LII (Taunton, 1937), see xv, 110 and paragraphs 634-8 and 647.

[10] References in the Fabric Accounts for the year 1480-81 to the arrival of paving stones could relate to the completion of the cloister: Fabric Accounts, 19.

[11] On May 15th, 1491 permission was granted to conduct his funeral, including procession to the new chapel, and his burial within it. See Maxwell Lyte SRS (1937), xiv.

The aim of this section is to analyse the factors contributing to the designs of these works. Harvey's interpretation suggests a leading figure, employed throughout the South West because of his pre-eminence as master at Wells Cathedral. This assumes a continuing tradition of the master mason of the cathedral being a leading figure in the development of style in the diocese and beyond. Furthermore, although Stillington was largely absent, and therefore not involved on a day-to-day basis with the design of the chapel, how much of an impact did he have on the process of rebuilding the chapel? A detailed comparison of the chapel with the Sherborne nave reveals a difference in the sphere of their relative influence.

Before discussing the impact of these designs on the locality it is necessary to understand how they relate to each other. The date of Stillington's Chapel is fortunately very precisely known: its predecessor was described as 'ruinous et defectiva' in 1476 and it was subsequently completely reconstructed between 1478 and 1488.[12] This description was given by the treasurer, acting as the vicar general, during the only visit that Stillington made to the cathedral during his episcopate.[13] Hence, the rebuilding was probably initiated by the treasurer and chapter, who prompted the bishop into a financial contribution by ensuring the new chapel would be worthy for his burial place.[14] This dual influence of the instigators and organizers of the chapel reconstruction, and the purpose for the finished chapel, is significant in assessing the source of design and masons.

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[12] The exact dating is established by a reference of January 12th, 1477 which notes that 'the consistory court would be held in the chapel of the Holy Rood at the end of the nave on account of the rebuilding of the lady chapel in the cloister', and the subsequent reference of September 22nd, 1488 stating that the chapel of the Holy Rood was used for the last time and that the new chapel was used for the first time on October 25th, 1488, see see A. Watkin, ed. *Dean Cosyn and Wells Cathedral Miscellanea* SRS, LVI (1941), 155.

[13] Leedy (1980), see page 213 for sources for dating. Also see Colchester and Harvey (1974), 21.

[14] For Stillington's burial see Wells Cathedral Library, MS Rii.2, f.15. Cited in Cal. II, (1914), 107. It was Hugh Sugar that made the announcement of the state of the chapel and in his role as vicar general in the absence of Stillington he must be given credit for the organisation of the rebuilding project. The construction of a chantry chapel in the nave to match that of a previous bishop of the cathedral (Bubwith's Chapel is opposite in the north nave arcade) seems to promote this idea of Sugar's status and legacy.

The chapel itself was demolished as a result of the Chantries Act of 1552.[15] The extant west wall of the chapel up to the springing of the arch of the window, fragments of the vault and some moulded details are all that remain (Figs 6.1 A&B and 6.2B). Any assessment is therefore complicated by the need to reconstruct the chapel. Buckle's article provides the most detailed study of the architecture to date as he reproduces the visual evidence, and provides his own reconstruction of the vault pattern (Fig. 6.2A).[16] Excavations have revealed that the chapel was aisleless and cruciform in plan with octagonal stair turrets at the west corners of the transepts; it was vaulted with a stone fan vault and articulated by internal panelling for the window jambs (Fig. 6.3). The remaining west wall and Buckle's drawings, which will be used a basis for subsequent analysis, provide a reasonable impression of the form of the chapel and its vaulting. Harvey's suggestion that 'the characteristics of [Smyth's] personal style...can be recognized in several other buildings in the region' is centred on the relationship of the nave of Sherborne Abbey to the Stillington Chapel.[17]

Stillington's Chapel and Sherborne Abbey Nave: personal style or common source?

Sherborne nave was constructed during the abbacy of Peter Ramsam (1475-1504), and hence is roughly contemporary with Stillington's Chapel.[18] Ramsam's heraldry is prominently displayed throughout the nave leaving no doubt as to the initiator of the rebuilding campaign, and contrasts with the lack of abbots' insignia in the chancel campaign. The presence of the arms of Cardinal Morton (Archbishop of Canterbury 1486-1500) and those of Thomas Langton (Bishop of Salisbury 1485-93) on shields on the stringcourse

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[15] Leedy (1980), 213; and Colchester and Harvey (1974), 211.

[16] Buckle (1894), 32-63.

[17] Harvey (1984), 277.

[18] Leland, I (1964), 153: 'Peter Ramesunne next abbot saving one to Bradeford builid *à fundamentis* (*sic.*) al the west part of S. Marie chirch'. This is supported by the presence of Ramsams heraldry on the shields held by angels on the apex of the nave arcade arches, and on the vault.

below the clerestory windows demonstrate that the reconstruction of the nave arcade was underway by the mid-1480s.[19] Tudor heraldry of the portcullis and the rose is found exclusively on the vault, where it is also accompanied by Ramsam's and Langton's emblems. Work was, therefore, probably begun by the mid-1480s, the vault not being reached until after the arrival of the Tudors on the throne in 1485. The upper stage of the elevation was therefore probably rebuilt between 1486 and 1493.[20] After this the roof would have been constructed and dendrochronology has confirmed this proposed dating.[21] As a result of this it is evident immediately that Stillington's Chapel was begun before the work at Sherborne, and was in use for at least five years in advance of the latter's completion.

The overall appearance and design of the Sherborne nave can be explained by the presence of two determining factors: the proportions of its predecessor, and the design of the Sherborne chancel. The nave was a less complete rebuilding of a Romanesque elevation than the earlier chancel, the piers were recased in ashlar panelling with only the clerestory and vault being completely rebuilt (Fig. 6.4B). As a result the proportions of the new works were determined by the earlier building: for example, the use of five light windows, rather than the chancel six light design, is the result of the size of the nave bays, as predetermined by the proportions of the earlier church (Fig. 6.4A). Furthermore, irregularities in the widths of the arcade bays are noticeable because of their misalignment with the clerestory windows, although this is not apparent from the external elevation. Perhaps the greatest difference is

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[19] Arms relation to Henry VII are also in evidence, for example the initials of Henry with Elizabeth of York.

[20] The identification of a shield on the apex of one of the arcade arches of the south nave arcade as Hugh Oldham Bishop of Exeter (1509-19) is surely incorrect: in RCHME Dorset, I (1952), 204; not only would this not fit with the other evidence of the date and chronology of the reconstruction through heraldry, but the shield itself clearly displays the owl sitting within a 'P'. Although no exact representation is known it is more likely that this in some way relates to Peter Ramsam, or a third unknown person.

[21] Dendrochronology carried out in the early 1990s on the nave roof produced a date of *c.* 1500, with a ten year span in each direction. This information was given to me by Jim Gibb and correlates with the heraldic evidence and proposed dating of the upper stages of the nave between 1486 and 1493, as the

in the elevations, as the retention of fabric at arcade level resulted in panelled piers and a horizontal stringcourse above the arcade, rather than moulded piers, predicting the details of the upper stages. As a result the elevation lacks the overall coherence of the chancel design, and appears as a copy, albeit an impressive one, of the early 15th-century work of the chancel.

The tracery design, with its articulation with main mullions, is in direct emulation of the chancel clerestory, with three adaptations. As already mentioned each window is of five lights, rather than the six of the chancel; furthermore, each light has been altered from a two-centred arch to an ogee arch, and inverted cusping has been added to the design (Fig. 6.5 i and ii). Although new in tracery patterns, the use of inverted cusping and ogee-headed lights were not new details for the workshop, and can ultimately be traced back to the vault design of the chancel and crossing. Compared to the chancel elevation that of the nave lacks vertical coherence, largely because of the physical break, demarcated by a stringcourse, between the piers and clerestory above. This results from the lack of panelling resting directly on the extrados of the arcade arches, and the absence of moulded piers that relate directly to the forms of the upper elevation. Aspects specifically copied from the chancel include the method and detailing of the panelling around the clerestory windows, and of course the vault itself, which includes only minor variations from the design of the 1420s (Fig. 6.6 A&B). In fact, it is already apparent that the overall appearance of the nave can be explained entirely through the chancel design (see Fig. 6.10 A&B).

Remains of the window at the west end of Stillington's Chapel show that it too used main mullions to a five-light design and employed inverted cusps and ogee-headed lights (Fig. 6.5 ii and iv). In addition, a very similar use of panelling surrounds the window, as part

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roof would have been constructed after the elevation was complete after 1493 and before 1504 (death of Ramsam).

of the jamb design.[22] Buckle's reconstruction of the vault shows it to be a fan vault with pendants,[23] polygonal in section, of rib and panel construction, with jointed masonry used only for the traceried parts (Fig. 6.7).[24] This method of mixed construction differs from the completely jointed technique of the Gloucester cloister vaults, where the technique is chosen because of the small scale of the vaults. The chancel vault of Sherborne, which predates all the other West Country vaults mentioned so far, illustrates the earliest use of the mixed method extant on a large scale, and therefore it may be reasonable to assume that the source for the region is here. The choice at Wells could be related to the construction method of the Sherborne vault and its design as a combination of the fan and the lierne vault, the development of which was a West Country phenomenon.

It is the use of ogee headed lights and double panels with inverted cusping, and the window mouldings at both places that has been the basis for comparison between the two. Fragments used by Buckle in his reconstruction for the vault show exactly the same technique of inverted cusping as the Sherborne vaults (Figs 6.7 and 6.6B). Despite these obvious points of similarity, on a more general level the choice of ogee arches can easily be related to the national swing towards a more decorated aesthetic, largely associated with the reign of Edward IV. Moreover, the pattern chosen at Wells, of inverted cusping, had already been used in the region in the tracery patterns of the vaults in Sherborne chancel. The decorative potential of this innovative aspect (designed before 1437)[25] was only able to be realised at the commencement of the next major building campaigns in the region, namely Sherborne nave and Stillington's Chapel. It seems to have been accepted into tracery design in this region only at this point. One difference in the handling of the tracery between the two is that, at Wells, the inverted cusping is not restricted to the reticulated unit between two

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[22] See Buckle (1894), plate 5, for exterior mullion profile. Interior mullions and jamb with the panels survive on the remaining west window.

[23] Buckle (1894), plate 5.

lights, but forms a continuous horizontal band across the entire width of the window. Although found in this form in the Sherborne chancel vault, it had already appeared in the Oxford area in tracery design from the 1420s, the most obvious example being the Divinity School (Fig. 6.5 vi). It was subsequently adopted in a group of 15th-century chapels and chancels in North Oxfordshire and the Cotswolds: for example, the nave clerestory and chancel windows of Northleach parish church, the Wilcote Chapel at North Leigh, the south nave chapel at Bloxham, the chancels of Adderbury and Winchcombe parish churches, and details from Winchcombe Abbey.[26] It had gained wide acceptance by the 1470s.

Evidence for the lateral window of Stillington's Chapel appears not to have survived, although it is evident from the plan of the building that it would not have been the same width as the extant west window, almost certainly being four lights rather than five.[27] Buckle shows in his reconstruction plan of the vault the plan of one of these four-light windows, about nine feet wide and with a central 'major moulding' (see Fig. 6.7). Although there is no evidence of the exact appearance of these windows, two possible comparisons can be made: closest in date and location are the windows of the Wells deanery (Fig. 6.5 v). At the deanery the segmental head to the arch and proportions create an effect even closer to the Divinity School or 'Oxford' designs. An earlier occurrence of the same basic design in the region was seen in the chancel aisle windows of Sherborne Abbey, but with two-centred lights and no ogee forms. Probably designed *c.*1450 these and the deanery windows may share the same ultimate source, that is the emergence of dropped tracery in the Oxford and associated designs in the second quarter of the 15th century. Neither of these examples, of

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[24] Leedy (1980), 213.
[25] Gibb (1985), 101-124. See also Chapter Five.
[26] Fragments of tracery from stones found at Sudeley Castle appear to belong to demolished works at nearby Winchcombe Abbey, *pers comm.* Dr. R.K. Morris. A group of tracery fragments appeared to come from a screen that closely resembled the Oxford design of tracery, best represented at the Divinity School, and also found in the chancel of Winchcombe parish church.

the deanery or Sherborne Abbey, assist in giving a real impression of the appearance of the interior of Stillington's Chapel. As an aisleless building with tall, surely transomed windows surrounded by panelling, the appearance was much closer to the interior of earlier chantry chapels such as the Fromond Chapel at Winchester College, but on a grander scale. The attempt of the designer at Stillington's Chapel seems to have been to create great church architecture on a small scale, and a highly decorated chantry chapel, on a comparatively large scale. This unusual combination led to the exploitation of certain features: for example, the complete panelled effect of a single-aisled building, and a vault small enough to include pendants, but large enough to be structural rather than decorative. Perhaps the closest to understanding how the interior walls looked is to turn to the construction of the presbytery aisles of Winchester Cathedral. These are on a different scale to those at Sherborne and comprise transomed four light windows with panelling in the jamb and on the wall surface (Fig. 6.8A). Although essentially based on the aisles of the nave designed by Wynford in the 1390s, the presbytery aisles have different proportions of glass and panelling, and provide an effect much closer to that which surely existed at Stillington's Chapel (Fig. 6.8 A-C). The Winchester aisle walls and vaults were constructed by Richard Fox (Bishop of Winchester 1501-1518), along with the flying buttresses for the presbytery, on which is carved the symbol of the pelican, and the ogee cupolas on the aisle buttresses, which stylistically are closely related to those of Henry VII's Chapel and other associated royal works.[28] Built some twenty years later than Stillington's Chapel it is possible that their form

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[27] Buckle (1894), 45: Size of Bays-Nave and Choir...22 ft, 0 in. x 16 ft, 3 in. Buckle represents the four-light window as 9 feet wide. This compares to the chancel aisle windows of Sherborne that are approximately 8 feet wide.

[28] His badges and emblems are displayed on the interior and exterior of the chapel; see R. Willis, *The Architectural History of Winchester Cathedral* (1st edn 1845; repr. Winchester, 1980), 49. Fox signed an Indenture in 1513 that refers to his intention to make and vault with stone the aisles of the cathedral, and vault the cross aisle with stone after a manner and form of the vaulting of the earlier work in the cathedral. He had also intended to vault the area over St Swithin's Shrine, but this along with the transept vaults were never completed; see Lindley in Crook (1993), 122 and note 88; who cites Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS 'Twyne Transcripts', i, 25.

was influenced by the overall design of the earlier work at Winchester College and Cathedral, and as perpetuated and developed at Stillington's Chapel.

This hint that the design of Stillington's Chapel should be considered as part of developments outside its immediate locality, and in other works of major court patrons is further demonstrated by a brief analysis of the vault. Although Sherborne chancel is the earliest vault of combination construction on this scale, a significant difference at Stillington's Chapel is the introduction of pendants. Pendant fan vaults have already been described as associated with small-scale chantry chapels, of which this is a large and elaborate version. In terms of the development of combination vaults with pendants, a number can be found in the last quarter of the 15th century being used for a series of prestigious buildings. The vaults of the Divinity School, the chancel of St Frideswide's Oxford, and the nave of St George's Windsor all fall into this category (Fig. 6.9 A-C).[29] Stillington's Chapel vault would fit well into this development of structural vaults. Constructed by 1488, the work at Wells probably immediately succeeds the Divinity School vault, and is contemporaneous with St Frideswide's vault. As such, Stillington's Chapel is in the vanguard of experimentation with pendants on large-scale vaults, ultimately to be inherited in the chancel of St George's Chapel, Windsor, and the high vault of Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster, both of the early 16th century (Fig. 6.9 D-E).

Despite these conceptual similarities to major contemporary building campaigns, the fragments of Stillington's vault present an impression of an aesthetic much closer to Sherborne than to Oxford. The Oxford vaults favour angular headed lights and central star

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[29] The early works at Windsor, in the 1470s, can be associated with the Janyns family of masons, who owned a quarry at Burford, Oxon: Robert Janyns junior, who was responsible for Henry VII's tower at Windsor is attributed by Harvey as the designer for the Lady chapel at Burford parish church; see Harvey (1984), 160. Morris has confirmed a link by identifying identical mouldings and templates between this chapel and works at St George's Windsor, where Henry Janyns had also worked. The family was also known to have worked on a number of Oxford colleges. This serves to reinforce the close links between the Oxford and Royal works, and development of vaulting.

patterns, rather than features such as inverted cusping,[30] and Stillington's Chapel vault does not appear part of this development. It may be that the addition of pendants to a structural vault, otherwise 'Sherborne' like in design, was risked because of its relatively small scale. The use of pendants, however, does link Stillington's Chapel to the emerging trend for large-scale pendant lierne vaults, which can be specifically related to buildings patronised by members of the court.

Assuming that the deanery at Wells and Stillington's Chapel are by the same designer, based on the circumstantial evidence of dating and the similarities of window treatment already identified, it is worth noting that the deanery was the earlier of the two. It can be dated to between 1472 and 1483, on the basis of the heraldry of Dean Gunthorpe (1472 and 1497), and the flaming sun symbol of Edward IV (1471-83). That the deanery was begun before Stillington's Chapel means that the master mason responsible for the chapel and the deanery had arrived in Wells by the early 1470s. As the window types at the deanery reflect an awareness of the 'Oxford' design and recent development at court it seems reasonable to suggest his origins might be here, and that his awareness of contemporary developments in Oxford (in the 1480s) were because of this association.

Thus there appears a dichotomy between potential sources for the Stillington design: a link to Sherborne based on the remaining fragments and the reconstruction by Buckle; and the apparent awareness of works in Oxford and further afield shown through its use of pendants and links to the deanery design. This complication has partly arisen out of an expectation that Wells must be the source for the Sherborne nave, because its construction is the earlier. The common ground of Stillington's Chapel with the nave at Sherborne, however, is rather that it is dependent on the earlier chancel: the fact that both buildings

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[30] The 'aisles' of the Divinity School vault from a close comparison to the high vaults of Winchester Cathedral. Waynflete's Chantry Chapel of the 1470s also favours this type of angular vaulting, here

share a common source has been essentially overlooked. Vault, aisle window and clerestory window designs at Sherborne all provided the designer of Stillington's Chapel with a format for conversion into a grand chapel. Ogee-headed lights are not surprising by the fourth quarter of the 15th century, with the two main sources being the tradition in 15th-century Oxford, and the transferral of vaults patterns to window tracery in an attempt to achieve a more uniform overall decorative effect.

The fact that William Smyth was master mason at the cathedral for the period of construction of the deanery and Stillington's Chapel and the comparisons between the lateral windows of the chapel and those of the deanery suggest they were both by him. Subsequently the links between the deanery and works of Edward IV's court in the 1470s indicate he was not a local man, but probably came from Oxford, or possibly London.[31] Despite this, when a design for Stillington's Chapel was sought, he looked to the most prestigious ecclesiastical design of the 15th century in the South West that epitomised the nature of Perpendicular. To this end his source was the chancel at Sherborne, completed about twenty years previously, rather than college chapels or the unfinished work of the Divinity School. Panelled walls and transomed windows on the scale of great church aisles perpetuated the development of forms established at Winchester in the late 14th century, and which were reinterpreted still in the early 16th century.

Buckle's belief that the nave of Sherborne and Stillington's Chapel were directly related, led to Harvey's association of William Smyth with the design. This theory of the significance of Smyth to the region cannot be substantiated. It has been shown that overall

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developing the stellar pattern in the centre that is directly associated with works at Windsor, from the date of the Aerary Porch (*c.* 1353) to the chapel vaults after 1480, such as Urskine's Chapel.

[31] It could be argued that Smyth was a local man, with a detailed knowledge of Sherborne Abbey, but the differences between the mouldings of Stillington's Chapel and the chancel at Sherborne, as his source, and the development of the ideas from Sherborne into a design worthy of a Court patron of the 1470s-80s suggest that this is less likely. Moreover, his design for the deanery, indicating knowledge

effect of the Sherborne nave was directly dependent on the chancel, and it will be argued below that the mouldings of the nave at Sherborne betray an adherence to the developments of the Winchester Cathedral workshop, rather than showing any specific association with the Wells designer; a relationship that was initially begun in the 1440s in the chancel aisle campaign. As before, it is the aspects of the design that are different to details already used at Sherborne and Wells that determine the workshop relationship.

Moulded details and workshop identity

Only limited details are available from Stillington's Chapel, not because of the lack of survival as much as the absence of piers and arcades in the building for comparison purposes. Buckle illustrates in his article a mullion, jamb and associated panelling. The panelling in the two campaigns differs: Wells prefers the ogee form, in contrast to the two-centred arches in the Sherborne nave (Fig. 6.10B). That this difference is simply the Sherborne nave's conscious emulation of the chancel panelling is shown by the detailing chosen for Ramsam's other architectural contribution to the abbey church: he was responsible for the construction of the Bow Chapel at the east end of the south choir aisle, where ogee forms are used for the blind panelling that match closely those at Wells (Fig. 6.11 A&B). Buckle attempts to make a more direct link between Stillington's Chapel and Sherborne nave, by identifying similarities between the mouldings, particularly the ribs, capitals, and vault shafts.[32] The ribs and vault shafts, however, are standard forms, common for a hundred years or more, and alone are insufficient evidence. As the capitals are not illustrated this is less clear, but the mullions are significantly different.

The mullion in Stillington's Chapel comprises a roll with axial roll-and-fillet, a general type found, for example, in the interior mullion profile of King's College Chapel

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of buildings by other Court patrons and contemporary fashions in secular and domestic architecture, it seems that he was brought from outside the region.

[32] Buckle (1894), 48.

where the windows date from *c.*1448 onwards (Fig. 6.12 ii).[33] The use of main mullions for articulation of windows was by this time common, having been standard in late 14th-century works at Winchester and early 15th-century Sherborne; its continued use is seen in all major building campaigns from the Divinity School, Henry IV's Chantry Chapel, Canterbury, King's College Chapel, Cambridge, St George's Chapel, Windsor and Henry VII's Chapel, for example. All these examples use all rolls or combinations of rolls with roll-and-fillet features. Instead the Sherborne nave mullion consists of an axial roll, with a minor mullion of hollow chamfer, chamfer then axial roll form (Fig. 6.12 i). This minor mullion is a distinctive form, being found in the windows of Winchester College Chapel in the 1390s, and subsequently becoming the standard mullion in works at Winchester College. It can be found in both Fromond's Chantry Chapel (*c.*1425 to 1437) and Thurbern's Chantry (*c.*1473-76), probably making its first appearance at Winchester Cathedral in the clerestory windows of the presbytery (Fig. 6.12 iv-vii). This feature was not apparently used outside the workshop until the turn of the century, by which time several examples are found locally, for example the interior aisle windows of St Michael's, Basingstoke, and Old Basing church (Fig. 6.12 ix-x).[34] Its appearance in the nave clerestory at Sherborne in the late 1480s-90s, therefore, constitutes its first appearance outside the college and cathedral at Winchester. Parish church works in Devon that show signs of influence from Sherborne include the north nave aisle of St Peter's Tiverton, Devon, and the north nave aisle of Cullompton parish church (Fig. 6.12 i and xi). Tracery at the west-end of the aisle at the former and the vault at the latter are associated with works at Sherborne, a connection further substantiated by the presence of the 'Winchester College' mullion at both. This reinforces the hypothesis that

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[33] F. Woodman, *The Architectural History of King's College Chapel and its place in the development of Late Gothic Architecture in England and France* (London, 1986), figure 48.

[34] N. Pevsner and D. Lloyd *Hampshire and the Isle of Wight* B/E (Harmondsworth, 1st 1967, repr. 1973) 90 and 89, respectively: both dated *c.*1500

Sherborne Abbey created the link between the Winchester use of this mullion and its appearance in merchant funded parish church rebuilding in the South West. .

It was shown in the preceding chapter that the Sherborne chancel aisles saw the first use of the 'Winchester Cathedral' triple-roll mullion. This form continued in use throughout the 15th and 16th centuries at Winchester Cathedral, having been introduced by Wynford in the nave campaign (see above) (Fig. 6.13 i and ii). The same general form of mullion is the basis of the idea for the Sherborne nave, although it is adapted by the introduction of the 'Winchester College' mullion as the subsidiary or minor element. The 'Winchester Cathedral' mullion is found in combination with a jamb moulding almost identical to the Sherborne nave in the great screen in the presbytery at Winchester, probably completed by 1476 for the translation of the relics of St Swithin (Fig. 6.12 vii). The use of this jamb and the 'College' mullion were new to the Sherborne workshop and were different from the handling of the jamb and panel forms used in the earlier chancel, and Winchester surely provides the missing link. The jamb itself, as well as the vault respond and rib profile, indicate the tendency towards a set of standard features largely associated with panelling of elevations and vaults. Stillington's Chapel consists of sets of these standard features, with no specific links to the distinctive elements of the Sherborne chancel or nave design, instead it copies and adapts the ideas established in the 1420s and 1430s, with evidence of input from a designer linked to court patronage. Sherborne nave is equally copyist of the chancel design, but with evidence of input from a Winchester designer.

With the design of the nave at Sherborne being based on the design of the chancel, why would a Winchester mason be brought in to oversee the design and construction? Wynford's reconstruction of the nave of Winchester Cathedral has been much studied by Willis and subsequent authors,[35] and it has been demonstrated that earlier fabric was

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[35] For example, Crook and Kusaba in Crook (1993), 215-30.

retained, including the cores of the piers which were re-faced and re-cut. Almost one hundred years after the Winchester nave was begun, the Sherborne nave reconstruction consisted of re-casing the Romanesque piers, rather than completely rebuilding them as had been done in the east end earlier in the century. Perhaps of greater significance is the fact that the upper stages of the presbytery at Winchester were reconstructed at some time after the construction of the arcades below. Circumstantial evidence might suggest this occurred in the third quarter of the century during the episcopate of Bishop Beaufort. The vault was copied from that of the nave and the clerestory windows made the first use of the Winchester College mullion found at the cathedral; the arcades underneath were left in their 14th-century form, and it was only the upper stages that were rebuilt (Fig. 6.14B). In the same way that a mason from Winchester was invited to supervise the completion of the Sherborne chancel, at a time when the former's nave was being completed, it seems feasible that Winchester provided the most obvious source for a mason with the structural skills to carry out the nave reconstruction for Abbot Ramsam, continuing the relationship between the two workshops established in the mid-15th century (Fig. 6.14A).

This section began by outlining the assumption that the similarities between Stillington's Chapel and Sherborne Abbey nave could only be explained if they were the product of the same master mason. It has been shown that this is not the case. Complications have arisen because of the closeness in date and in some of the details of the two buildings. Despite this, it has become evident that their similarities do not result from same personality at work, but from reference to the same source: both are dependent on the east end of Sherborne Abbey. Sherborne nave can be completely explained through a reinterpretation of the chancel and need not have had any direct contact with Wells. In fact the evidence suggests it is more likely that it was either a Winchester mason, or a Sherborne mason looking to Winchester, who was responsible for the design of the nave at Sherborne. The nave should be seen as a sign of the Sherborne workshop's conservatism after the innovation of the chancel.

Stillington's Chapel can almost certainly be attributed to Smyth as the master mason at the cathedral at the time of its construction, and he evidently used Sherborne chancel as his precedent. Begun before the construction of the nave at Sherborne it is possible that masons from Sherborne were employed on its construction, returning to Sherborne for the nave vault in *c.*1488. However, elements of the tracery at the chapel and the deanery, and the use of pendants in a lierne-fan vault design, also suggest an awareness of developments at Oxford and other court works. That William Smyth applied a personal style to the two campaigns, however, cannot be substantiated, and the assumption that he must have also designed the nave at Sherborne is equally contentious. The premise of a 'markedly individual style'[36] is rather misleading, and it is evident that a number of features have become interchangeable and somewhat standardised.

With this in mind the kinds of similarities between the two buildings at this date need not be indicative of the same mason, but instead of the frequency with which adaptable and locally prestigious designs are copied. Rather than Wells providing the source for new ideas in ecclesiastical architecture by this date, it seems that the Sherborne workshop production of 1425-59 is responsible for creating an appropriate and translatable design to a variety of buildings and building types. The construction of the deanery and Stillington's Chapel, however, were the first to introduce the ogee-headed tracery lights and pendants into the region, and fan vaults into the Wells workshop. Buckle described Stillington's Chapel as the 'chef d'oeuvre' of the School,[37] in which he included Redcliffe, Sherborne and Bath Abbey. Although his notion of 'School', covering a range of buildings encompassing a date span of over one hundred and fifty years is contentious, that Stillington's Chapel was the most innovative spin-off from the Sherborne workshop appears to be true. This innovation is

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[36] Harvey (1984), 277.

[37] Buckle (1894), 56.

reflected in its association with great church and college buildings of the late 15th century and its role in their development.

Perhaps surprisingly Sherborne is seen to be the driving force in ecclesiastical design at two workshops in the later 15th century. This hypothesis is further supported by an analysis of ecclesiastical and secular works in the region of Dorset, Somerset and Devon, particularly focusing on workshop developments at Wells and Sherborne. Those included in Harvey's initial list of works attributed to Smyth are discussed below in addition to an assessment of parish church works in the late 15th and early 16th century. Rather than suggesting that the master masons of Wells maintained a significant influence in the area, direct links to Sherborne are revealed, with a noticeable increase in its influence apparent in the early 16th century.

Vault design in the region c.1500

The oversimplification of the single mason hypothesis for the group of late 15th-century buildings in the region is further evidenced from a brief study of the context for the Wells crossing vault. William Smyth has been identified as the link between the Stillington Chapel vault with the crossing vault of Wells Cathedral.[38] With no known documentation referring to it, it has been related stylistically to the inserted crossing vault at Milton Abbey and the north transept vault of Sherborne Abbey (Fig. 6.15 A&B and 6.16A). The crossing at Milton is usually dated *c.*1500, as a result of its perceived association with Abbot Middleton (1481-1525), whilst Sherborne's north transept is dated to after 1504 by Leedy on the basis that it lacks Ramsam's heraldry (Figs 6.16A and 6.15B).[39] Although Middleton's heraldry on the north and south transept vaults of Milton Abbey has already been discussed,

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[38] Harvey (1978), 202-04.

[39] See Leedy (1980), 201-04. Leedy also identifies that from a technical point of view the north transept marks a break in workshop methodology. There is a possibility that the north transept preceded the nave and followed the chancel, the tracery certainly appears to precede the ideas used for

none of his familiar heraldic devices appear on the crossing, potentially meaning that it should not automatically be associated with his work. The key aspect of these three designs is that they are all copies of the chancel and crossing vaults at Sherborne Abbey (Fig. 6.16B). As it has already been shown that these vaults, although designed before 1437, were completed between *c.*1440 and 1459,[40] the three vaults could be dateable from anytime after the completion of the east end of the church. If the absence of heraldry at Sherborne and Milton excludes the periods of Ramsam's and Middleton's abbacies, then by default these vaults are presumably either between *c.*1459 and *c.*1475-81, or at some stage in the 16th century, as proposed by Leedy, but need not even be contemporary.

A comparison of its details with the rest of the building suggests that the north transept at Sherborne was before 1475 rather than after the nave as implied by Leedy: the mouldings are closest to those used in the chancel aisles, and do not use the 'Winchester College' mullion introduced into the Sherborne nave in the 1480s for example (Fig. 6.13 iii). Additionally, the heads of the lights do not use the ogees as favoured throughout the nave campaign, which one might expect if it was a direct successor to the nave.[41] Further comparative evidence is provided by the eastern chapel of the north transept, known as the Wykeham Chapel, which has a vault and mouldings unrelated to the body of the transept and they were evidently conceived as distinct campaigns. The Wykeham Chapel vault can be associated stylistically with a group of vaults in the region in the 16th century, including the porch vault at Cerne Abbey (*c.*1509), and Hilton All Saints (after 1485) (Fig. 6.17 A&B).[42]

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the nave and thus the proposed sequence of construction around the church: south transept, chancel, north transept nave can be found elsewhere, for example Gloucester Cathedral.

[40] RCHME Salisbury Houses (1993), 242: a shield in no. 71 The Close of three elephants heads is associated with the name Saunders. It is stated that similar charges on a shield in the crossing vault of Sherborne Abbey may be tentatively ascribed to Abbot Saunders (1459-1475). At present the identification of both remains an enigma. Its only implications for Sherborne crossing would be to indicate a somewhat lengthier completion of the east end than previously assumed, and that Leland is being too tidy with his association of its completion with Abbot Bradford.

[41] It may be that the transept directly followed on from the completion of the east end.

[42] See Chapter Eight for discussion of Cerne Abbey gateway, and for Hilton see Leedy (1980), 174.

A closer parallel is found in the porch of No. 65, The King's House in Salisbury Cathedral close (formerly the prebendal residence of the abbots' of Sherborne), presumed to be an addition to the house, which was possibly constructed during the abbacy of Saunders (1459-75) (Fig. 6.18 A&B).[43] The two vaults are not only almost identical in design, but are both constructed in Ham Hill stone, the only appearance of this stone in the cathedral or close at Salisbury: there can be little doubt that Sherborne Abbey masons designed and constructed the porch for the prebendal house of the abbot of Sherborne. As an addition to the house this vault must be after 1475, confirming the likelihood that Wykeham's Chapel was late 15th or early 16th century.[44] This chapel's use of the 'Winchester College' mullion, as used for the nave (*c.*1486-93), for its inserted tracery in the north wall (Figs 6.13 iv and 6.12 iii), may indicate that it post-dates the nave. This comparison and dating reinforces the point that the absence of nave detailing in the main body of the transept is indicative of a construction preceding that of the nave, and therefore should be dated to between *c.*1459 and *c.*1485.

In attempting to distinguish between workshop practices, Leedy associates the constructional method of the Milton Abbas crossing vault with the nave of Sherborne, also highlighting significant constructional and technical differences between the Sherborne vaults and the Wells crossing vault. His implication is that the Wells and Sherborne vaults are not carried out by the same workshop but that 'different methods of construction [are] employed by differing workshops to ensure the same visual outcome'.[45] This is similar to the situation already described at Stillington's Chapel, where a design was copied from another workshop and used in a new context.

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[43] RCHME Salisbury Houses (1993), 218, 220.

[44] Leedy suggests that the Wykeham's Chapel was the result of an outside patron creating a private chapel because of the differences of style between this and the earlier vaults of the abbey. The comparison with the Ham Hill porch at Salisbury, however, suggests both were the result of abbey workshop designs: see Leedy (1980) 202.

[45] W. Leedy, 'Wells Cathedral and Sherborne Abbey: workshop connections in the Late Fifteenth century,' *Gesta,* XVI/1 (1977), 43.

Without firmer dating it is impossible to determine whether the Wells crossing vault was carried out during Smyth's period as master mason, although that he was aware of developments at Sherborne has been demonstrated by the appearance of Stillington's Chapel. As with the Milton Abbey vault it is possible that the design was either a response to the Sherborne crossing in the third quarter of the century, or that the appearance of exact copies of 'Sherborne' vaults in Milton Abbey and Wells are the result of a release of masons, marking the end of the nave project at Sherborne. Furthermore, it is clear that the path of influence is from Sherborne to Milton Abbey and Wells, rather than Wells, or its master mason, being the primary source.

Wells Cathedral cloister: the final phase

William Smyth was succeeded as master mason at Wells Cathedral on 23 October 1490 by William Atwood, who remained until 1507.[46] It is to him that the final stage of the extended cloister campaign is usually attributed. It appears from the Escheator's Accounts, however, that work on the cloister was only resumed in 1507, after an unexplained pause in building: in November of that year the Treasurer Thomas Harryes agreed 'to find all stone work and wages of the masons and other servants about the new cloister, now begun until it be finished; the canons residentiary shall find all timber and lead and wages of carpenters and other servants about the same, until it be finished'.[47] Harryes' initials with the date 1508 can be found in the third bay from the west of the south walk.[48] The details of this range are largely based on the two ranges that preceded it, with the use of a lierne octagonal vault patterns and sub-arcuated tracery.

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[46] The completion of the south range of the cloister is also attributed to this period. The end of the century at Wells appears a quiet period with little opportunity for large-scale works and no new designs being introduced.

[47] Cal. II (London, 1914), 201 and 206.

[48] L.S. Colchester, *The New Bells Cathedral Guide Wells Cathedral* (London, 1987), 76-77. Thomas Henry (or Harryes) treasurer and archdeacon is identified also by Leland as completing the south walk of the cloister see Leland, I (1964), 291. Thomas Harryes succeeded John Dyer as carrying out diocesan duties in the period of the bishops absence, see Maxwell-Lyte SRS (1937), xix.

Some changes of details are noticeable, although these are evident only in the middle ten bays (of a twelve bay range). The westernmost bay of the south aisle favours the distinctive shield shape associated with the west walk and displays the heraldry of Beckington, whilst the easternmost bay was part of the east walk campaign, evident from the exactly matching details of boss and springers, and by way of confirmation, the reference to payment of John Turpyn 'for paving the east walk of the cloister with one bay of the south walk'.[49] The main bays of the south walk have the same responds as the other walks, but their capitals form a continuous band following the plan of the respond rather than being attached only to the shafts. In the previous campaigns the capitals had been moulded, whereas those in the south walk have become a decorated band of foliage. This feature, reminiscent of Decorated motifs commonly used in the mid-14th century, underwent a revival of fortune in the later 15th and early 16th century, being used in the nave works of Abbot Ramsam in Sherborne Abbey and in building influenced by Sherborne, such as the Dorset aisle of Ottery St Mary, Devon. Buckle refers to the same system being favoured at Stillington's Chapel.[50] A difference that is unrelated to contemporary developments at Sherborne is the change to conventional rather than fan springers, more often associated with a tierceron vault, here with nine ribs. The square bosses have lost the concave sides favoured for the other walks. Other smaller changes such as the lack of the final moulding for the hood of the window exterior and slight differences in the tracery proportions are all indicators of the distinct nature of this campaign (Fig. 6.19 A&B). The sudden resolve to begin again and complete the cloister may have resulted in the reduction of some details, but the capitals would have been no less work, however, and reflect a change to a decorative potential expressed at Sherborne and possibly Stillington's Chapel. Stillington's Chapel may have been the intermediary between ideas begun at Sherborne and used at Wells, once

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[49] Fabric Accounts, 13.

[50] Buckle (1894), 48.

accepted into the workshop. The conservatism of such an extended project as the cloister at Wells, begun in the 1420s under Bishop Bubwith is perhaps inevitable.

It is apparent that there is a trailing off of new design work at Wells and the influence of its workshop at the turn of the century. The small works probably produced under William Atwood were the continuation of an outdated cloister long overdue for completion, and a crossing vault which looked to Sherborne for inspiration.[51]

Harvey's list of works attributed to William Smyth includes the chapel of Hugh Sugar, treasurer, in the nave of Wells Cathedral, and this constitutes the final work to be discussed at Wells in this chapter. After the completion of the cloister and the crossing vault, the church and its precinct, little appears to have been altered, and Bishop Knight's pulpit (1541-47) attached to the corner of Sugar's Chantry constitutes the last addition before the Reformation. Work did not cease at the cathedral, of course, but the fabric accounts of 1549-50 list small items of maintenance and repair, for example cleaning bells, clocks and organs, and repairing locks and doors, with no reference to renting the Doulting quarry from Glastonbury or stone, timber or lead being brought in for building projects.[52]

The Treasurer's chantry chapel

The chantry chapel of Sugar and the deanery were both constructed during the period that Smyth is recorded as being master at the Cathedral. The chantry chapel of *c.* 1489 located in the south nave aisle,[53] however, follows a standard pattern in general form and in detail that is clearly designed to match Bishop Bubwith's Chantry of *c.* 1425, situated

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[51] The design of the vault was clearly a reason for copying, but in addition it may relate to the fact that the vaults at Sherborne were added into existing fabric (crossing and north transept especially), and as such provided a real constructional precedent for the vaults at Wells and Milton Abbey.

[52] Buckle (1894), 43-48.

[53] Weaver, SRS (1901), 275: Sugar's will dated 18 October 1488 and proved 5 May 1489 requests burial in the naves of either Wells Cathedral or Glastonbury Abbey, suggesting the chantry chapel was not constructed during his lifetime.

opposite in the north nave aisle.[54] Beckington's Chantry followed many of the features of Bubwith's Chapel and the decorative cusping, and canopied altar with vault were all inherited subsequently for Sugar's. The tracery has diverged from that used in Bubwith's and subsequently Beckington's Chantry, and has adopted more the ogee forms one would now expect at the end of the 1480s in Wells (Fig. 6.20 A-C). Its general adherence to a design almost seventy years earlier, and the fact that all the details of the design are to be identical with Bubwith's Chantry, including all the mullions and other mouldings, mean that a attribution to a specific mason is hardly feasible or useful. Concessions, in the architecture of the chantry, to its own era exist in the tracery and the vault designs; the latter is a fan vault, reflecting the general choice of fans for new works of the late 15th century at Wells.

The significance of the chantry is, therefore, not its design details as such but rather that it is the only chantry of such elaborate design at Wells that is not attributed to a bishop. Hugh Sugar was vicar general as well as treasurer and there is reason to believe he held a position of some privilege in chapter: the decision to copy the tomb of earlier bishops must be indicative of this status being recognised.[55] The concept of creating a pair of matching chantry chapels is a feature of bishops' tombs in the latter part of the 15th century, most obviously seen in the retrochoir of Winchester Cathedral with the chapels of Bishops Beaufort and Waynflete, probably constructed between *c.*1460 and 1476 (Fig. 6.21A). The predecessor to this is found in the east end of Exeter Cathedral, when in 1442-3 a new tomb was constructed for the late 13th-century effigy of Bishop Branscombe (d.1280), which is

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[54] Bubwith's will instructed his burial to be in the newly built chapel in the nave, dedicated to St Cuthbert, the Holy Saviour and the Blessed Virgin Mary. For summary see Holmes SRS (1914), xxxviii.

[55] T.F. Palmer, ed. *Collectanea III: A Collection of Documents from Various Sources* SRS, LVII (1942), 71: a list of precentors, chancellors and treasurers of the cathedral by Dom Aelred Watkin states that Sugar was appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury to carry out the administration of the cathedral during the vacancy of bishop, he was given a privileged position in chapter and it is hardly surprising he was appointed vicar-general by Stillington. It appears he had extensive jurisdictions, and this may have been a contributory factor in a dispute between him and the Chapter.

matched by an almost identical construction for Bishop Stafford (d.1419) (Fig. 6.21B).[56] Other examples, of noble lay people, include those of William Lord Hastings and Canon John Oxenbury in the choir aisles of St George's Chapel, Windsor,[57] and by the early 16th century this trend had moved down the social scale: the Speke Chantry matches the chantry of Bishop Oldham at the east end of the choir aisles in Exeter Cathedral for example, and there is some concession to design in the construction of the chantries of lay persons in the choir of Newark, with the chapels of the families of Markham and Meyring flanking the high altar. Sugar's aspirations can be matched by a series of non-episcopal figures in the region in the late 15th and early 16th century, including Dean Gunthorpe, Abbot Dovell, Abbot Chard and Abbot Sam; of Wells Cathedral, and the Abbeys of Cleeve, Forde and Cerne respectively. All of these clerics instigated major building campaigns, which they identified with prolific use of heraldry.

Local Parish Church design in the later Middle Ages

All the aforementioned buildings are located at cathedral or great church sites, and are the products of their workshops. Parish churches at the end of the 14th century have been seen to relate closely to developments in Wells and north Somerset. Having identified Sherborne's influence on large-scale vaults and rebuildings, and the relative lack of new ecclesiastical work at Wells, how are these developments reflected in parish church works at the end of the period?

The nature of much of the rebuilding in the later period tends to be reconstructions or additions of side chapels, aisles, chantries, and porches, as well as the construction of

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[56] B. Cherry, 'Flying Angels and Bishop's Tombs, a Fifteenth Century Conundrum,' in BAACT Exeter (1991), 201: the lower quality of details on Staffords' tomb is interpreted as meaning his was secondary.

[57] William Lord Hastings died in 1483, executed under Richard III, but the grant of a burial place made to him by Edward IV was honoured. The chapel was to be placed near the king in St George's Chapel, and the paintings of the chantry chapel that exists are usually dated to the 1480s, although the

towers especially in the late 15th and early 16th century. Architectural influence from Wells seems to be largely restricted to west towers in the later part of the century, whilst it is apparent that works of the Sherborne workshop had an impact on local parish building. Two groups of parish churches, here identified as the Langport and Selworthy groups demonstrate the nature of additions to parish churches and the tendency towards conservatism in parish design. Grander rebuildings, such as those at Crewkerne (Somerset), Cerne (Dorset), Cullompton and Ottery St Mary (Devon) demonstrate a specific interpretation of the developments at Sherborne Abbey throughout the 15th century. All these examples fall at the very end of the 15th century or within the 16th century, and the completion of Sherborne Abbey in the early 16th century seems to be directly related to this pattern of influence.

The Parish Churches at Cerne and Crewkerne

At Cerne, in Dorset, the east window of the parish church consists of a segmental arched window with panelling in the jamb, and tracery reminiscent of the Sherborne north transept window. Its use of ogee arches, however, probably means it is attributable to *c.* 1490 onwards, using the Sherborne transept design with the nave aesthetic (Fig. 6.5 vii). The internal mullion and jamb is identical to that at the Stillington Chapel at Wells (Fig. 6.12 ii and xi),[58] reinforcing the interchanges possible with a standard mullion, whilst the exterior details differ from either Wells or Sherborne by abandoning the prominent polygonal mouldings in favour of a roll. The stone type (Ham Hill), tracery detail, and geographical proximity to Sherborne reinforce the closeness of a link to Sherborne.

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chantry was not established until 1502-3 by his widow. Canon John Oxenbury, died 1522, constructed a matching chapel in the south choir aisle.

[58] Pevsner says that is 'said to have been imported from somewhere else': see Pevsner B/E (1973), 133. If this is the case the most likely explanation could be that it comes from the abbey at the dissolution which was only a few hundred yards away from the church possibly to update east wall of the older chancel.

The nave and west window of Crewkerne parish church are the last of the list of works previously attributed to William Smyth as designer of Stillington's Chapel.[59] Construction has been attributed to 1475 to 1490 based on this attribution. The nave of Crewkerne forms an impressive space, with its unusually large aisle windows creating the effect more like a huge glass chantry chapel. Various aspects of the late medieval church are illustrative of the nature of sources from both Wells and Sherborne: the tower windows, for example, are directly dependant on the towers at Wells Cathedral. Although the tracery design is inherited from the west towers of Wells, the transom, with quatrefoils divided by a mullion over a two-centred light, makes clear reference to the transom motif of the Wells central tower. By contrast the west window of the nave has its closest parallel with the Sherborne north transept and nave windows (Figs 6.23 A&B and see 6.5 vii and viii).[60] The angular look of the segmental arches of the Sherborne north transept has been replaced here by the use of two-centred arches, presumably because of the need to relate to a predetermined roof shape. The nave windows, with their lack of ogee decoration and six-light form are harder to parallel, possibly indicating that the west front was a later smartening up of an existing nave.

The construction of the church in Ham Hill stone may have a bearing on the sources of the design, with masons at the Ham Hill quarries surely being familiar with the products of the Sherborne Abbey workshop. But how does this relate to the apparent differences evident in the nave tracery? The answer is, in fact, found through an analysis of the porch, which demonstrates that Crewkerne had to look to the Sherborne workshop for an appropriate vault pattern. The design of the fan vault in the porch can be related to a small group of vaults in Dorset and Somerset: that is Hilton parish church (Fig. 6.24 A&B), the Wykeham Chapel in Sherborne Abbey, Cerne Abbey Abbot's gatehouse (Dorset), and

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[59] Harvey (1984), 277-278.

Muchelney Abbey south cloister walk (Somerset). The Cerne and Sherborne vaults (see Fig. 6.17 A&B), both of the early 16th century, are close in design, but display a slight difference in construction; the vaults of Hilton and Muchelney however, are closer still (Figs 6.24B and 6.25B). Both Ham Hill structures, they use straight ribs to form the bounding rib, a combination of rib-and-panel and jointed masonry, as well as large foliate bosses, trefoil cusped panels and four quatrefoils in the spandrel. As the Muchelney cloister vault no longer survives, and is a series of adjacent bays rather than a single square bay the comparison at first seems the least obvious, but the details are the same as described. Furthermore, the tracery of the Muchelney cloister walk is essentially a four-light version of the nave aisle windows at Crewkerne, or to be more precise the Crewkerne design is probably illustrating knowledge of the Muchelney cloister design (Figs 6.25A and 6.22 i-ii). As Wells has no fan vaults of this type and they are largely found in and around the Ham Hill region in the late 15th or early 16th century, Sherborne seems to be the obvious source, especially in the light of its continuous tradition of vault design. As if by way of confirmation, the small clerestory windows of the nave have their closest parallel in another product of the Sherborne workshop, the aisle windows of the early 15th-century chancel (Fig. 6.22 iii-iv). The details of the vault and the dependence on the latest windows at Sherborne may suggest that this was constructed later than the suggested date of 1475-90, and fits more comfortably in the early 16th century, as part of a continuous tradition of masons, trained at Sherborne and specialising in vault and tracery designs.

Crewkerne is slightly unusual in its scale of reconstruction for a parish church at such a late date in the region, but other factors, such as the rectors being royal chaplains from 1479 may have influenced the scale of the rebuilding.[61] The tendency at other places is

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[60] It is presumably this likeness that led Harvey to associate this building with William Smyth.
[61] See *VCH Somerset*, IV (London, 1978), 28-32: Crewkerne was a Minster of Saxon origin and, like Ilminster, seems to have continued the traditional hierarchy in terms of the scale and grandeur of its

towards the reconstruction of small sections of parish churches. This trend is evident in the Langport and Selworthy groups. The former group may have some patronage in common, whilst the latter, consisting of small aisle rebuilds, have in common their geographical proximity, being remote, rural churches in West Somerset and North Devon.

The Langport group

The first group in question is situated to the west of Yeovil and consists of Martock, Kingsbury Episcopi, Muchelney, Langport, Curry Rivel, and Huish Episcopi. All had some form of addition in the late 15th century, and fortunately about half have some form of dating associated with them. The manors of Martock, Langport, Huish, Kingsbury and Curry Rivel were owned by the Beaufort family throughout the 15th century, and the portcullis appears in the nave of Martock, and those of Lady Margaret Beaufort on the tower of Langport. There is as yet no evidence of personal benefaction to these two, and the arms may be solely as a respectful notice of the current lords.

Rebuilding work at the east-end of Langport, however, does have a record of a possible patron for both the chancel and a two-bay chantry chapel added to the south of the south nave aisle (Fig. 6.26A). Collinson found the arms of John Heron, surveyor to the king, in all the windows of the south chapel in the late 18th century, which were in combination with the arms of Amias Poulet in the south window. Amias Poulet was a close friend of Heron's and became supervisor to his will,[62] and is associated with a small group of patrons

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rebuilding. During the 15th century the incumbents were often associated with the Courtenay family, and the second portion of the rectory was held by Richard Surland (1479-1509), sub-dean of the chapels royal, and Christopher Plummer (1509-*c.*1536), chaplain to Queen Elizabeth of York, Henry VIII and Queen Catherine of Aragon. This presence of royal chaplains may explain the splendour of the building and some of the design details, such as the west door which has been noted as resembling the west door of King's College Chapel, but could be generally linked with a number of doors or grand entrances in Cambridge in the late 15th century.

[62] J. Collinson, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Somerset*, III (1st edn 1791, Stroud, repr.1983) 133.

of High Ham parish church, dated 1476.[63] In 1630 it was recorded that Heron's arms could be found painted on almost all the pillars. Ross believes the chancel to have been completed before Heron's death in 1501, and that the evidence of the will of Heron's son suggests that the south chantry chapel was not begun until after the latter's death (*c.*1520).[64] This is based on the sentence that refers to his chantry 'not yet founded' and is to be 'founded in accordance with...[his]...father's will'.[65] However, John Heron's will specifies that, besides leaving money to a priest in perpetuity, he desires 'to be buried in the new Ile of Langport', and his tomb was seen in the aisle by Collinson.[66] The reference to the 'Ile' suggests it was completed; money being left for its priest rather than its fabric. The phrase in the son's will must relate to the terms of the chantry bequest rather than the fabric itself, and his reference to his own chantry indicates a chapel independent of his father's, solely for his burial. The Heron chancel and aisle works should be dated as exactly contemporaneous, probably in the 1490s, which can be further supported by the use of identical tracery and mouldings for both.

That the same group of masons was employed in a series of local buildings is demonstrated by a one bay addition to the south of Huish Episcopi nave, and the nave of Curry Rivel. Within sight of Langport, Huish competes with the natural prominence afforded to Langport by its position on the top of the rise, by the construction of an impressive west tower. All the energies of the parish appear to have put into this grand tower, attached to a small parish church with little other late medieval alterations. Additions are restricted to a two-bay chapel on the south side of the aisleless nave, evidently formed from the addition of a single bay to the west of an earlier eastern chapel. The added western bay of this chapel has a window evidently copied from the chancel aisles of Sherborne Abbey, betraying its later date only by the use of ogee-headed lights (Fig. 6.27A). Whereas,

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[63] Wickham (1965), 33.
[64] D.M. Ross, *Langport and its church,* (1911), 232-233.
[65] *Ibid.,* 238.

the south window of the eastern bay has the same window tracery as Langport, and more importantly identical mouldings for mullions and jambs for both interior and exterior, the templates of which appear to have been the same as the sizes match exactly. Another of this group, Curry Rivel parish church,[67] uses exactly the same tracery as the lateral windows of the Langport chancel, and here too the mouldings are created from the same template (Fig. 6.26B). Close in design is the church of Long Sutton, referred to in a consecration of 1493 as being newly built, so exactly contemporary with Langport and probably Huish. Variations on this basic tracery pattern can be found in all the other buildings listed above, all as west windows. The west window at Muchelney parish church is associated with the patronage of a knight of the garter as indicated by heraldry on the fan vault in the tower (although it is feasible that the vault was added later to a pre-existing tower). The west windows at Kingsbury, Huish, and Martock are in towers that have known dates, the former two tower designs are so similar that they have always been recognised as almost contemporary. Harvey places Martock *c.*1480-1500, and the other two at the beginning of the 16th century. These dates associate them with Ile Abbots, another example of the use of the tracery design within this small region.[68] In summary, a localised group of buildings has been noted as using identical templates and tracery, and having a common patronage link. In addition, there is evidence that this general design became a common solution for feature windows in a more widespread geographical area, as shown by the Selworthy group.

The Selworthy Group

The Selworthy group includes Wootton Courtenay, Selworthy, Cleeve Abbey refectory, Dunster parish church, and Croscombe. The refectory of Cleeve is the most

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[66] *Ibid.*, 236.

[67] Wickham (1965), 111: Wickham states that the porch at Curry Rivel was constructed in c.1505, part of the rebuilding of the chancel and aisles. Langport is associated with the patronage of Heron in the 1490s: see also *Ibid.*, 33-34.

[68] Harvey (1982)B, 168.

impressive of these rebuildings using for the body of the room transomed windows associated with parish church designs, and for smaller rooms and staircases a transomed window that owes its form to the square-headed window of Beckington's gatehouses (Fig. 6.28A). The others perpetuate the image of what appears to be the only acceptable solution for new building work in the area (Fig. 6.28B). The remote church of Selworthy presents an impressive image of a decorated late Perpendicular church, but reveals conservatism in parish church design (Fig. 6.29 A&B).

All these churches, in both groups, favour the same basic tracery pattern, which can be interpreted as a decorative adaptation of the earlier Perpendicular tracery found in 14th- and early 15th-century churches in the region, for example, North Petherton, Taunton St James and Ilminster (see Fig. 5.23). The design is slightly altered, the main alteration being the use of ogee headed lights, hardly surprising at this date in view of the discussions on both Sherborne and Wells above. The design has been further elaborated by the occasional use of a 'Y' division and the addition of decorated transom: an ogee light with quatrefoils in the spandrels (Fig. 6.27B). This aspect of the design is not evident at Sherborne or the Sherborne influenced buildings so far mentioned, however, it was introduced to the region at Wells in the 1450s in Beckington's gatehouses. Subsequently it was adopted for conventual buildings in local monastic houses, for example the abbot's lodgings of Muchelney Abbey, and secular structures, for example Dunster Castle gatehouse (Fig. 6.30 A-C). Although this design achieves its aim of providing a decorated large window, it betrays the conservatism in tracery design in the area at the end of the period in this region.

The mouldings themselves in all these churches are simple, and in themselves impossible to tie to a particular lodge or workshop. Their similarity and the use of identical templates in the Langport group, however, suggests the production of parts from a common source, to provide the desired 'smart' decorative window to the parish churches. This would explain why the two disparate groups have so many aspects in common, and how large scale rebuildings, like Cleeve Abbey relate so closely to Muchelney, and the Langport group for example. The most likely explanation for this must be production of standard parts direct from quarries, and although the design ideas may have originated from the mid-century Wells workshop, and the works emanating from Sherborne in the last quarter of the century, the windows themselves are produced by quarrymen. This may go some way to explain the continuation of an accepted tradition and the apparent suitability of a singular solution.

These examples have drawn the design further away from the cathedral and abbey lodges and closer to workshops of masons based in and around the quarry areas serving parish churches. Wells still appeared to be an ultimate source for tracery designs. Whereas the tracery of the Beckington gateways, essentially a secular form of architecture in an ecclesiastical setting, seems to have had noticeable impact at the abbots' lodgings and gatehouses of the region (e.g. Dunster); so the simpler aspects of the deanery windows are occasional copied from this secular building into church alterations. The window shape and more specifically the hood mould and hood stops of the simple deanery windows are similar to the parish church of Curry Rivel, for example.[69] Stoke-sub-Hamden, a small parish church not far from Curry Rivel and Martock, has placed in the north side of an older chancel a window that resembles the deanery type. The four-centred head with cinquefoil cusping and uncusped transom below, in combination with a hood mould with concave sides is an almost exact replica of the deanery windows, and despite its distance from Wells it can only be explained through a connection with the workshop of the Cathedral and its precinct.[70] It is perhaps surprising that the 'Oxford' style tracery designs of the deanery are not more influential in establishing new designs in the region.

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[69] This is a diamond-head stop with slightly concave sides, which occurs in a few of these late parish church rebuildings, and sometimes on the later tower constructions as well. It is not as elegant or mannered as the one used for the deanery. This can probably be best explained by the cost and extravagance of the deanery project and its design under a master mason rather than by a team of parish church builders emulating ideas.

[70] Buckler Architectural Drawings, XXVIII, BM Add.ms. 36383, folio 230.

Chantry chapels in Devon

The Lane aisle of Cullompton church (from 1526) and the Dorset aisle of Ottery St Mary (*c.*1520)[71] are both fan-vaulted chapels that have already been associated with the work at Sherborne (Fig. 6.31 A&B). It has been suggested that both vaults were afterthoughts, although Leedy states if this is the case with Cullompton it was a decision made soon after construction had begun. The presence of the 'Winchester College' mullion, already associated with the nave at Sherborne, and the vault pattern confirm that Sherborne provided the primary source. Tiverton north nave aisle, as mentioned above, also uses this moulding and other details that link its design to the Sherborne workshop (Fig. 6.12 ix). The lack of comparable moulded details in the Dorset, but the similarity of the vault to the Sherborne design, probably confirms that the vault was a subsequent addition. Cullompton and Ottery demonstrate that the prestige additions to parish churches were the products of individual wealthy patrons, and that Sherborne Abbey workshop provided the appropriate precedent for their work. The propensity for fan vaults in smart chantry chapels was evident outside the region by the early 16th century and it seems local patrons turned to Sherborne for the obvious local precedent for designs suitable for rectangular bays and chapels.

Conclusions

The above case studies inevitably have not covered all aspects of church design in the South West at the end of the 15th century. But they have shown that continuation of a tradition was perpetuated by the method of production being quarry based rather than cathedral workshop based. This conservatism was not restricted to tracery alone and the design of internal elevations of the great parish churches of the late 14th century, at for example Yeovil, Ilminster and St Cuthbert's, was revived in building Norton-sub-Hamden, and its influence is felt in the additional chapels to the south side of Huish Episcopi, both of

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[71] Leedy (1980), 157 and 190 respectively for dating.

the late 15th century. A distinction has been identified between those works that can be specifically linked to the workshop at Sherborne and those that are quarry produced details within a generally accepted aesthetic. Despite an overall tendency to conservatism, some new details, not found at Sherborne appear in chantry chapels in Devon and Wiltshire from the second half of the 15th century. These seem to have been introduced into the region from Wiltshire, and were made popular through association with a specific family's patronage of several chapels. The most significant examples are those at Bromham, Devizes, North Bradley (near Trowbridge), St Andrew's Chippenham, and the chantry chapel that flanked the Lady chapel of Salisbury Cathedral. All of these have direct links to the Hungerford and Beauchamp families, and the chapels are demonstrably similar in many respects other than just the tracery. Not only does the use of these designs by contrast reinforce the conservatism of parts of Somerset, but also provides a source for a few individual works in the 16th century. These include, for example, St Cuthbert's clerestory in Wells, and the merchant chantry chapel of Greenway on the south side of Tiverton parish church, Devon.

Works during this period at Wells Cathedral were ancillary to the main building, the most significant of these being Stillington's Chapel and the deanery. By contrast, the Sherborne workshop was busy rebuilding substantial parts of the main body of the monastic church throughout the late 15th century (see Fig. 5.36). The Sherborne workshop seems rather introspective, with its late 15th century work so heavily dependent on the early 15th-century chancel design, but it may be this that forms the key to its success. Continual building at Sherborne must have produced a large number of masons trained in the adaptation of the chancel design to other situations, and a degree of familiarity with the construction of a particular vault design, established in *c.*1425 and used until *c.*1504 with only minor variations. As the majority of works discussed above are dateable from the 1490s onwards it appears that on the completion of the major works at the abbey church the influence of its masons was felt in a number of significant parish church rebuildings. When

Wells Cathedral required a new ecclesiastical building in a style appropriate for the 1480s, its own workshop was dependent on 14th-century works at the cathedral, and the patron instead turned to the Sherborne chancel for its inspiration. Although the influence of Sherborne is not generally recognised to be of national significance it clearly set the standard for Perpendicular architecture in the region after 1459. That Stillington's Chapel contributed to a range of buildings linked via its patronage reinforces the relatively parochial nature of the Sherborne nave. Wells maintained its pre-eminent status in the development of towers in late Perpendicular Somerset.

The works at Winchester presbytery, Sherborne nave, and Wells Cathedral in the second half of the 15th century all betray a dependence on the innovations of the late 14th and early 15th century, and this tendency towards conservatism is reflected in the designs of the parish church groups discussed above. New ideas and architectural motifs are largely found rather in the details of chantry chapels, for example, Waynflete's Chantry at Winchester Cathedral, and secular or collegiate buildings. Specific details of three works directly involving Waynflete - at Eton, Tattershall church and his chantry chapel - demonstrate the significance of leading episcopal patrons and of motifs developed on feature parts of buildings. All these examples, despite geographical disparity, have closely related door units and moulding profiles. It was from buildings of the 1470s like these that the motifs of the early 16th century were established. Despite Sherborne's local impact the design of the chancel could not sustain creative development outside the region, but became instead a centre for the dispersion of ideas in the locality. Stillington's Chapel had the advantage of funding from a major patron in a national context, which explain the extravagance of the chapel, its distinctive architectural elements, the speed of its construction and its wider sphere of influence.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Bath Abbey: A re-assessment of its patronage and architectural history

The relationships between the workshops of Wells, Bristol and Sherborne have been discussed in the previous chapters, and much of this has concentrated on their relative influence within the region. Throughout the discussion so far of the period *c.* 1360 to *c.* 1520, mention of the cathedral-priory church which shared the title of head of the diocese has been absent. The reasons for this lie largely in the circumstances of rebuilding at Bath: it is well known that the abbey remained essentially in its Romanesque state throughout the later Middle Ages. With the reconstruction of Bath Abbey ascribed to the period 1499 to 1539, that is from the arrival of Oliver King (Bishop of Bath and Wells 1496-1503) in Bath to the dissolution of the priory church, it may appear too late to be a significant influence in the region. An analysis of its architectural design and development, however, is useful in assessing the nature of church building in the later period.

The history of the new church at Bath, as a 16th-century building, has been the subject of discussion by various authorities; and the often quoted references to its documented patronage might imply that little remains to be investigated. Harvey neatly identifies its presumed significance and thus summarises the perceptions of historians with regard to the church when he remarks that:

> 'A particular interest attaches itself to Bath Abbey, as it is an example of the great church of the period, designed as a whole, and executed according to that design'.[1]

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[1] Harvey (1984), 309.

A study of the architectural design of the church, however, reveals that this assumed situation for the patronage and development has been misunderstood. This chapter will challenge the traditional reliance on select documentary evidence for the church's history and address issues of its chronology, the nature of its patronage and its design, with the aim of establishing what can be understood about great church building and precedents in the region at this time. In the course of this a new hypothesis for the development of the building will be put forward.[2]

Amongst the considerable secondary literature on the late medieval rebuilding of the church two issues have remained paramount: the state of completeness of the church at the Reformation, and the design of the east window and its 'incompatibility' with the fan vault. The former is useful to establish because of what it reveals of the building's progress throughout the 16th century, although conflicting arguments have been previously presented. The latter has been given undue weight, and a misinterpretation of the evidence has led to a 'clouding' of the real archaeological issues. Whilst these two aspects have been discussed by previous authors, by contrast the date and motivation for the commencement of the campaign have been taken for granted.

This chapter will demonstrate that Bishop King was not responsible for the commencement of the building campaign, but that his intervention had a substantial impact on the present appearance of the building. A three-phase project will instead be described, and sources and precedents for these phases will be discussed. Although the new church was in working order by 1539 it will be argued further that a combination of the abbey's poverty and its dissolution prevented the realisation of the originally intended plan.

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[2] For synopsis of relevant dates and documents as discussed in this chapter see appendix four.

The history of the church

It is well-known that the head of the See was moved from Wells to Bath by John of Tours after his appointment in 1088. It is recorded that John 'pullid down the old Chirch of St Peter at Bath, and erected a new, much fairer',[3] the lower vaults of which were complete by John's death in 1122.[4] After the creation of the joint See of Bath and Wells in 1245 Bath's previous status declined, and it was at Wells that episcopal heads invested their patronage. To this end, whilst Wells Cathedral was rebuilt in the 13th and 14th centuries, Bath appears to have remained largely in its Romanesque form throughout the later Middle Ages.

The building activity that occurred at Bath appears to have been peripheral to the main body of the church. The eastern apsidal chapel of the Romanesque chevet was reconstructed in the 1260s under Bishop Bytton, who created a rectangular Early English Lady chapel;[5] some minor repairs were carried out in the 1320s,[6] perhaps related to work evidently under way in *c.* 1330, indicated by the documented presence of Richard of Farleigh at the priory.[7] The discovery of 14th-century tiles during recent excavations may belong to this apparently short period of activity and it has been suggested that these relate to the tiling of the crossing area referred to by Irvine in the 1890s.[8] Interest was taken in the precinct in the 15th century, with Bishop Bubwith's contribution, which included the construction of a

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[3] Leland (1964), 143.

[4] For a recent summary of the history and form of the Romanesque church see P. Davenport, 'The Cathedral Priory Church at Bath', 19-25, in Tatton Brown and Munby (1996).

[5] This was probably constructed during a period of little activity at Wells, just towards the end of the major works on the nave and west front constructed under Bishop Jocelin, and before the new Chapter House and Lady chapel. The rebuilding of the Lady chapel is hardly surprising considering the recent reconstruction at Salisbury, and the growing trend for square east ends in the 13th century, such as the Angel Choir at Lincoln, for example, and of course the earlier 13th-century square ended Lady chapel at Wells itself (for latter see Bilson (1928), 26 and Fig.1 facing 26).

[6] Bishop Drokensford consecrated the church in 1325, from Irvine (1890), 87 and Davenport in Tatton-Brown and Munby (1996), 25. See also discussion on ruinous buildings below.

[7] Richard Farleigh went on to work at Salisbury and then at Exeter Cathedral as master mason, see Harvey (1984), 106.

chantry chapel within the church (1424-67), and Bishop Beckington's financing of a new dormitory (1445-65).[9] Little is known of the appearance of these constructions (Fig. 7.1). The impression given is that by the second half of the 15th century there existed an essentially complete Romanesque church with later alterations to fittings and floors, a new Lady chapel and some new claustral buildings.

In contrast to the relative lack of information regarding the works at the priory throughout the 13th and 14th centuries, a number of documents and accounts exist from the late 15th century onwards. This information has been used to provide an account, now well established, regarding the date of the present building, the patron and the designers. Oliver King, Bishop of Bath and Wells (1496-1503) is said to have arrived at Bath and informed the prior of his resolve 'to build the church anew'.[10] For this task he employed royal masons, namely the brothers Robert and William Vertue. This level of information, with the identification of specific dates and named masons is unique in a building within the study region at this date. Perhaps as a direct consequence of this survival the body of secondary literature has been concerned with the documents, but with little attempt to reconcile this information with the existing fabric of the building.

Documentary evidence for Bishop King's church

Three pieces of evidence combine to provide the basis for the attribution of patronage to Oliver King. As Secretary of State to successive monarchs (from Edward IV to Henry VII), he had been elected to replace Bishop Fox on the latter's translation from Exeter to Wells, and subsequently succeeded him as bishop of Bath and Wells on his move to

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[8] Davenport in Tatton-Brown and Munby (1996), 25 and Irvine (1890), 91. Irvine produced a water colour of the tile pavement in the crossing, most recently reproduced by J.T. O'Leary in P. Davenport, ed. *Archaeology in Bath 1976-1985* (Oxford 1991), 35, figure 34.

[9] Worcestre (1969), 295. Beckington had stated that the monks could not live on the estates by themselves, probably because of lax discipline, and the construction of the dormitory by him may be an attempt to enable the reform of the monks' behaviour through the updating of the accommodation provision in the precinct.

Winchester in 1496. A man of high reputation in the court circle, Oliver King was in constant contact with a number of leading prelates and nobles. His position as canon at St George's Chapel and registrar to the Order of the Garter placed him in direct contact with St George's Chapel, Windsor during its reconstruction, and with those associated with its patronage, for example Sir Reginald Bray. Whilst prelate at Exeter (1492-1496) Oliver King had requested to be buried in the newly constructed east end of St George's Chapel, and a chapel was constructed for him in the south choir aisle, just east of the Bray's own chapel in the south transept.

It was the discovery of letters between these two men in the Westminster Abbey Muniments that has formed the basis for the established story of the rebuilding.[11] The letters state that the masons Robert and William Vertue had been in Bath with Oliver King and that they were to design a vault for the church. The purpose of the letters appears to be to inform the recipient, Sir Reginald Bray, that a report detailing the situation could now be made to him. Although the year is not stated, the letters being dated only January 18th, they are thought to have been written between 1500 and 1503.[12] Bishop King's absence from his new diocese at first seems to support this. From 1499 onwards the bishop spent an increasing amount of time in either Bath or Wells. He is recorded as being at his palace in Bath on occasions in April, July, August and September in 1499.[13]

The visit in on August 30th, 1499 was to initiate William Birde to the position of prior at Bath, after the death of Prior Cantlow; and there remains a tradition that during this visit the bishop encountered a vision or dream, from which he was inspired to rebuild the

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[10] Davenport in Tatton Brown and Munby (1996), 25.

[11] These were subsequently published by A. Robinson 'Correspondence of Bishop Oliver King and Sir Reginald Bray' *SANHP,* 60, part II (1914), 1-10. See appendix five for transcript from Robinson.

[12] Robinson (1914), 4.

[13] H. Maxwell-Lyte, ed. *The Registers of Oliver King Bishop of Bath and Wells 1496-1503 and Adrian de Castello Bishop of Bath and Wells 1503-1518,* SRS, 54 (London 1939). King was in Bath April

priory church at Bath.[14] Details of this vision are integral to the story of Oliver King as patron, and its validity is supported by the iconography of the west front with its depiction of angels and insignia to Oliver King, which is interpreted as a representation of the vision.[15]

A third piece of evidence is in the form of an injunction that Bishop King addressed to the newly created Prior Birde in 1500, which makes explicit reference to rebuilding plans. In outline, this document accounts for the reallocation of a large proportion of the priory's income towards the rebuilding of the church, carefully listing small sums allowed for the prior and his monks.[16]

The interest in the rebuilding of the church by secondary authors has resulted directly from this evidence relating to the use of named royal masons, and King's evident personal interest in the project. The above information has been used in an isolated capacity, however, to explain the history of the building in the late Middle Ages, and a reassessment of the fabric and design of the church, and a more detailed look at the documentary evidence, reveal a more complex situation.

Architecture and Design: a reassessment

Having outlined the established interpretation for the circumstances of the rebuilding, the reasons for authors associating the rebuilding exclusively with Bishop King and Vertues are apparent. Subsequently the church has long been regarded as having affiliations with court works in general, and the features discussed in this context have been the octagonal turrets, and the 'decorated' parapets, and of course the fan vaults themselves. An analysis of the main body of the church, however, suggests no such relationship to court

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17th, July 12th, July 13th, 23rd, 27th, August 30th and September 4th in 1499: see 29, 36, 37; for his presence on August 30th, 1499 to make William Birde Prior see 87.

[14] J. Harrington, *Nugae Antiquae being a miscellaneous collection of original papers,* II (London 1804), 136-138.

[15] From the 17th century onwards authors on Bath Abbey refer to the west front and its relationship to the vision by King.

works, and it is argued here that the Vertues were only responsible for these selected aspects of the design.

The present building, as is well known, is situated on the site of the nave of the Romanesque cathedral, the eastern wall of the present structure correlating with the western arches of the crossing of the old church (Fig. 7.2). In plan the present church consists of a five bay aisled nave and a three bay aisled chancel with unaisled transepts. The evident narrow proportions of the transepts are emphasised by the five light windows on the end walls, which have three transoms, and the general proportions of the aisle to clerestory windows. The entire approach to the design, in terms of proportions and disposition, has a close resemblance to St Mary Redcliffe, Bristol (Fig. 7.3 A-C). Obvious differences such as tracery design of the feature windows in the transepts, and the lack of transept aisles, do not diminish the evident similarities (Fig. 7.4 A&B).

The design of the tracery at Bath reinforces the idea that the design is inherently reliant on Redcliffe. The use of a sub-reticulated design for the clerestory windows emulates its earlier use for large clerestory windows at both Redcliffe and Sherborne Abbey (Fig. 7.5 i-iv). Specific reference to the Redcliffe format is shown through the decision to abandon the supermullions favoured at Sherborne. Variations from the Redcliffe model introduced at Bath are supertransoms in the head of the window, slightly elongated reticulated units, and the addition of a main transom. The use of ogee heads to the main lights and segmental heads to those under the transom all betray the relative late date of Bath compared to that of Redcliffe. Bearing in mind that the design of the Redcliffe windows was in the last quarter of the 14th century, it is hardly surprising that over a hundred years later the design at Bath shows more recent architectural trends. The same principle has already been seen in the nave of Sherborne Abbey, with the introduction of ogee-headed lights and inverted cusping.

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[16] W. Dugdale, *Anglicanum Monasticum*, II (1st edn. 1819, London repr.1970), num XX, 270. The

The use of ogee lights at Bath is its only concession to these decorative traditions and the design appears to owe nothing to these precedents, serving to reinforce its dependence on the design of Redcliffe.

Although the use of segmental-headed aisle windows at Bath further suggests Redcliffe as a model (see Fig. 7.3 A&C), the 'alternate' pattern favoured for these windows at Bath is less obviously related to the aisles of Redcliffe. Seen essentially as a precursor to sub-reticulation, the alternate design has been shown to be a late 14th-century design at St Cuthbert's, Wells, and St John's, Yeovil (Fig. 7.5 v-vi). Given that these churches, designed and constructed in the 14th century, have already been related to the Redcliffe design it seems that Bath is drawing on a late 14th-century parish church tradition in north Somerset. Owing little to the more recently completed works in the region than might have been expected, such as at Sherborne and Wells, the general model for proportions and planning was evidently Redcliffe, demonstrating the continued prestige of this building a century after its design. This reliance of the designer of Bath on a local parish church tradition, which had been most extravagantly expressed at Redcliffe, can be supported through a study of the architectural details.

In contrast to the complex moulding forms at Redcliffe, the design at Bath is composed of a series of simple details. Whereas the mouldings at Stillington's Chapel have been shown to be comparable to other great church models,[17] those at Bath are more appropriately compared to a small-scale parish church. The piers, composed of four rolls separated by large double ogees, are a variation of the four rolls and hollows, or four rolls and waves that were common in the parish churches in the region throughout the period (Fig. 7.6 i-iv). Equally, the single bell bases are too common to be usefully compared (Fig. 7.6 v-

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injunction is dated October 9th, 1500.

[17] In the previous chapter the format of the mouldings at Stillington's Chapel were compared to Sherborne nave and King's College Chapel, Cambridge as a general type.

vi). This dependence on parish church models is supported by a distinctive detail on the otherwise simple capitals: those capitals supporting the arcade arch have a single fillet that crosses the upper moulding above the capital and sits directly on the abacus.[18] This detail is reminiscent of the same treatment at St John's, Yeovil and the parish church of Hinton St George. The capital itself is not identical to Yeovil, as the fillet crossed over two roll mouldings rather than just one, and the technique at Yeovil is applied to all capitals rather than just arcade arch ones. The Bath design, therefore, appears to be a simplification of the Yeovil precedent (Fig. 7.7A-C).

The simplicity of the mouldings at Bath make direct comparisons less straightforward: the mullions of all the windows consist of chamfers with axial polygonal mouldings, and the jamb is the simplest form of casement with single hollow chamfer, or chamfer before the return to the wall plain (Fig. 7.6 vii). These mouldings could be compared to any number of 15th-century parish churches in Somerset. In fact, whereas occurrences at Langport, Curry Rivel, Cullompton, Martock, St Mary Magdalene in Taunton, and Axminster, for example, all use different mouldings for internal and external mullion profiles, Bath maintains its simplicity by using the same throughout the church.

The door jambs at Bath are also comparable to 15th-century mouldings in Somerset, and the vestry door jamb uses a form close in design to the mullions of the chantry chapels of Bubwith and Sugar in the nave of Wells Cathedral (1424 and 1489 respectively) (Fig.7.6 viii-xi).[19] A similar form is evident from a small stone fragment found in material excavated

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[18] For an independent assessment of the relationship between the elevations at Bath and Somerset parish church architecture see C. Wilson, 'The Designer of Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster Abbey' in B. Thompson, ed. *The Reign of Henry VII,* Harlaxton Medieval Studies V (Stamford, 1995), 141-142.

[19] This doorway, which now leads into the vestry, would previously have led directly into the east walk of the medieval cloister. The door into the west walk of the cloister has the same mouldings and is now the entrance into the shop.

from the Orange Grove Site in Bath, near the abbey.[20] This fragment appears to belong to a 15th-century fitting, and its similarity to the aforementioned chantry chapels in Wells, in both design and scale, means its date is likely to be after the 1420s (Fig. 7.6 xii). It is tempting to speculate that it might be work contemporary with Bubwith's own chapel at Bath (1424-67).[21]

The nature of the mouldings at Bath betrays two aspects of its reconstruction. First, their simplicity makes them comparable to parish church architecture where, therefore, their precedents are most likely to be found. It has also been demonstrated that the handling of the details is related to parish church design. The mouldings described could belong to a local workshop at any time in the 15th century: the inspiration for details and tracery designs is deeply rooted in the parish church tradition of the late 14th century in Somerset. In fact, the church gains its status not through 'great church' mouldings, but from its dependence on the general form of the most prestigious complete church rebuilding in the locality, St Mary Redcliffe. Second, it is clear from the lack of moulded details that the priory at Bath lacked finance and support: the complete omission of panelling and the reduction of moulded detail is illustrative of its lack of wealth compared with the merchant funding of Redcliffe (Figs 7.8 & 7.9).

Neither the simplified Somerset-based parish church design, nor the lack of finance this betrays, can be easily reconciled with the patronage of a high ranking bishop and the artistic input of royal masons. Explanations to make this compatible with the documentation might be that either the Vertues left someone else on site to supervise the main building, or alternatively that they had no input at all in the design of the main body of the church.

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[20] W. Rodwell, 'The Stone Mouldings' in Davenport (1991), 28-29: a piece labelled by Rodwell as Type K, but not illustrated and dated to 'probably late 13th century'. The piece about 5 inches in length does not relate to the other 13th-century pieces from the excavation, but bears close resemblance to 15th-century fittings.

Considering the evidence of the letters, that the Vertues were occasional visitors, and that a mason named Thomas Lynne was left as master on site, the first option seems a possibility.[22] A problem with this option, however, is explaining the apparent dichotomy between the evident royal associations of the vault, and the local ones of the main body of the church. Without the documentary evidence that the Vertues were involved there would be no reason to associate the church with them, with the exception of the fan vault.

Furthermore, it is evident from the injunction document that Bishop King invested a large amount of money into the project, both from the income of the priory and from his own means. It seems somewhat surprising that King or the Vertues would create a building in which the details so clearly betray a lack of financial investment, and with no reference to the contemporary works in which they were also involved, especially when compared to the architectural pretensions of the vault design. A more obvious solution might be, therefore, that the main church was in fact begun before King's arrival at Bath: a rebuilding without apparent episcopal involvement, of the Romanesque church, which was surely considered outdated by the late 15th century. The known poverty of the priory at Bath would also explain the nature of the rebuilding, with its plan reduced from the Romanesque church, and the details being so simply expressed.

The time-scales implied by the documentary evidence associated with King create further incompatibilities with a church initiated by the bishop. In the letter of January 18th from King to Bray, the bishop concludes by stating that 'this chirche as farre as I can see shalbe thoroughtely (*sic.*) covered far before alhalowe tide next commyng...'.[23] As the letter is thought to be *c.*1502 or 3, this means that the walls must have been almost to full height in order to contemplate roofing the church by the winter. Considering King is attributed with

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[21] Bubwith left 328 marks for buildings at the priory, in return for which the monks agreed to build him a chapel for services to be said for his soul: Irvine (1890), 87.

[22] Robinson (1914), 1-10; see also Harvey (1984), 192.

the initial idea in August 1499, this would allow three years to take down the Romanesque nave and rebuild the new church to almost full height. This would seem a remarkable achievement even by the standards of a well-funded project such as Henry VII's Chapel. In terms of a likely time scale for building, a comparison can be made with Sherborne chancel of the 1420s, which similarly updated a Romanesque building. Gibb has demonstrated that Sherborne had reached the springing of the vaults and the heads of the clerestory windows on the south side and the top of the arcade on the north side at the time of the fire in 1437.[24] The fire was approximately twelve years into the campaign, and had required the retention of an eastern chapel for use for services, the removal of the Romanesque arcade, rebuilding the three bays of the new chancel arcade and part of the east wall and east tower arch. King clearly implies that the whole church will be covered by the end of 1502 (or 1503 depending on the date of the letter), and projecting the same time scale this would mean the rebuilding of Bath Abbey was begun no later than 1490. Even with the money that King was putting into the project from 1500 it seems unlikely that the project would have moved so quickly in such so short a time. In combination with the hypothesis that the church is part of a completely local design, and unrelated to the Vertues, it seems reasonable to conclude that the church was begun before the episcopate of Bishop King, and the involvement of the royal masons.

Considering that the patronage and design have previously been attributed exclusively to King and the Vertues, this suggestion needs some further examination. Four main issues appear to be most relevant. If King was not the patron, then who was a potential initiator of the project? How does this suggestion relate to the framework created by the extant documentation? What does this mean for King's input and motivation? And how

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[23] Robinson (1914), 4.
[24] Gibb (1985), 101-124.

does this relate to the theory that originally the chancel was intended to have a wooden ceiling rather than a stone vault?

Possible initiator of the rebuilding campaign

Before going on to assess the documentation relating to King, it is important to establish who else could have been responsible for the commencement of the campaign. Possible candidates existed in the late 15th century, and there is evidence that building works were in progress. It can be broadly assumed that the possible date span for the starting date could be between 1478 and 1499. When William Worcestre visited Bath in 1478 he measured the building, and these measurements correlate with information on the Romanesque abbey. It was in 1499 that King became involved in the campaign. Worcestre makes no mention of a major rebuilding in progress and describes only the Romanesque church.[25] That a major reconstruction had not begun before Worcestre's arrival is further shown by the existence of a mid-15th-century manuscript showing the abbey in its Romanesque state.[26]

Many references exist suggesting the relative state of poverty that the cathedral-priory endured throughout the 14th and 15th centuries, and the total income of the priory at its dissolution in 1539 was recorded as 617 pounds. Greater than establishments at, for example Athelney, Bruton and Muchelney, its income is comparable, on a national scale to Cerne and Milton in Dorset, Chertsey in Surrey and Bisham in Berkshire. Bearing in mind its status, as a shared head of the diocese, it is notable that it was significantly poorer that the other cathedral priories throughout the country. The next wealthiest monastic house in

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[25] Worcestre (1969), 141: Worcestre records the length of the church as being 180 steps. See also T.J. O'Leary, 'Reconstruction of Late 11th-12th century Cathedral Ground Plan' in Davenport (1991), 36 for an explanation of Worcestre's measurements at Bath.

[26] S. Bird, 'The Earliest Map of Bath' *Bath History*, I (1986), 142: he describes a miniature portrait of the city of Bath in Psalm 69 in the Books of Hours of Henry Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick, dated to 1445-6.

Somerset was, of course, Glastonbury, whose income at its dissolution, also in 1539, stood at 3311 pounds, a sum almost six times greater than that at Bath.[27]

A record of an episcopal visitation in 1486 refers to the house being in a good state, but appears to be making reference to the monks' behaviour rather the state of the architecture.[28] Information concerning the buildings is available in a number of documents of the 1480s. The priory at Bath is named as being exempt from paying tenths to the crown in a series of years from 1485-96 as a poor house. In 1485 Bath is listed amongst other exempt priories on account of its poverty;[29] whilst the exemption notice of 1492 states that it is 'on account of the ruinous state of its houses and buildings and its excessive poverty'.[30] These facts are confirmed by King's injunction seven years later, hence implying little change in the situation during the 1490s.

Neither of these accounts are the first mention of the state of the church itself and Prior Cantlow described the 'soden ruyn of the most of the church of the seid Priorie [and] the charges and costs of repare...[of the]...seid...place' in 1483. John Cantlow was prior at Bath after John Dunster, who was transferred to St Augustine's, Canterbury before July 1482. He had been sacristan during Dunster's time at Bath. Some confusion exists over the exact dates of the two men's terms of office, as Dugdale and Britton stated that Cantlow became prior as late as 1489. However, the statement made by Prior Cantlow was part of a petition against Dunster, which was made between 1483 and 1487 and it seems, therefore, that he was already prior in 1483-4.[31] In his statement Cantlow explained the reasons for the

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[27] D. Knowles and R. Neville *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales* (1st edn 1953, London, repr. 1971), 52-55. The number of monks at Bath declined from 41 in 1205 to 19 by 1539; see 59.

[28] A. Watkin, ed. *Dean Cosyn and Wells Cathedral,* SRS, 56 (London, 1941), 83.

[29] *Calendar of Fine Rolls 1471-1485*, XXI, Edward IV, Edward V, Richard III (London, 1961), 308 is the earliest such reference to Bath.

[30] *Calendar of Fine Rolls 1485-1509*, XXII, Henry VII (London 1962), 171.

[31] Dugdale (1819), 260; Britton (1887), 20 and G. Bradford, ed. *Proceedings in the Court of the Star Chamber in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII,* SRS, 27 (London 1911), 38 note 2 and 39 note 1.

poverty of the priory, and included an accusation against Dunster for wilful damage, by his alleged removal of jewels and goods from the priory on his departure to St Augustine's.[32] Dunster was further accused of having left mortgaged the priory manors, releasing rents and depleting the manors of stock as well as carrying off plate and other items of value to Canterbury.[33] It is possible that Cantlow was erring on the side of exaggeration in making a case against a previous prior, although despite this it seems that the priory had suffered depletion of financial resources, and some degree of 'repair' was required on the church itself. In his defence Dunster cites the prior's own extravagance as proof that the priory was not suffering such great poverty, although he says little of the buildings and makes no apparent reference to the perpetual debt repayments to the mayor of Plymouth, that had led to an annual levy on the priory.[34]

Both priors are recorded as having contributed towards new building programmes: Prior Dunster rebuilt the refectory, and Prior Cantlow is known for his patronage of the hospital of St Mary Magdalen in Bath.[35] The latter's arms were found in a window of a parlour of the monk's lodgings,[36] and can also be seen on the north side of the parish church at Widcombe as well as in the east window of the chapel of St Catherine, Batheaston. Cantlow clearly earned his reputation as a builder in the locality despite his claims of severe poverty.

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[32] Bradford (1911); see 35-36 for summary, 38 note 2 for confusion over Priors of Bath, and 38-49 for correspondence for the Star Chamber case.

[33] *Ibid.*, 40.

[34] Dunster's response to the claims against him was as follows: 'For the seid priour nor his monastery is nott in any such pouertye as is by hym surmitted. For the seid priour commonly rideth with xviij horses or theraboute and her servauntes all in one lyverey or clothyng. And useth nott hym self lyke to a man being in pouertye nethyr in his ridyng ner in his other dedes.' Bradford (1911), 49.

[35] Allegedly left ruinous by his predecessors, Cantlow requested for the hospital to be united to the priory and subsequently repaired the buildings. See Manco (1995), 98, 91 and note 136. Dugdale (1819), 260: states Cantlow was responsible for rebuilding the chapel of St Mary Magdalen, Holleway and a small adjoining hospital.

[36] Britton (1887), 40 refers to Collinson's reference to Cantlows arms found after the dissolution.

One might speculate that it was the rebuilding programmes of Priors Dunster and Cantlow that put the priory further into debt. Whereas exemption from paying tenths is usually justified purely by the poverty of the priory, at Bath this may have been caused by the commencement of major building works. This is reinforced by the references to the ruin of the priory church occurring frequently from the early 1480s through to the injunction by King in 1500. Without further evidence it is perilous to attribute the starting of the project to one individual. It is possible that Cantlow began the campaign of rebuilding the church himself, finding it in a state of needing repair and upgrading. With his predecessors having concentrated only on the monastic buildings, he may have been the first to turn his attention to the equally outdated church itself. The reduction in size of the building is often quoted with surprise considering the patronage of Bishop King. With a monastic community of half the size of that for which the Romanesque building was constructed, and with limited resources it is less surprising that the size of the church was being slightly reduced. With regard to its size, however, if the new church had been completed with an axial Lady chapel, as surely was planned, its length would have been equal to the greater proportion of the earlier building, and the distinction between the two slightly less obvious.

It is also feasible that Prior Dunster created debt for the priory by beginning a campaign of rebuilding that over-stretched the resources of the priory, and was taken over by Cantlow on his promotion from sacristan to prior. By the time of Dunster's translation to Canterbury in 1482 he may have begun the slow task of dismantling the Romanesque nave. This may at least account for the perceived ruinous state of the building observed by his successor. Subsequently it may be that Cantlow's pleas of poverty succeeded in obtaining exemption for payments to the crown and allowed for the slow continuation of a massive rebuilding project. This would place the beginning of the reconstruction at *c.* 1480, shortly after Worcestre's visit. Whichever prior was the initiator of the rebuilding of the church, it is clear that the priory found some difficulty in maintaining the momentum and financial support for such a large-scale, and evidently long-term, project. No evidence exists for a named designer for the project. The decision by the Vertues to have a mason on site to supervise the works, namely Thomas Lynne, is not an unusual one for a contractor mason, as all rebuilding projects require an on-site supervisor. It is possible to speculate, however, that this man was the master before their arrival and was retained as a supervisor for the rest of the campaign.[37]

Against this background of a posible early start for the project remain the documents cited as the source for the exclusive attribution to Bishop King. The selective nature of their citation has perhaps been partially responsible for their misinterpretation and it will be shown below that the documents reveal significant evidence that King was making reference to an already started building campaign.

A reassessment of the framework of the existing documents

It was identified above that King's patronage of the church is associated with three pieces of information, that is, the 'dream theory', which places King as the only patron of the building; the letters (of *c.*1502); and the injunction (of 1500).

The 'dream theory'

Authors of the history of the church, almost without exception, quote the dream theory to explain the reason for the rebuilding of the church, and the subsequent appearance of the west front. The iconography of the west front is unique in this country on a façade design. Bishop King's vision consisted of 'angels...ascending and descending a ladder from heaven...[with]...a voice [that] said: 'Let a King restore the church'.[38] The quote, from Judges 9, begins 'Let an Olive establish the Crown',[39] and is found inscribed on the west front, presumably relating to the name of Bishop Oliver King. The angels are found ascending and descending the ladders on the stair turrets with a heavenly choir above and a

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[37] Harvey (1984), 192 and Robinson (1914), 1-4.
[38] Pevsner B/E (1990), 100.

representation of God the Father at the top and the Holy Spirit as the dove in the apex of the west window. This iconography is commonly interpreted as the direct representation of the dream (Fig. 7.10 A&B).

The earliest mention of Bishop King as the patron of the new church is Leland, who wrote in 1543.[40] The first mention of the vision can only be traced back as far as the beginning of the 17th century. John Harrington recounts the dream in his *Nugae Antiquae*, in which he wrote a life of Bishop King:

> '[Bishop King] saw, or supposed he saw, a vision of the holy Trynitie with angells ascending and descending by a ladder, neer to the foote of which there was a fayre olive tree supporting a crowne, and a voyce that said 'let an Olive establish the crowne, and let a king restore the church'. Of this dreame, or vision, he took exceedingly great comfort...with his dreame, for the tyme, that he presently set in hand with this church...and at the west end therof he caused a representation to be graved of this his vision...'.[41]

Harrington's involvement with Bath goes further than this literary account, and he appears to have helped stimulate renewed interest in repairing the church at the turn of the 17th century. A tradition exists that whilst Harrington and the then Bishop of Bath and Wells, Bishop Montague, were walking in Bath on the bishop's first episcopal visit, a violent storm began and Harrington took the bishop into the nave for shelter. The bishop remarked that they were afforded no shelter and Harrington is said to have replied: 'Doth it not, my Lord? Then let me sue your bounty towards covering our poor Church; for if it keep not us safe from the waters above, how shall it ever save others from the fire beneath?'[42] Also appearing in his *Nugae Antiquae*, this is a further example of Harrington's preference for metaphor.

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[39] J. Wood, *A Description of Bath* (1st edn 1765, Bath, facs. 1969), 194.

[40] Leland, I (1964), 143: Leland refers to having seen the building nine years earlier as well.

[41] Harrington (1804), 136-138.

[42] Britton (1887), 35 and note 4.

Perhaps the unusual nature of the west front has resulted in the continuation of this tradition largely unchallenged. One account of the life and death of Sir Reginald Bray makes reference to the 'long and idle story of Sir John Harrington',[43] but Britton seems to be the only published author who questions the validity of the story, although he goes no way to explain its relevance to the rebuilding. In stating that the story 'was clever enough to stimulate the zeal of...[his]...contemporaries, in the good works of completing the Abbey', Britton surely identifies Harrington's motives for writing a life of the bishop at a time when the church was in desperate need of repair.[44]

Harrington was a politician during the Civil War and is probably best known for the survival of his diary. The significance of his writing methods is that he appears to have had a series of his own dreams which he recounts to explain events. Well known for the strength of his religious beliefs, Harrington made use of such visions in all his writings for establishing a standard of judgement. The visions tended to relate directly to biblical texts of analogies, and he used such examples from the Bible to illustrate his points rather than drawing on contemporary political situations: 'even his dreams appear to be little more than extensions of his principles. They confirm the strength of his religious commitment and his loyalty to the side which considered itself the defender of the true religion'.[45]

Harrington, therefore, appears to have created a story through which to explain the unusual nature of the west front of the church. This, however, leaves the question of the west front iconography unaccounted for. That King created the façade seems certain by the presence of his badges and mottos at aisle level. Rather than being the product of a dream it is more likely that the façade was intended to promote King's role as founder of the new church. This he achieved, somewhat successfully considering Harrington's invention of the

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[43] Bishop Kennett's Collection, XLIV, BM Lansdowne 978, f.24B.
[44] Britton (1887), 27, note 1.
[45] M.F. Steig, ed. *The Diary of John Harrington MP 1646-53,* SRS, 74 (1977), 7.

prophetic vision, by creating a Jacob's ladder iconography. The story of Jacob's ladder originates from Genesis 28:12, and Harrington has transposed the figures of Jacob and Bishop King in his own recounting of a story of a man having a vision of a ladder with angels. Icongraphic programmes on west fronts of cathedral churches are not unusual in England; it is rather the nature of a narrative that is uniquely displayed at Bath. The accepted format of a hierarchical arrangement of kings and prophets, could be found at Wells, Salisbury, the Neville screen at Durham, and Prior Eastry's Screen at Canterbury, for example.

The design at Bath combines several elements, including Jacob's Ladder, the choir of heavenly angels, God the Father and the Holy Spirit represented by a dove, the twelve apostles, Saints Peter and Paul, the emblems of the Passion, a series of biblical inscriptions on scrolls, and the personal rebus and arms of Bishop Oliver King (Fig. 7.11A). The prominence of such individual commemoration is comparable to a chantry chapel rather than a west front, and in fact can be compared to his own chantry chapel already constructed in St George's Chapel, Windsor.

The closest comparison to King's narrative display can be found in northern Spain in the late 15th century, for example on the west fronts of Saint Gregorio and Saint Pablo, both at Valladolid in Castile. Although not favouring the Ladder iconography, the work of the carver Simon de Cologne became popular in the 1480s in Castile in transforming façades into huge sculptured reredoses (Fig. 7.11B).[46] That King was aware of developments overseas is likely, and it may be significant that one of King's contemporaries, an ecclesiastical associate, Thomas Savage, was an ambassador to Castile and Aragon in

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[46] J.M. Azcárate, *Arte Gótico en Espana* (Madrid, 1990), 125-132. F. Rahlves, *Cathedrals and Monasteries of Spain* (London, 1966), 248-49 and G.E. Street, *Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain* (1st edn 1914; repr. London, 1969), 86-88 for San Gregorio, Valladolid.

1489.[47] King makes reference in his injunction that he has consulted with many nobles and prelates, and although no specific names are mentioned, it is clear that Savage was part of the relevant circle of men, and that this circle had other direct involvement with church patronage.[48] This is most explicitly shown by Savage's links with Reginald Bray in other ecclesiastical schemes, such as the stained glass programme of the Jesus chapel at Great Malvern Priory.[49]

What, then, does this choice of west front design tell us about King's role as patron? The most obvious point is perhaps that the west front of the church was not far advanced when King arrived, and he took this opportunity to associate himself indisputably with the rebuilding campaign. It further seems that Bishop King was aware of the iconographical link between the Ladder iconography and 'foundation'. Aside from the links between the ascending and descending angels to and from the heavenly choir, as associated with funerary monuments, Cahn explains the Ladder iconography as 'the favoured Biblical citation for the invocation of divine sanction upon a new shrine or devotion, what anthropologists would call a foundation myth' (Fig. 7.12 A&B). He further makes reference to the incorporation of the vision into the liturgy for the consecration of churches.[50] Although the rebuilding of the church had begun before King's arrival, his input of masons and money was unparalleled in the history of the priory church, and the impact on the building campaign, during his lifetime at least, was significant. The fact that it is his contribution to the building that forms its present attraction to architectural historians more than demonstrates this point. His input

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[47] Savage was sent as ambassador in 1489 with Nanfan: see J.D. Mackie, *The Earlier Tudors 1485-1558* (repr. Oxford, 1957), 94. For Savage see *D.N.B.* XVII, 839

[48] Dugdale (1819), 270: 'We have therefore sent in advance considerations concerning the deliberations of many nobles, prelates and abbots…'.

[49] See A.C. Deane, 'Sir Reginald Bray' *Friends of St George's Windsor* (31 December 1943), 17-18; R. Marks, 'The Stained Glass patronage of Sir Reginald Bray' *Friends of St George's Windsor* (30 September 1974), 199-202.

[50] W. Cahn, 'Ascending to and descending from heaven: ladder themes in early medieval art' *Santi e Demoni nell'arte medioevo occidentale (Secoli v-xi)*, (Spoleto 1989), 711-712 and 712 note 29. I am grateful to Dr. Paul Binski for drawing my attention to this article.

was to recreate the church as his foundation, and it was here that he chose for his final burial place.

With this in mind the choice of the Ladder iconography can be seen to fit in precisely with King's vision of his role in the rebuilding of the church. In this instance the Ladder is used to identify a re-foundation. Considering his evident desire to place himself as the sole patron, saving the church from the ruin created by previous priors, it is hardly surprising that authors from as early as the 16th century have related the story of King as the patron of the rebuilding. If nothing else, Harrington's crediting of the re-foundation to King illustrates perfectly the success of the bishop's own intentions. The choice of the Ladder scene succeeded in providing him with the memorial for which he sought, that is, that of the sole patron for the re-foundation of Bath Priory church.

Bishop King's injunction and his letters to Sir Reginald Bray

It has been outlined above that these two sets of documents form the basis for the writings in King's involvement at Bath. Despite the frequency with which they are referred to, only small sections are seemingly ever quoted, whereas the complete documents reveal further evidence that King intervened in an already started project, and explain the motivation and methods for his intervention.

In the letters from King to Bray the section concerned with the vaulting of the church is most frequently recounted: 'After due recommendation Robert and William Vertue have been here with me that can make unto you...the vawte devised for the chancelle of the said chirche. Wherunto as they sat nowe ther shal be noone so goodely neither in England nor in France'.[51] Previously it has been assumed that King found a church in need of repair because of the lazy attitude of the monks, and in some instances it has been

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[51] Robinson (1914), 4. For full transcript of letters see appendix five.

specifically stated that he began the church 'anew'.[52] The injunction, however, makes no specific reference to a 'new' building, and this interpretation seems to have emerged out of the words 'imo funditus dirutam'. At this point, although lengthy, it is worth relaying the first half of the injunction in translation,[53] so that the phrases usually quoted can be seen in context:

> 'Oliver, by divine permission bishop of Bath and Wells, to our fellow-brother prior and convent of Bath loved by us in Christ, salvation, grace and blessing. At last, painfully among other matters, we have found our said cathedral church of Bath, through the neglect of many priors, not repaired or refurbished, indeed destroyed from the foundations, and to have vanished in pleasures themselves, and we lament with fatherly compassion that the present prior, to whom we do not ascribe blame for his predecessors, is slack and not kindly disposed to the reparation or building of the said church. (We) therefore, having sent in advance considerations concerning the deliberations of many nobles, prelates and abbots and of other people learned in the law, in the mercy of God and relying on the protection of his apostles Peter and Paul, and indeed of other faithful ones of Christ, and depending on the alms of our friends, in order that we may see the swift execution and completion of the said work going on more freely, we have brought our men as helpers to be used beside the others, not sparing our work or expense. And so we hope the said work can be completed, wanting to do within a few years what never [would] be completed at the expense of the said prior and convent, or which we think could hardly be carried out properly in less that 100 years if our expense and that of our friends were left out or ignored. For this reason we want to restrain the aforesaid defection of the monks, the pleasures, the leisure activities, the ruin of the church by holding back from a superfluity of pensions, of clothing, of food and the increase in drinking. In order also that we may not take away their pious attitudes from other faithful ones in Christ by the generosity of their alms, if the said prior and convent do not reform or if we dismiss them from bringing compensatory expenses for the said work as well as practical skills, we have decreed that the present injunctions must be observed by the same faithful ones'.[54]

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[52] It is often stated by secondary authors, for example Davenport (1996), 25 that the church was rebuilt 'anew'; whilst the phrase 'imo funditus dirutam' may be slightly ambiguous there is no explicit statement that the 'new' church was 'begun'. Dugdale (1819), num XX, 270. I am grateful to Alison Balaam for this.

[53] For Latin transcript from Dugdale (1819), 270 see appendix six.

[54] Dugdale (1819), num XX, 270: 'Tandem dolenter inter caetera invenimus dictam nostram Ecclesiam Cath. Bathon., per incuriam multorum priorum, non reparatum aut refectam, imo funditus dirutam...'. I am grateful to Alison Balaam for assistance with this translation. For full original text see appendix six.

Several significant aspects of the injunction are immediately apparent, namely that Bishop King comments on the actions of previous priors in neglecting the building, that he has gathered financial aid from others of his circle, and that he desires a swift completion to the building. He excuses the present prior from criticism of his predecessors' neglect, but adds that he is 'not kindly disposed to the reparation of the building'. Standing alone this might be interpreted to mean only that the past priors, too involved in the their own pleasures, have let the building fall into disrepair. Further down the injunction King makes an interesting comment regarding his planned completion of the building, stating that the priory could not carry out the completion within 100 years. Several factors contribute to an interpretation that King is speaking of an existing building, that at the current rate of progress completion will take many years, and that with his intervention he can complete within a few building seasons.

In the letter to Bray, dated January 18th, King says that 'Robert and William Vertue have been here with me that can make unto you *rapport of the state and forwardness of this oure chirch of bathe*. And also of the vawte devised' (my italics). Evidently they made an assessment of the progress of the building in *c.*1502. The necessity to report back to Bray is probably related to the level of his personal involvement in the project, a fact confirmed by King's reference to the foundation of chantry chapels for them both within the new building. In the injunction King makes a revealing remark when he informs the prior that he has brought his own 'men to be used *beside the others,* not sparing our work or expense' (my italics), with an implication that other men already exist working on the site, when he arrived with assistance.

King had clearly consulted with, and gathered donations from, a network of contemporaries with the aim of fast completion of the project. The purpose of this, however, is stated as being to complete the work that the priory alone would never be capable of doing in so short a time span, and his role is to create the church as place fit for his burial. His dependence on the goodwill of his contemporaries is made evident in his comment to Bray, who he asks to 'give no licence to eny freemason to absent hym from this buylding...for to suffre theym to work in other mennys businesses'.[55] In his will King requests burial on the north side of the new choir, near the altar.[56] Irvine refers to evidence of a vault that was discovered in front of the pier to the west of the north crossing pier,[57] and he interprets this as the remains of King's monument, which was set on the north side of the church in a traditional founder's location.

Returning now to the ambiguous phrase 'imo funditus dirutam...', here translated as 'ruined to the foundations', 'ruin' can be loosely interpreted in medieval documentation, often used to describe both a church in need of minor repairs, and as a synonym for a building in the middle of reconstruction. Bishop Drokensford (Bishop of Bath and Wells 1301-31) complained to the prior that the church at Bath was in a ruined state in the early 14th century,[58] and this was followed by repair work in 1324, and again in 1335.[59] The cathedral-priory of Worcester was so described in 1346, when a grant was renewed, and the priory was described as burdened with debt, with a ruinous church, and manors in need of repair. It is known from other sources that the nave of the church was under construction at this time, with the north nave arcade (dated to the 1340s) being completed before the tower work of 1357.[60] An example of a direct reference to an unroofed building is found in the record of a visitation of Bishop Bransford of Worcester to Bristol in 1339. He found the church in 'ruins' and ordered that it be properly roofed.[61]

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[55] Robinson (1914), 4.

[56] Weaver, SRS (1903), 44-5: '...in choro novo ecclesie Bathon iuxta archam primam partis borealis proximam altari summo'.

[57] Irvine (1890), 90.

[58] W. Hunt, ed. *Two Chartularies of the Priory of St Peter at Bath*, SRS (1893), lxii.

[59] Davenport in Tatton-Brown and Munby (1996), 25.

[60] See *VCH Worcestershire*, 2 (London, 1906), 104, and see Morris in BAACT Worcester (1978), 116-143.

[61] Morris in BAACT Bristol (1997), 42, referring to R. Haines, ed. *A Calendar of the Register of Wolfstan de Bransford, Bishop of Worcester 1339-49*, HMC, 9 (1966), 27.

The vault of the chancel at Bath is keyed into the fabric at springing level.[62] King's belief in *c.*1502 that the church would be covered by the winter suggests the building was approaching this level, at the tops of the clerestory walls, by this date. Whilst it is unrealistic that in two or three building seasons the works could have progressed so far, it is possible that on King's arrival he witnessed the part constructed nave of the new church, and the part demolition of the old, and it was this situation of an unroofed nave that led him to describe the church as 'ruined to the foundations'.

In conclusion, Bishop King appears to have arrived in his diocese to discover the rebuilding of the abbey already in progress. His injunction implies that this progress is hopelessly slow and under-funded, and after consultation with contemporaries decides to invest heavily into its completion. By doing so he desires the transformation of an ailing priory church into a building worthy of the burial place of prelates and nobles. Stillington's Chapel had attempted a similar grand chapel but King had ambitions on a larger architectural scale. The choice of Robert and William Vertue as masons was the most obvious way to achieve a 'royal' building, by the addition of the latest and most fashionable vault type, heavily associated with contemporary works for the monarch, that of a fan vault. King's plans for Bath were almost exactly contemporary with those of Henry VII's for the Lady chapel at Westminster Abbey, and the vaulting of the nave of St George's, Windsor, the latter of which was largely financed by Sir Reginald Bray.

On his arrival at Bath it seems likely that the chancel was at clerestory level, but the nave was only planned. With enough money and the appropriate masons, King clearly saw an opportunity to associate the building of Bath Priory with his munificence. This enabled him not only to achieve the swift completion of the east end of the new church but the opportunity to create his west front iconography proclaiming himself as founder of the new

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[62] Wilson in Thompson (1995), 141.

church. It would seem that this claim was in fact a fair one, in that the resources King threw into the rebuilding were immense. If both his death and the death of Bray in 1503 had not ended the momentum, then the church might have been completed within a few years, with its construction running exactly parallel to that of Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster Abbey. The change in circumstances of the priory at the death of its two most generous patrons is striking, and the reversion to a struggling campaign is obvious from the state in which the church was left over thirty years later, at its dissolution. This loss of momentum can only be understood if the progress of the building throughout the 16th century is explained. Much confusion concerning the progress of the building campaign has been caused by the misinterpretation of both the existing appearance of the east wall, with its square-headed window and fan vault, and the stage that the building had reached by the Reformation.

Progress and Reconstruction: the church in the 16th century

It has been suggested above that the new church had reached clerestory height in the chancel, but possibly no more than a few courses on the west front and nave by the time of Bishop King's intervention. The east end of the Romanesque church would have been used for services during this period of disruption, and considerable evidence exists to demonstrate that this older church remained attached to the new church until the mid-16th century. In 1497 ordinations are recorded as taking place in the Lady chapel, which is specified as being behind the high altar,[63] and this must therefore refer to the 13th-century axial chapel constructed by Bishop Bytton. This is endorsed by a series of wills that specify burial in or near the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the years 1503 and 1507.[64]

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[63] Maxwell-Lyte, SRS (1939), 84. There were further ordinations in 1503 as well, carried out by Bishop Thomas Tenos, suffragan bishop.

[64] Weaver, SRS (1903), 57 and 108. Richard Lacy requests burial next to the entrance of the chapel of the BVM, in his will dated January 18th 1503, and John Stradlynge requests burial in the chapel of the Blessed Mary.

After King's death the building campaign was managed by Priors William Birde (1499 to 1525) and William Holleway (1525 to 1539), as the succeeding bishops appear to have taken no interest in the scheme. King's immediate successor was Cardinal Adrian de Castello, whose arms appear on the chancel vault, and his excommunication in 1518 therefore forms a convenient *terminus ante quem* for the chancel high vault.[65] His arms also appear with those of Prior Birde's in the aisle, suggesting that not even these were stone vaulted by King's death in 1503 (see plan for arms of east end).[66] The arms of Lord Willoughby of Broke exist in a single boss in each of the choir aisles, and it must be assumed that these relate to Robert, second Lord Willoughby, who died in 1522 (Fig. 7.13).[67] At the west end the royal arms supported by the greyhounds symbolise the reign of Henry VIII, set above the arms of St Peter's at Bath, with the crossed keys and the saltire of St Andrew of Wells Cathedral (see Fig. 7.12B). Amongst the choir of heavenly angels that fill the gable are now two rather lumpy and indistinct shields; described as 'so nearly effaced as not to be distinguishable' by Carter in 1798, who identified them as those of Cardinal Adrian de Castello.[68]

The site of the shields is still visible, but the details have weathered even further. Assuming that the east end of the new church was roofed soon after the death of King, it seems that the chancel was vaulted and the west end continued, so that by 1518 the west

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[65] For Castello see: M. Underwood, 'The Pope, the Queen and the King's Mother: or, the Rise and Fall of Adriano Castellesi' in Thompson (1995), 65-81.

[66] The restoration of the 17th century resulted in the arms of James I being inserted in the eastern bay of the choir high vault, and that of 19th century with the arms of interested patrons being inserted in the eastern bay of the south choir aisle and the south transept high vault. The nave vault is shown by Britton to have the arms of Bishop Montague. For complete plan of arms see plan of church in Britton (1887).

[67] J. Aubrey, *Wiltshire: the topographical collections of John Aubrey A.D. 1659-70* corrected and enlarged by J.E. Jackson (Devizes, 1862), 400 and plate XXXVIII. Robert, first Lord Willoughby died in 1502, which would contradict the presence of the adjacent boss in the south aisle of Cardinal Castello.

[68] J. Carter, *Some Account of the Abbey Church of Bath* (London, 1798), 7 and Pl. 6: 'Among the angels appear two shields of arms, now so nearly effaced as not to be distinguishable to the naked eye from below; but a telescope shows them to be charged with two bendlets, dexter, embattled and

front was essentially complete. William Vertue continued as consultant or supervisory mason after the death of King, and that of his own brother in 1506,[69] and it is to him that the vault construction must be attributed. He was probably also the designer of Prior Birde's Chantry, which had been commenced by the prior for his own burial, situated to the south of the high altar. This was structurally completed, but some details and decorations are recorded as unfinished in a report on the chapel of 1834.[70] The chapel was probably largely completed by Birde's death as he was buried in it the day after his death on May 23rd, 1525.[71] Davis states that the first stone of the chapel was laid in 1515,[72] presumably roughly contemporary with the vaulting of the east end.

Birde's successor, William Holleway, continued the work, but there is no evidence of his arms on the building. His arrival as prior in 1525 is seen as an indicator that the choir was in use by this date, as he was carried up to the high altar with organ accompaniment.[73] That the church was roofed and glazed by around this time is supported by the will of Thomas Chapman, who left money for the completion a window, the glazing to be organised by his wife, in his will proved on October 29th, 1524.[74] As the last part of the structure to be done, the glazing suggests the east end at least was essentially complete by this time. King had ordered glass in anticipation of the completion of the building, and it can only be assumed that this was used once the building was structurally complete.[75]

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counter-embattled, surmounted by a Cardinal's hat. This bearing is probably that of Cardinal Adrian de Castello'.

[69] Harvey (1984), 306-307.

[70] E. Davis, *Gothic Ornaments Illustrative of Prior Birde's Oratory in the Abbey Church Bath* (London 1834), 2.

[71] H. Maxwell-Lyte, ed. *The Register of Thomas Wolsey (1518-23), John Clerke (1523-41) William Knight (1541-47) and Gilbert Bourne (1554-59),* SRS, 60 (London, 1940), 81.

[72] Davis (1834), 2.

[73] Maxwell-Lyte, SRS (1940), 80-81.

[74] Weaver, SRS (1903), 231.

[75] Robinson (1914), 1-4: Oliver King had ordered glass from Normandy, and it may be speculated that this was stored and used for the choir clerestory.

That the Romanesque east end was no longer used by the time of the Prior Holleway's arrival in 1525 is implied in a reference to ordinations at the church between 1523-26. These ordinations differ from those of 1503 in that they took place in the 'cathedral church at Bath' rather than specifically in the 'Lady chapel behind the high altar'. This could indicate that the 13th-century Lady chapel was abandoned at some stage between 1507 and 1523.[76]

Leland's description in 1542 reveals that the Romanesque east end was in a ruined state by the 1530s. In his description of the role John of Tours played in erecting the new Romanesque church, he recorded that:

> 'This John pullid doun the old chirch of S. Peter at Bath, and erectid a new, much fairer, and was buried in the midle of the presbyteri thereof, whos image I saw lying there an 9. yere sins, *at the which tyme al the chirch that he made lay to wast, and was onrofid, and wedes grew about this John of Tours' sepulchre'*,[77] (my italics).

Considerable evidence, subsequently discovered through archaeological investigation, exists to suggest that this unroofed building remained keyed in to the east wall of the new church until the dissolution of the priory. This evidence is particularly helpful in laying to rest any suggestion that the new church had an axial Lady chapel by the 1530s.

The excavations by Irvine revealed a late 14th-century tile pavement *in situ* in the crossing of the Romanesque church (Fig. 7.14A). The remains of this floor were undisturbed, and showed no evidence of alteration or subsequent construction, such as early

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[76] This may be confirmed by a will of 1534, so contemporary with Leland's initial visit, in which Isabel Chauncellor requests burial in the chapel of St Leonard in the north aisle. This is surprising when it is noted that she had not requested burial next to her husband who died in 1496. The reason for this may be that Thomas Chauncellor had been buried in the chapel of Our Lady, so that her alternative request is probably as a direct result of the abandonment of the Lady chapel. See F.W. Weaver, ed. *Somerset Medieval Wills 1531-1558,* SRS (1905), 24; and Weaver, SRS (1901), 341-4.

[77] Leland, I (1964), 143.

16th-century walls.[78] Furthermore, drawn reconstructions of the Romanesque church have shown the transepts with a gallery level, carried by two arches across the opening to the transept at approximately aisle height (Fig. 7.14B). These have been suggested on the basis of evidence from Irvine's excavation, which revealed evidence of a dwarf wall at the entrance to the transepts that enclosed the choir with arcading.[79] That these 'gallery' arches remained attached to the new building is evident from the vestiges of an arch in the buttress of the north choir aisle at the east end. Correlating in height with the arches proposed by the drawn reconstruction by Davenport, this appears to be the same arch as represented in the drawing by John Speed. Speed's engraving, dated *c.*1610, shows the church in its derelict state after the pilfering and selling off of materials at the time of its dissolution, including the disappearance of the precinct buildings and the ruins of John of Tours' abbey church. He shows two arches springing from the east wall of the new church, and these must be the remains of the gallery arches, just before their incorporation into the massive new buttresses added to the east end at about this time (Fig. 7.15A). That the Romanesque east end remained firmly attached to the new church is further shown by the survival of a Romanesque arch at the east end of the south aisle, which is keyed into the fabric (Fig. 7.15B).

After the Reformation a series of repairs were carried out that seem to be directly related to this junction between the old and new building.[80] In brief, after the dissolution the priory was sold to Humphrey Colles, who quickly sold it Matthew Colthurst in March 1543. By this stage however, it is recorded that bells, lead and iron had already been sold by the crown baliff to city merchants. The church remained the property of Colthurst until his

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[78] Irvine (1890), 89.

[79] For a fuller explanation and summary of these findings see Davenport in Tatton-Brown and Munby (1996), 22.

[80] For a more complete account of the benefactors and benefactions after the Reformation at Bath, see Browne Willis *An History of the Mitred Parliamentary Abbies and Conventual Cathedral Churches,* I (London, 1718), 223.

death in 1559 when it passed to his son, Edmund. He then gave the church to the city before selling off the rest of his father's properties.[81] The history of repairs starts from after the transfer of the church to the city, with a reference to Peter Chapman working on the church in the 1570s.[82] That the church had remained in an unfit state for worship is clear from the use of St Mary de Staulls as the parish church from *c.*1540 to 1589.[83] Chapman's work was initially concerned with repairs at the east end of the north aisle. Subsequently a roof was erected over the east and north part of the church. Two documents refer to the efforts of the community to continue with the works to the church. In 1574 the Queen ordered collections across the kingdom,[84] and in *c.*1576 the city requested permission to carry out works 'to finish building the fair church...not fully finished at the time of the supression'.[85] This probably refers to the need to tidy up the east end of the building which was left scarred by the removal of the Romanesque walls directly after the dissolution. That this was a sign of its incomplete state is shown by the east walls of the aisles and remnants of Romanesque arches (Fig. 7.16 A&B). After this the north and south clerestory windows were glazed, and in the 1590s the great east window was glazed and the church was finally re-consecrated. Work continued after this, with references concentrating on rebuilding the south aisle. All these late 16th-century repairs apparently concentrated on the east end of the building, and

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[81] Britton (1887), 31-35. Britton specifies that 480 tonnes of lead was sold, his implication is that all the glass, lead and iron was sold off, 31. See also: R. Bartelot, 'New Light on Bath Abbey and Priory' *SANHSP*, 8 (1940), 90-91.

[82] Wood (1765), 201: 'Chapman had so fare by 1576 repaired the east end of the north aisle of St Peter's church, as to secure it form the inclemency of the weather'.

[83] Irvine (1890), 89.

[84] R. Bartelot, 'New Light on Bath Abbey and Priory Estates' *SANHSP, Bath and District*, 8 (1941), 177: Queen Elizabeth granted her Royal letters patent dated 1574 ordering collections to be made over the whole kingdom during the next seven years and to be given to the restoration of Bath Abbey church.

[85] '?1576 Remembrance for Lord Burghley from the major and burgesses if the city of Bath. To be permitted to finish building the fair church commenced by the late prior there, not fully finished at the time of the supression, and so yet remaineth: Edward Colthurst proprietor, being contended to grant the same to the corporation' in *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series of the reigns of Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth 1547-1580* (1st edn London, 1856; repr. Nendelm, 1967). Although this document refers to the recent prior as responsible for the rebuilding campaign, it makes clear reference to the 'incomplete' state of the building.

particularly with the tidying up of the ends of the choir aisles. The final stage to this was carried out in 1616 when the large buttresses were completed.[86] Work to the south transept and nave, and the re-instating of the west window were carried out in the early 17th century under Bishop Montague (Bishop from 1608).[87] The presence of the arms of James I at the far eastern boss of the high vault of the choir further suggests repair work to the remaining fabric was carried out as well as reinstatement in the 17th century (see Fig. 7.13).

In summary, the Romanesque east end had fallen into disrepair and was no longer in use in 1533, and as such any proposed east end extension to the new church had not been completed. The new church instead remained attached to the remnants of the old east end until the Reformation. This dismisses any theory, as recently presented by Manco, that a Lady chapel was constructed on the site and then removed at the dissolution, as for example, is thought to have been the case at Great Malvern Priory.[88]

Despite Leland's comments, therefore, that Holleway had 'spent a great summe of mony on that fabrike'[89] there appears no evidence of an architectural contribution by him. The absence of his heraldry is at first surprising, but could be explained if his contribution had been in the form of fittings for the newly completed choir. The contemporary presbytery screens at Winchester Cathedral provides a parallel for the kind of work a prior might put his

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[86] The remains of the old church probably acted as a buttress to the east wall previously.

[87] See R. Rawlinson, *The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury and the Abbey church of Bath* (London, 1719), 163-172 and Britton (1887), 34.

[88] Manco's argument seems to be based on her interpretation that the church was 'completed' by the Reformation, taking no account of the weight of archaeological evidence. She follows Brakspear in this assumption, apparently using Leland's comments and the information from the Commissioner's report as supporting evidence. Leland states that after the death of King 'the residue of it [the church] was made by the prioirs of bath...[who]...spent a great summe of mony on that fabricke'. The Commissioner's report states that the house was well-repaired but in some debt. Neither of these make direct reference to the architectural form of the building. They both seem to make reference rather to the state of the priory as an institution, and the seemingly complete building that would have been represented by a fully roofed building in working order. See H. Brakspear, 'Summer meeting at Bath' *AJ*, lxxxvii (1930), 413 and Manco (1995), 98 for arguments for a completed building. See Leland, I (1964), 144 and W.A.J. Archbold, *The Somerset Religious Houses* (Cambridge, 1892), 33-35 for Richard Layton's report to Cromwell.

[89] Leland, I (1964), 144.

name to at this stage in the 16th century with a lack of structurally necessary work. Unlike at Winchester these must have been lost as a result of the Reformation.

The evident absence of a Lady chapel left the unusual appearance created by the sheer east wall and no ambulatory arrangement (Fig. 7.17 A&B). The church was surely intended to have a Lady chapel, considering its dependence on Redcliffe and the clear allowance for the choir aisle to protrude past the present east wall, and it seems reasonable to suggest that a plan similar to Redcliffe was originally intended when the church was begun in *c.*1480. A usual procedure would be to complete the structure of the new chancel, and once covered and useable, to demolish the Romanesque east end, making way for the completion of the east end plan and new axial chapel. To this end it is likely that the crossing of the old church was taken down before the construction of the east window, but certainly by 1533 when Leland visited. That bells are recorded as being sold off after the dissolution of the priory may further indicate the complete and functioning state of the new crossing tower.[90]

The existing form of the east wall, with the panelled section of the fan vaulting ending flush with east wall, and a full length east window seems incompatible with a plan on the lines of St Mary Redcliffe. A high vault terminating on an east wall in this manner would not preclude an ambulatory arrangement, which might be analogous to the east end of Sherborne Abbey, for example (Fig. 7.18 A-C). The size of the east window, however, would not tolerate this arrangement. One suggestion has been that the window was lengthened after the destruction of the Lady chapel, and the strips of inserted masonry on the east buttresses have been cited in support of this.[91] Aside from the evidence against a Lady

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[90] Bartelot (1940), 90: between 1539 and 43 Sir Thomas Arundell, the crown bailiff, was responsible for the sale of bells, lead and iron from the church. Bartelot (1941), 174: the bells were sold for £98 1s 6d to Francis Edwards, and at the same time all the glass and iron bars were sold, and the walls of the monks' dormitory.

[91] Manco (1995), 100.

chapel ever being constructed, these inserted strips are more likely to refer to patching at the corners of the Romanesque crossing piers. The design of the east window, as square-headed has been the subject of much discussion, largely because of its perceived incompatibility with the fan vault (Fig. 7.17B). For this reason it has always been assumed that the window pre-dated the vault, and as such indicated a change in plan from a flat roof to fan vaulted ceiling.

Buildings archaeology or historical prejudice: the 'flat roof theory'

It is established above that King's role in the architectural appearance of the present church is restricted to the west front and the fan vaults. Considering the above suggestion that the building was begun before his intervention, this raises a question concerning what form the vault might have taken before King's arrival. Ironically, this particular question has often been asked in relation to Bath, and it has resulted in what can be described as the 'flat roof theory'. This theory revolves around two features: the square-headed east window and the archaeological evidence in the roof space of the chancel. The interpretation of these aspects has often been that the square-headed window is incompatible with the fan vault, as the vault crossed in front of the corners of the windows, and therefore, must have been intended to share the building with a flat roof. This initial observation has been subsequently supported by the presence of a series of successive wall plates, which are evident in the roof space of the present church. Harvey neatly summarises this theory:

> 'An important afterthought at Bath was the decision to vault the main spans, instead of depending on a flat timber roof. When the change was made, the east window was already complete, but the west window...had only reached springing level'.[92]

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[92] Harvey (1984), 309.

The irony in this statement is that the theory's protagonists maintain King began the building and that within the space of three years he had constructed the church and changed his mind as to the roof covering.[93] In this circumstance the idea that King would have chosen a flat timber vault seems inconceivable, and it has been argued above that the purpose of his intervention was to create a design with distinctive royal associations. The incompatibility of the east window with the fan vault seems to be based largely on historical prejudice, and the appearance of the east wall has even been described as 'a sign that the style had begun to decay'.[94] With the present hypothesis, that the building was started before King, his arrival clearly did determine a change in plan for the roof. As such, this issue now warrants further investigation.

The generally held belief that a flat timber roof, typical of many parish churches in Somerset, was intended at Bath probably fits more comfortably with the earlier starting date of Bath of *c.* 1480 than the Bishop King date of *c.* 1500. It has been shown that Bath relies on parish church ideas for some of its design, potentially supporting the notion that local parish church design in the 1480s intended a timber roof. However, the precedent for the church has been shown to be Redcliffe, a parish church vaulted in stone. No other great church in the locality has a timber vault, and all West Country great churches, since the east end of Wells Cathedral, have developed lierne vault designs. Timber vaults in parish churches are rarely associated with clerestories of the size of Bath, where traditionally a later clerestory and timber vault might have been added onto a church with large aisle windows, for example St Cuthbert's in Wells. Precedents further afield do exist, however, and the rebuilding of the choir of Great Malvern Priory in the first half of the 15th century illustrates a great church elevation with a flat timber roof (Fig. 7.19A). Notably this is used in combination with a

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[93] See for typical examples: Irvine (1890), 88; Brakspear (1930)B, 414; S.A. Boyd, 'The Abbey and Church of Bath: History and Architecture' *SANHSP, Bath and District Branch* (1940), 65; Leedy (1980), 133; Manco (1995), 97; and Davenport in Tatton-Brown and Munby (1996), 25.

large arched east window, and sets no precedent for the use of a square-headed window with the chosen roof type.

The date of the east window

In the absence of any precedents for a square-headed window found with a timber roof, and the circumstantial evidence that Bath would have been planned with a timber roof, the relationship of the vault to window is still unclear. Stylistic evidence, however, establishes that the east window must have been after 1499, that is, after the arrival of royal masons, and not part of the pre-King phase.

The design of the tracery shows a clear departure from local precedent. Pairing batement lights by means of inverted cusping is a design unique in Somerset, but characteristic of the Cotswolds, as a direct result of the early 15th-century work at the west end of Gloucester Cathedral (Fig. 7.19B). It seems that the building of the west front at Gloucester by Abbot Morton from the 1420s to 1430s provided the source for parish churches in the Cotswolds from the 1460s, and tracery inspired by Gloucester can be seen in the nave aisles of Winchcombe and Northleach for example.[95] Arguably, the use of the Gloucester west front window as a source need not be the responsibility of the royal masons, although it makes a noted departure from the Somerset based precedents favoured for the rest of the building. However, the architectural details of the east window conclusively show that it was designed by a different architect from the one who designed the main body of the church. Furthermore, it shows that the east window architect was a mason aware of late 15th- and early 16th-century workshop practices at the royal building campaigns of St George's, Windsor and Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster.

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[94] See, for example, Anon. 'Proceedings of the Congress July 3-8 1922: Bath Abbey' *BAAJ*, 28 (1922), 13.
[95] *Pers comm.* Dr. R.K. Morris.

With its seven lights and immense height, the designers of the window followed other precedents for using major and subsidiary mullions in the design, for example, in the manner of Gloucester west front, Winchester west front and Sherborne chancel clerestory. The minor mullion is simply composed of the same profile as the aisle windows, that is a chamfer and an axial polygonal moulding; the major mullion is a larger axial polygonal moulding with a curved back. This is inherently unhelpful for comparison, as it is a standard format using simple profiles. The interior window jamb, however, is more distinctive. It has for its main feature a double ogee, which is commonly used throughout the Perpendicular period, but this particular profile differs in one significant aspect from the more frequently used types. The jamb profile of a double ogee set between two chamfers copies exactly the jamb used for the exterior of the north aisle windows of St George's Chapel, Windsor (Fig.7.20 i-iii). This was constructed whilst Henry Janyns was master of the works at Windsor,[96] from the 1470s onwards, and is itself a simplification of the interior design which produces a more sculptural effect, at greater cost, by the use of convex surfaces to the chamfers (Fig. 7.20 iv). A further confirmation of the connection was discovered on the profile at the top of the south side of the window and across the horizontal continuation (lintel) of the window in the roof space of the chancel. Here, where the stonework appears to have been less affected by the restorers from the 17th to the 19th centuries, the outer chamfer, leading to the wall plane, is of the convex shape or shallow hollow used for the interior of the Windsor work. The Windsor interior jamb design is used consistently throughout St George's Chapel and is found in identical form in the work at Henry VII's Chapel from 1503-1509 (Fig. 7.20 v). It seems to be exclusive to works by royal masons at this date.[97]

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[96] Harvey (1984), 159.

[97] The Bath jamb has slightly different proportions to the Windsor and Westminster varieties: although the double ogee is very close in size and scale, the flanking chamfers are slightly larger.

The direct and explicit links to the works of the Windsor-Westminster school excludes the possibility that the east window of Bath was designed or constructed before the arrival of royal masons. The presence of royal masons at Bath continued from the time of the Vertues to the dissolution of the priory, with William Vertue being succeeded by John Molton at the former's death in March 1527.[98] In principle, the design of the window could be by either of these masons, and as such must be either contemporary with, or after, the construction of the fan vaults.

The square-headed east window: a design decision

It is useful to look briefly at the possible stylistic precedents for the decision to use a square-headed window, as it can no longer be justified as being shaped to be compatible with a flat wooden ceiling. Having established the window can only be a design by royal mason in the 16th century, it is hardly surprising that the potential influences found are closely related to architectural designs in London and royal workshops.

The use of windows set within a square frame has a long history, being found as early as the mid-13th century in French Rayonnant transept façades. Notre-Dame, Paris, for example, has a rose window set in a square, which consists of traceried spandrels. A two-centred traceried window set in a square head with traceried spandrels is found in the east end apse of St Germain-en-Laye of the 1230s, where the vaults cut across the spandrel area. The more traditional Rayonnant rose window design, often set within a square frame, was adopted directly at Old St Paul's, London and perhaps significantly, at St Paul's, it was chosen for the east rather than the transept façade. The interior views by Hollar clearly show how the stone vault cuts in front of the rectangular shape of the tracery (Fig. 7.21 A&B). St Paul's maintained its prestige status as a work of architecture throughout the two centuries that followed its construction.

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[98] Molton became master mason to the King and to Westminster Abbey on the death of Henry

Westminster Abbey also favoured the same approach to the treatment of façades but maintained the French tradition of applying the rose to the transept end walls. The present 'show' or public façade (north transept) of Westminster Abbey was completely rebuilt in the 19th century, but the south transept retains its medieval façade (with 19th-century changes to the exterior gable only) (Fig. 7.22A).[99] At Westminster the use of this type is perhaps not intrinsically as significant as at St Paul's as a source for Bath, as it is not an east end precedent. However, it is worth noting that the south transept window was renewed in the 15th century. The main tracery was replaced between 1451-62, and work continued on the window at the end of the 1470s.[100] Although the tracery is thought to be closely based on the original 13th-century design, its later date is betrayed by the use of double cusping for the centre feature. Significantly, Robert Vertue was being trained at Westminster during the latter alterations to the Rayonnant window.[101] Also in the 15th century, the upper parts of the west front of Westminster Abbey was being constructed, almost certainly following the designs attributed to Henry Yeveley at the end of the 14th century. The engraving by Hollar of 1655 of the still incomplete west front shows the west window set in a square head with traceried spandrels (Fig. 7.22B). In this case the spandrels are filled with blind tracery, so that the internal effect of the vault against the window is more conventional. Moreover, this is an example of a square-headed design with an arched tracery window rather than a rose. A similar technique is used for the panelling of the exterior of Henry VII's Chapel (Fig. 7.23B). All three of these examples would be very familiar to the Vertue brothers, and their successors. The tower at both St Margaret's Westminster and Bath Abbey use the same tracery device, the former being designed by Henry Redman between 1516 and 1522, and

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Redman in 1528, and himself died in 1547: Harvey (1984), 205-06.

[99] For the history of the restoration work see C. Wilson *et al*, *The New Bells Guide: Westminster Abbey* (London, 1986), 51.

[100] *Ibid.*, 35.

hence probably contemporary with the one at Bath.[102] The idea of producing an effect of suspending a vault in front of a traceried wall was one that was used by the royal masons to great effect at Henry VII's Chapel. The aisles of the royal chapel consist of the vault being carried in front of the tracery of the bay windows (Fig. 7.23A). This design, contemporary with the Vertues' presence at Bath, was on a much smaller scale, and it could be that the works at Old St Paul's east end, and Westminster Abbey provided the inspiration to carry this off on a large scale, as attempted at Bath.

Without this context of architectural precedents antiquarian authors have misread the design and its intended effect. This prejudice, which implied that the two features were incompatible, led to the misleading interpretation of the timber roof theory. The master mason at Bath was attempting to provide a striking design that indicates not only a regard for revival of architectural ideas, but that produced the first (if not only) expression of these on such a large scale. The attempt to 'de-materialise' the most visually structural aspects of a building was one that had seen many varieties of expression in European architecture of this date, such as the manipulation of the vertical elements of pier design most notable in Germany, as at Freiburg-im-Breisgau Minster, as well as the German inspired experiments in Spain with lattice areas of vaults and traceried spires, for example at Burgos Cathedral. Bath is arguably not reliant on these specific European examples, though the native architectural heritage from which the design was drawn was the product of royal masons with an awareness of architectural developments on the continent.

Archaeology: the evidence of the wall plates

That the present vault is higher than that previously intended for the choir is proven by the archaeological evidence in the roof space. This evidence has been cited by Irvine, as

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[101] Harvey (1984), 306: 'Robert Vertue first appears as a junior mason at Westminster Abbey in May 1475 [until 1480],...after an absence of three years...he reappeared at the Abbey as a fully-trained mason'.

a result of the 19th-century excavation work at the church, and by a series of subsequent authors.[103] In brief, Irvine described a large slot for a wall plate around the choir walls above the vaulting, and showed that this was superseded by a slightly higher wall plate. These have been interpreted respectively as the level for the timber roof and that for the new fan vault. The first level is clearly pre-fan vault. That the east window is higher than this first level serves to support the idea that the window post-dates the change in roof height (Fig. 7.24A). The second level is between twelve and eighteen inches higher than the first, it is variable because staggered levels are created around the east wall, and this appears to be the new roof height above the early 16th-century vault. A further raised level of another twelve inches is the present roof level. Scars of roof lines on the east face of the tower are evidence of the roofs that existed before the present one, all at steeper pitches (Fig. 7.24B). The present roof represents the pitch of the 19th-century re-covering of the chancel.[104] A line parallel to this exists, but seems to be a repair after the decision to insert a door. The deep groove, which is the highest of all the roof lines would have returned onto a higher wall plate than the present one, and this is assumed to be the 17th-century roof line lowered by the Victorians. The middle roof line shows that it would have returned on the same level as the current roof, and as such it is likely that it is the 16th-century roof line. This can be matched by the evidence of the south transept on the south wall of the tower (Fig. 7.24C): the groove being presumed to be the 17th-century re-roofing, the lower one the 16th-century, and the present one as re-covered by the Victorians.

This information confirms that the vaults and east window post-date the first top level of the clerestory walls, and implies that preparation was made for a roof with a lower

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[102] Harvey (1984), 247.

[103] Irvine (1890), 88; Brakspear (1930)B, 414; Boyd (1940), 65; Leedy (1980), 133; Manco (1995), 97; and Davenport in Tatton-Brown and Munby (1996), 25, for examples.

[104] Cobb mentions that the main roofs of the choir and transepts were lowered and covered with lead. This was to compensate for the raise in roof level of the 17th century: G. Cobb, *English Cathedrals: The Forgotten Centuries* (London, 1980), 26.

height at the apex. This could have been a flat timber roof, or a lierne stone vault. Considering the precedents listed above, of Redcliffe and all the other great churches in the South West, a lierne vault seems to be the most likely option.

A further implication of this is that the construction of the large east window was made after the decision to abandon the Lady chapel. The most likely situation is that once it was realised that the Lady chapel was never to be built, then the east wall could be glazed to provide the appearance of a finished building. Two options exist, either that this decision had been made by the death of Prior Birde, and the window was finished as part of the glazing scheme identified in 1524; or the east wall was blocked up at this stage and Holleway, finally accepting the necessity of truncating the plan, commissioned the window to complete the chancel. This would place the construction of the window at any stage between *c.*1518 and the late 1530s. Either way, it is clear that a royal mason was required to construct an east window against the existing vault, drawing on the stylistic examples quoted above. The building required this compromise to achieve completion.

It has been demonstrated that the loss of the motivation of King, who had a personal interest in the completion of the church, as well as his financial input, resulted in a distinct lack of momentum. In fact, this evident and considerable slowing up of the campaign seemingly proves King's concerns, as expressed in the injunction, that the priory itself would take over a hundred years to complete the church. It clearly took the priors nearly 40 years to achieve a serviceable east end, comprising a fully roofed, but not fully vaulted, building. This reinforces the notion of King as the driving force behind an otherwise slow and under-resourced project. It is for these reasons of resourcing that the decision appears to have been made to abandon the Lady chapel of the new church, and 'complete' the east end with a great east window.

It has been argued above that the construction of Bath Priory church occurred in three broad phases. From *c.*1480 to 1499 the Romanesque nave was pulled down and the reconstruction of the fabric begun from the east to west. By 1499 the chancel walls were nearing completion, but with the arrival of Bishop Oliver King a new phase was entered. Bringing with him working masons, consultant designers and noble patronage, King began a campaign to complete the church, by way of converting it into a church worthy of his burial. Despite his attempts to quickly finish the building, it was left incomplete at his death and he was probably buried at Wells.[105] Not even all of the walls were up to full height by his death in 1503.

After his death, the campaign reverted to a poorly funded exercise, and with no further episcopal intervention slow progress was made. By 1518 the chancel vaults and west front had been completed and Prior Birde's Chantry Chapel begun. By *c.* 1525 the east end of the old church had been largely dismantled and left in ruin, yet still attached to the new east end. Probably Prior Birde finally abandoned the planned Lady chapel and completed the east wall under the designing hand of William Vertue so that it was finished before his death and the instigation of the next prior. Only at the beginning of the 17th century did the new church stand separated from the earlier ruins and tidied at the east end, with vaulting finally constructed throughout.

Of the first phase it has been shown that local precedents were chosen and Redcliffe's continued prestige and geographical proximity, meant it was the obvious choice for a complete church rebuilding. That it was not influenced by Stillington's Chapel at Wells Cathedral or the nave at Sherborne Abbey is explained by its newly ascribed starting date of *c.* 1480, some years before either project was completed.

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[105] Maxwell-Lyte, SRS (1939), 44-47. While bishop of Exeter, Oliver King arranged for his burial at St George's Chapel, Windsor, and subsequently made plans for his burial at Bath. Two references listed by Maxwell-Lyte indicate that in fact he was buried at Wells: he refers to a register at Wells in which is found a reference to oblations received at his burial (see Cal. II (1914), 172); additionally his executor, the dean of Wells states that 'I have been much at cost for my Lorde of Bathe, and have buryed my Lord of Bathe at my own charge...': Weaver, SRS (1905), 3.

The introduction of royal masons into the project in the 16th century had a significant impact on its immediate future and appearance. Bath has been relegated to the 'poor sister' of the royal funded works at Windsor and Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster. The design of the fan vault, however, was the first fan vault in the country on this scale, preceding those at King's College Chapel, Cambridge and the nave of St George's Windsor, and exactly contemporary with the laying of the foundation stone of Henry VII's Chapel. It should, therefore, be seen as an early idea in a series of monumental vault designs. The context for the Vertue's contribution to the work will be discussed below, followed by an attempt to evaluate their influence in the region.

Royal masons in Somerset: the design and designers of the Bath vaults

Bath's clear dependence on Redcliffe, and the sparse nature of the details of the main building, resulted in a distinct lack of impact of the church on its immediate locality. The design is essentially backward looking, and the added complication of its position as the last major church rebuilding in the county somewhat restricts its opportunity for any perceivable influence. The status of this otherwise retrospective building was changed by the arrival of royal masons, and historical studies of the building show testament to this. From an analysis of the vault design of both the high and aisle vaults it can be shown how the work fitted into the careers of the Vertues, and the development of vaulting in the Tudor period.

The history of Robert Vertue, already identified as being trained at Westminster Abbey, is well established. He worked at the Tower of London, and at Greenwich, and is named as one of the three masons to submit designs for the tomb of Henry VII before his own death in 1506.[106] His brother, William Vertue, has a documented working life covering the major court works of the Tudor period. His appearance at Bath is his first documented work, and he is next identified on a contract with John Aylmer between 1506 and 1508, vaulting the choir of St George's, Windsor.[107] Although jointly responsible for the Bath vaults, it was William Vertue who oversaw their construction, and he went on to design a number of fan vaults for court patrons.

Several distinct groups of fan vault designs have been previously identified. Two of the most prolific are the 'Wastell' type, favoured by John Wastell at Canterbury and King's College, Cambridge for example; and the 'Windsor' type, which developed out of the design for the aerary porch of the mid-14th century. By the 16th century, designs still heavily dependent on this precedent were favoured at St Stephen's cloister, Westminster and the apsidal east bay of Henry VII's Chapel. The high vault at Bath does not obviously fit into either of these groups: its use of quatrefoils bounding the conoids of the fans, and the small spandrels, contrasts with the central star patterns and angular quality of much of the Windsor work (Fig. 7.25B).

At Bath the use of quatrefoils bounding the fan can be closely related to rose window design on the continent of the 13th and 14th centuries. Examples include the north transept façade of St Denis (1235-40), and the south transept façade of Notre-Dame, Paris (1262-67) (Fig. 7.26A). A more direct comparison for the use of quatrefoils is found between the west window of Tours Cathedral and the high vaults of Bath, dated to between 1437 and 1484 (Fig. 7.26B).[108] Bath was certainly not the first vault design to draw on this French window tracery precedent: Henry IVs Chapel in Canterbury Cathedral, dated to the 1430s, appears to be the earliest expression of this particular design in England, although here trefoils rather than quatrefoils were used (Fig. 7.27B). The chantry chapel constructed by the executors of Cardinal Beaufort's will in Winchester Cathedral, probably in the 1450s

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[106] Harvey (1984), 306.
[107] *Ibid.*, 307-10 for William Vertue.
[108] R. Sanfaçon, *L'architecture flamboyante en France* (Québec, 1971), 74.

or 60s, also has a vault based on the same principles (Fig. 7. 27A). Its design is closer to that at Bath and notably different from the angular star pattern of Waynflete's Chantry Chapel (1470s), which may have helped popularise what can later be identified as the 'Windsor' vault type (Fig. 7.28 A-E). Beaufort's Chapel is surely making conscious reference to the chapel of his brother at Canterbury in the same way that his funeral and funerary monument made very specific references to the Royal family to which he belonged. It may be no coincidence that the screen being erected in the middle of the 15th century at Westminster Abbey to divide the royal tombs from the main altar also has similarly placed quatrefoils in the vaults of its niches. Considering this pedigree Bath appears to the first large-scale expression of this particular design.

It is reasonable to assume that both the masons and the patrons in the case of Bath, were aware of the direct precedents here cited as the chantry chapels of Cardinal Beaufort and Henry IV. Robert Vertue requested burial in the abbey church of St Augustine's at Canterbury, and it has been reasonably suggested that he was involved in the later stages of the construction of a new bell tower there, which was contemporary to John Wastell's building of the Bell Harry tower at Christ Church Priory.[109] In this instance Robert Vertue must have been aware of Wastell's vault and its predecessor in the Lady chapel, as well as Henry IV's Chantry. There is no reason to suspect that both Reginald Bray and Oliver King were not aware of the history of royal tombs in the second half of the 15th century.

Considering the apparent sources for the Bath vault design it is perhaps surprising that it seems to have had so little influence on the main stage of large-scale fan vault design. Of the reasons accounting for this, not least is the slow progress of construction at Bath. Although designed in 1503 it was finished after the construction of Henry VII's Chapel, and William Vertue's subsequent commission of the choir vault at St George's, Windsor. The

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[109] Harvey (1984), 306.

apparent lack of visual similarity between the vaults of Henry VII's Chapel and those at Bath could lead one to believe that the royal chapel owes nothing to the contribution to vault design made by the Vertues. Robert Janyns, who was the designer of Henry VII's Tower at Windsor, has been attributed with the design of Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster Abbey.[110] The direct links between the design of the chapel of St George's and that of Henry VII's Chapel is shown by the use of identical moulding forms at each building.[111] The high vault at Westminster demonstrates further its relationship to designs at Windsor. The aisle vaults at Westminster are distinct from those at Windsor which were designed in the last quarter of the 15th century. The pendants, which were also favoured for the high vault, are reminiscent of those in the aisles of Bath, and quatrefoils are used, although within the conoid pattern, rather than adjacent to the bounding rib (see Fig. 7.32B). A small square bay links the aisles of the chapel to the panelled vestibule in front of it, and it is through this that the aisles are entered. In this small bay the fan vault is identical to the vaults designed by the Vertues at Bath (Fig. 7.29A). If these bays were designed with the rest of the chapel they indicate the possible input of the Vertues in the early stages, as this would be contemporary with their design for Bath, but before its construction. If they were designed at a late stage in the building process this may indicate that William Vertue and possibly his contemporary Henry Redman, supervised the continuation of the construction of Henry VII's Chapel, after the deaths of Robert Vertue and Robert Janyns, both in 1506. Either way, some aspects of the designs at Bath were incorporated into work at Henry VII's Chapel, but these aspects were marginal to the main body of the chapel and its much more impressive high vault design.

This relationship between 'Bath-like' vault designs and small-scale vaults continued, and similar designs are found in a series of bay windows in 16th-century secular architecture.

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[110] Wilson (1986), 70.

The bay window at the dais end of the great hall at Cardinal College (later Christ Church), Oxford was designed by Henry Redman and John Lebons (*c.*1525).[112] This bay window is covered by a fan vault very close in design to the Vertue aisle vaults at Bath (Fig. 7.29B). From 1509 Vertue is recorded as making trips to King's College, Cambridge, to advise on the vaulting of the chapel.[113] These trips were made with Henry Redman, and that the two of them continued to work together is shown by their employment at Eton College for the construction of Lupton's Tower. By this date Redman had been made joint master mason to the king with William Vertue. This close relationship may make the appearance of a 'Vertue-like' vault by Redman at Cardinal College less surprising; and is illustrative of the inevitable 'copying' of vault designs by other masons working for the court circle. The bay window in the great hall at Hampton Court shows another use of a similar pattern by a royal mason (Fig. 7.29C). Hengrave Hall, a second generation court work, demonstrates its emulation of major secular precedents by royal masons in its bay window of the 1520s (Fig. 7.29D).

These designs emanate directly from the Vertue designs of 1503, yet work that can be attributed to William Vertue after this time begins to show his dependence on alternative precedents. Aside from Oliver King, Vertue's episcopal patrons included Bishop Fox of Winchester, who chose him as the designer for his new foundation of Corpus Christi College in Oxford. Fox almost certainly employed Vertue for other works, notably his own chantry

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[111] The use of identical mullions and the jambs referred to above in relation to the east window at Bath. Some details, such as capitals and bases, show very slight variations, but the distinctive double ogees are identical for example.

[112] J.G. Milne and J.H. Harvey, 'The building of Cardinal College' *Oxoniensia,* VIII-IX (1943-4), 137-153: accounts for the period January 28th and January 1st, 1525 survive, and make reference to Person, a mason, who was employed for a week at Hampton Court making moulds, 140. Further references mention payment to Redman and Lubyns as master masons for several days spent in Oxford and for time spent visiting the quarries, 140. A master mason, Jonson, is on-site, 139; and this must be equivalent to Thomas Lynne's position at Bath Abbey, and is in fact referred to as Lebons' warden later in the accounts, working at Balliol College, 145.

[113] Harvey (1984), 147.

chapel at Winchester, constructed between 1513 and 1518.[114] Vertue was then employed with Redman at Eton by Provost Lupton, and they were responsible for his chantry chapel on the north side of the college chapel and the tower in the centre of the cross range of the courtyard (Fig. 7.30 A&B).

Vertue's designs for fan vaults at Eton and Corpus Christi are demonstrably linked to the designs emanating from Windsor, and show little resemblance to the Bath design executed by him and his brother in 1503. The only concession in Lupton's tower is the use of small quatrefoils bounding the central pendant. These two commissions post-dated Vertue's employment as master mason at St George's, Windsor, where in 1506 he was made responsible for the vault of the choir. The design of the choir vault at Windsor was beyond Vertue's complete control, as the wording of the contract stated that the new vault should be 'according to the body [or nave] of the said college' but that the principal keys were to be made more 'pendaunt and holower'.[115] Vertue's appointment at Windsor was probably a direct result of the death of Robert Janyns in 1506,[116] who had probably been responsible for the nave design, having succeeded his father Henry Janyns, who was responsible for the initial designs of Windsor in the 1470s. After his involvement at Windsor, Vertue seems to have been responsible for more 'Windsor-like' vaults. This may reflect the choice of his patrons as much as himself, and it is perhaps unsurprising that Lupton would wish for designs reflecting the work of the nearby church at Windsor. A series of other chantry chapels show the ecclesiastical patron's choice to be dependent on the Windsor designs, for example the Audley Chantry Chapels at Hereford and at Salisbury Cathedrals.[117]

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[114] A. Smith, *The Life and Works of Bishop Fox* (unpubl. PhD, University of London, 1989), 211-216.
[115] Hope, 2 (1913), 460-61.
[116] Wilson in Thompson (1995), 145-146.
[117] Bishop Audley of Hereford (1492-1502) had close links with the south east and had been canon of Windsor in 1474 and Chancellor of the Garter in 1502, for details see Leedy (1980), 14, 171 and 198.

A series of chantries to lower status ecclesiastical patrons show instead a close relationship to the aisle vaults of Henry VII's Chapel. It was almost certainly under Vertue that the chantry chapel of Prior Birde at Bath was begun. Although much work was done on the chantry in the 19th century, there are several features that indicate the hand of the royal mason. Most notably the chapel is vaulted by a fan vault, which has ogee springers and inverted cusping for the traceried panels above the springing in a similar way to the chancel aisle vaults (Fig. 7.31 A&B). This use of inverted panels is also used in the east and west windows of the abbey. It uses quatrefoils with one side leading into an ogee, set within the bounding rib; although differing from the use in the main building vault it clearly relates to the vault in the north aisle of Henry VII's Chapel where the same features are used in a slightly different combination. The east end of Birde's Chantry is covered by a half tunnel vault panelled with the familiar ogee quatrefoils. This use of panelling is commonly found in court works of this date such as the vestibule of Henry VII's Chapel, but is also used in panelling of the chantry chapel of Abbot Islip in the north of the ambulatory. The abbot died in 1532 and the chantries of him and Birde are likely to be roughly contemporary. The Islip chantry uses blind traceried spandrels to create the square-headed tracery design, with transoms of segmental arched lights, and favours inverted cusping reminiscent of the features of the east window of Bath. The upper niched area of the chapel is composed of panels and niches reminiscent of those of Bishop Fox's Chantry of *c.* 1513, currently attributed to Vertue (Fig. 7.32 D&E). The main vault of Islip's Chapel is heavily dependent on the vault of the nearby Henry V's Chantry.

Contemporary with both of these is the chapel of St Clement in St Lawrence's parish church, Evesham. Harvey has attributed this to Robert Vertue junior, the younger son of Robert Vertue of the Bath vaults, on the basis that a Robert Vertue is named as master mason of Evesham Abbey in 1539.[118] This vault shows a clear dependence on the aisle vaults of Henry VII's Chapel, and aforementioned chantry chapels (Fig. 7.32A). This contrasts with Lichfield's Chapel in the adjacent church of All Saint's, which looks closer to early 16th-century designs in and around Sherborne.[119]

In summary, William Vertue was responsible for the continued use of features of the Bath vaults design in subsequent and contemporary campaigns, either through his direct intervention or indirectly through his close working relationship with Henry Redman. Only some aspects of the design were emulated though, and the high vault of Bath was never to be repeated on such a grand architectural scale. The band of panelling that links the high vault with the east window and wall is the only aspect seen on a grand scale at Henry VII's Chapel, where a similar device is used as a transition from the 'nave' vault of the chapel to the vault over the polygonal apse (Fig. 7.33 A&B, and see Fig. 7.32 B&C). This use of panelled bands was also used in the aisles of Henry VII's Chapel, and it has been suggested that this feature derives from the chancel aisles of Sherborne Abbey via the aisles of St George's Windsor.[120] Presumably this in turn originates from the use of such features in the corner bays of cloisters.[121] Despite the use of isolated features from the Bath designs, the Windsor originated designs proved ultimately to be more influential, and these were increasingly favoured by both William Vertue and his patrons.

The construction of the high vault at Bath on a building not designed to support it explains its slightly uncomfortable fit, and also the developing role of William Vertue as a specialist in vault designs. Both Redman and Vertue were considered specialists in vaults.

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[118] Harvey (1984), 307.

[119] Harvey attributed both of these vaults to Robert Vertue Junior, although Lichfield's Chapel shows none of the features associated with Westminster. Rather, its double cusped roundels in the spandrel of the vault looks closer to the Wykeham Chapel vault of Sherborne Abbey.

[120] Wilson in Thompson (1995), 150-151.

[121] Sherborne used double shafts and a niche more like Windsor cloister of the early to mid-14th century. Panels are used in this location at Worcester and Wells in the late 14th to early 15th century.

The two masons were working together before becoming master masons to the king, as shown by trips made by them both to King's College, Cambridge, from 1509.[122] Furthermore, it may have been Vertue's work at Bath that qualified him for advising on the King's College project. The fan vault at King's College is well known for being, like Bath, a change of decision late in the design process, being added to a building which was not designed to receive it.

The Bath vaults were designed at the beginning of the great popularity of fan vaults under the patronage of the king and contemporary nobles and prelates. Although the extended nature of its construction perhaps diminished its role in the formation of fan vault designs, the foresight of its patron and designers set a precedent for subsequent campaigns, even if its design did not. Its origins can be traced to royal chantry chapels in England drawing on earlier window designs on the continent, and its limited design influence was on equally small-scale projects. After the initial inventive phase of fan vault designs it is not productive to make attributions to individuals on vault pattern alone. It can be surmised from the above, however, that the 'Bath' vault pattern was popularised by Vertue and Redman after Vertue's design of *c.* 1503 at Bath.

Fan vaults in Somerset

So far, only the place of the Bath vaults in the development of vault design under court patrons has been discussed. Considering the acknowledged high number of fan vaults in Somerset parish churches,[123] it might be reasonable to assume that the arrival of royal masons at Bath and their design had considerable influence on the locality.

A major hindrance in an analysis of fan vaults and their development in Somerset is the complication of dating evidence. A large number of porches and towers were vaulted in

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[122] Harvey (1984), 307.

[123] See Leedy (1980) and Harvey (1983), 58.

the region towards the end of the period, but few have reliable dating associated with them. In the absence of any documentary evidence many of the parish church vaults have been attributed to *c.*1500,[124] and as the vaults at Bath can be dated to between 1503 and 1518 this makes accurate analysis of its influence more complicated.

After the construction of the vaults at Bath, no large-scale vaults were constructed in the region and this obviously reduced its scope for influencing church building in the area. However, as the nature of much building and patronage in the 16th century was restricted in the region to small-scale works of porches and towers, the fan vault was to fit comfortably into this development. The direct link between fan vaults and a specific and noble patronage group imbued them with a certain prestigious status promoting their use by less noble patrons in the 16th century.

Early regional development of fan vaulting has already been seen in the works of the chancel at Sherborne and of Stillington's Chapel, Wells. Of the fan vaults in the area of Somerset, Dorset and Devon some have been identified as having a direct relationship with the Sherborne vault type, for example, Cullompton and Ottery St Mary new aisle fan vaults. The crossing vaults at Milton Abbey and Wells Cathedral have also been shown to derive from the Sherborne workshop. Leedy has further suggested that Ditcheat, St John's Glastonbury and Ilminster tower vaults are all based on Stillington's Chapel vaults.[125]

Few vaults actually show a reference to the distinctive quatrefoil design of the Vertue's vaults at Bath, and only one example exists that reflects the Bath design motif of the quatrefoil. This vault, in the tower at Mells, is a poor attempt to emulate the Bath design, implying local masons copying, rather than the hand of royal designers (Fig. 7.34A). Although no firm date can be associated with the vault, it is clear that it was added into the

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[124] See Leedy (1980).
[125] *Ibid.*, 159, 166, 175-6.

existing tower,[126] a commonplace occurrence in the history of fan vaults in Somerset. This is the only known example of the design of the high vault at Bath being re-used, and otherwise it has no direct impact on vault design in the locality. The aisle vaults at Bath, finished earlier than the high vault, may have been slightly more influential, as the small scale and use of pendants may have been more easily transferable. Although pendants had already been introduced into the area in the design of Stillington's Chapel, some 16th-century vaults show signs of an awareness of the priory church at Bath. In several tower vaults the central spandrel element appears either as a pendant or a flattened version of the Bath aisle pendants. This group includes the tower at Taunton St James, and the south porches of Kingston St Mary, and North Curry, all of which are dated by Leedy to *c.*1500 (Fig. 7.34B). The use of pendants set as central features to a fan, rather than the Stillington type of being set amongst a series of liernes, is found in the porches of Mells, Doutling, Buckland Dinham and Ile Abbots (Fig. 7.34 C-E).

These flamboyant forms do not relate to the Sherborne-like vault designs and are probably a spin-off from Bath, albeit a local interpretation. Other features appearing in vaults in the region, however, although not related directly to Bath, do seem to demonstrate an awareness of some other court works. The use of main diagonals across the bounding rib to the central spandrel unit is reminiscent of designs at Windsor, at aisle level, and later at St Stephen's cloister in the palace of Westminster (Fig. 7.34E, and see Fig. 7.30 C&D). Accounts from St Stephen's show that William Vertue was paid fees in 1526, and these vaults have been attributed to him.[127] Perhaps it was the arrival of royal masons in Somerset, rather than the specific design at Bath, that contributed towards the development of fan vaults in the area.

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[126] *Ibid.*, 184.

[127] Harvey (1984), 308.

Conclusions

It has been shown that Bath Priory, rather than a homogeneous design by royal masons, is a contrast between local and national influences. The nature of patronage goes a long way to explaining the appearance and the progress of the building. First, in the late 15th century, probably *c.*1480, the rebuilding campaign was commenced, involving the demolition of the Romanesque church. This rather sparse interpretation of the county's most prestigious parish church being suggestive of the comparative lack of funds between a priory church and a merchant church in nearby commercial Bristol. Second, the power and influence of a single patron is seen in the bringing together of advisors and designers; and third, there was a return to a struggling campaign without a major patron, which in itself is a reflection of the motivation of Bishop King and the desire for personal salvation. The intention to create a personal chapel for his own burial was never fully realised, although the creation of a chapel as a memorial to the Bishop and his generosity was clearly achieved. King's attempt to associate himself as the saviour and re-founder of the church was so successful that the personality of the major patron has hidden the identity and the struggle of the real initiators of the church reconstruction. The arrival of the royal masons and their input did result in the temporary speeding up of a campaign which King rightly identified as potentially endless if left to the priory alone. Absentee bishops after King were the cause of the return to slow progress, although the extent of personalisation of the project by King may have complicated the issue of patronage for another magnate. Continuity was achieved through the actions of Prior William Birde, who carried on the campaign until his death in 1525. The vault design can be traced to a particular development of vault patterns from the chantry chapels of members of the royal household, based on a Canterbury-London tradition. Its influence was limited partly because of the slow execution of the project, and partly because of the greater impact of the Windsor vaults.

The impact on the project created by King's intervention was matched only by the impact of his departure. The priory had chosen to truncate the existing church, presumably an attempt to make the rebuilding project of the Romanesque church manageable. Ironically even this plan was never totally completed and the slow progress of the rebuilding after King's death resulted in the omission of parts of the intended structure. The nave was left covered but not vaulted. The liturgical significance of the choir necessitated concentration on the east end of the building. Despite this, the planned axial Lady chapel and ambulatory were never constructed. The use of the Romanesque Lady chapel would have alleviated any impact of such an omission until the middle of the 1520s, whilst the attachment of the new church to the remains of the Romanesque east end provided the necessary buttressing for the new choir. The east window has been shown to have been constructed by a royal mason after the completion of the vaults, representing a decision to alter, and in fact truncate, the plan of the east end of the church, a decision which was reluctantly taken in the third phase of building. Subsequently, the choir could be made structurally sound and hence serviceable without the ambulatory and chapel at the east end. The scale of the task of demolition and buttressing the east end was too great to be achieved before the commissioners' arrival and the dissolution of the priory.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Domestic Architecture in the South West

The preceding chapters have focused on the development of workshops at four major building centres in the South West. Parish, monastic and cathedral church buildings have formed the focus of this study, and the patronage of secular architecture by ecclesiastical patrons has been considered where it constitutes a major aspect of work closely linked to a building campaign or workshop. The gatehouses of Bishop Beckington's episcopate fall into this category, for example. Left largely unconsidered has been the patronage of domestic architecture for the purposes of private accommodation or hospitality by either secular or ecclesiastical patrons.

Central to this chapter is the issue of to what degree domestic buildings can be placed within the context of known masons' workshops. This is approached by the study of a selective sample of buildings, which might establish the validity of a more thorough survey integrating domestic architecture into the study of masons and workshop practice.

The modern study of secular architecture, as a distinct field, has concentrated upon social history and planning in domestic architecture,[1] or the degree of effectiveness of

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[1] For high status houses see for example: S. Thurley, *Royal Palaces of Tudor England* (London, 1993); T.B. James, *The Palaces of Medieval England c.1050-1550* (London, 1990); For general planning see P. Faulkner, 'Domestic planning from the 12th to the 14th centuries' *AJ,* CXV (1958), 150-183 and for planning and social history see M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House* (London, 1978); M. Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House: Architecture and Politics 1490-1550* (London, 1987). Wood's contribution was an analysis by style on a feature by feature basis, and included chapters on plans and their development: Wood (1985). This study followed on from works such as Bond with regard to ecclesiastical architecture and attempted to create a framework for dating through stylistic analysis. Concerns about planning and the issues of increasing privacy and its impact on the life of the household has led to specialist studies on the development and evolution of the hall, for example: M.W. Thompson, *The medieval hall: the basis of secular domestic life c.600-1600AD* (Aldershot, 1995).

fortifications from a military perspective.[2] Regional studies on vernacular architecture have largely taken the form of glossaries, but have progressed from the catalogue produced by Parker in the 19th century to the detailed inventories by the Royal Commission.[3] Some studies have, however, addressed the issue of authorship and the relationship between buildings and named masons, or the links between ecclesiastical and secular architecture through patronage, for example.[4] From these it is known that specific master masons were employed on both secular and ecclesiastical projects. Furthermore, evidence exists that masons were called in to design parts of buildings, the construction of which was otherwise under the supervision of an on-site (and usually local) mason.[5]

A series of masons are attributed with both secular and ecclesiastical commissions including for example, John Lewyn, William Wynford, Henry Yevele, John Cowper, Thomas Berty, William Vertue, and Robert Vertue. Working in the second half of the 14th

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[2] See for example: C. Coulson, 'Structural Symbolism in Medieval Castle Architecture' *BAAJ*, CXXII (1979), 73-90 and *ibid.*, 'Freedom to Crenellate by Licence – An Historiographical Revision' *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, XXXVIII (1994), 86-137; M.W. Thompson, *Decline of the Castle* (Cambridge, 1987) and *ibid., Rise of the Castle* (Cambridge, 1991); A. Emery, 'The development of Raglan Castle and keeps in late medieval England' *AJ*, CXXXII (1975), 152-286. The issue of the effectiveness of fortification became much discussed in relation to manor houses, with crenellations, loop-holes and moats, for example: J. le Patourel, 'Fortified and semi-fortified manor houses' *Château-Gaillard*, I-IX (1982), 187-197; and D. Williams, 'Fortified manor houses' *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society*, (1974-75), 1-16; further studies on individual residences (such as Bodiam and Herstmonceaux) have further concentrated on defence and symbolism. For architectural design and symbolism see P. Dixon and B. Lott 'Courtyard & tower: context and symbols in later medieval great houses' *BAAJ*, CXLV (1993), 93-101, Howard (1987), and G. Meirion-Jones and M. Jones eds *Manorial domestic buildings in England and northern France* (London, 1993).

[3] J. Parker, *Some Account of Domestic Architecture in England from Richard II to Henry VIII*, parts I & II (Oxford, 1859), which is arranged as a county by county summary, with a few lines on each house of interest. This approach was inherited and expanded on by Pevsner in his Buildings of England series; and for the county volumes by the Royal Commission. A specialised and more detailed inventory appeared for the houses of the close at Salisbury (RCHME Salisbury Houses (1993). Howard (1987) was produced as a result of his PhD thesis, which produced a glossary of buildings and established links between buildings within the early Tudor period: M. Howard, 'The Domestic Building Patronage of the Courtiers of Henry VIII' unpublished Ph.D (London 1985).

[4] For example see Harvey (1984); and R.K. Morris, 'The Architecture of the Earls of Warwick in the 14th century' in W.M. Ormrod, ed. *England in the 14th century* Proceedings of the 1985 Harlaxton Symposium (Woodbridge, 1986).

[5] For example the circumstances of a change in patronage led to this situation at Bath Abbey, and in domestic work a documented example exists for Hengrave Hall, Suffolk: see L.F. Salzman, *Building*

century Lewyn was based in the north-east of England,[6] whilst Wynford and Yevele were widely employed in the king's service in the south and south-east. All the others here named were working from the last quarter of the 15th century. A more detailed study of the commissions these men undertook reveals that one of two factors determines their employment; either that they are associated almost exclusively with one patron and given by him a range of architectural projects, or that they are identifiable as working within a restricted geographical location with a variety of patrons.[7] The quantity of information available on those masons working for the court or as the king's master masons contrasts with that available for designers outside the court at this date. It has already been seen that masons from outside the region were brought in for large scale ecclesiastical projects: the Vertue brothers at Bath are the only ones with known associations with the court, but it has been shown that William Smyth was probably from Oxford, and that Robert Hulle came to Sherborne from Winchester. At Bath a local on-site mason, by the name of Thomas Lynne, is referred to in documents reinforcing the distinction between 'consultant designers' and masters of the building construction process. No known masons are documented as being associated with the buildings discussed below, therefore, only the details of the building and limited dating evidence can assist in assessing the sources for these buildings. To what extent can the methodology favoured for the previous chapters be applied usefully in the field of domestic architecture, and what can it contribute to our knowledge of masons'

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in England down to 1540 (1st publ. 1952, Oxford, re-issued 1992), 574; and see below for further details on Hengrave.

[6] Emery (1996), 30-31 and Harvey (1984), 181-4. Emery quotes M. Hislop, 'John Lewyn and the Architecture of the Northern Counties 1360-1400' unpubl. PhD (University of Nottingham, 1989).

[7] John Cowper worked for William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, and worked on projects geographically disparate at Eton, Winchester, London, and Tattershall for example. Thomas Berty, by contrast appears to have been regionally based; the majority of his commissions were in the Winchester and Portsmouth area, for example, he is attributed with the conversion of the monastery at Titchfield, and Holy Ghost chapel, Basingstoke (see Harvey (1984), 21). William Vertue worked for a small group of closely related prelates and nobles, including Provost Lupton of Eton, Sir Reginald Bray, Bishop Fox of Winchester and Bishop King of Bath and Wells (see Harvey (1984), 307-10 and Chapter Seven above).

practise, as related to the domestic architecture of the late 15th and early 16th century in the region?

The study and the study region

Regional trends in domestic building type have been identified as the result of social and political circumstances, Northumbria is well known for its high number of pele towers, whilst the Thames valley has a series of palaces and great courtiers houses. In Somerset and Dorset the social composition and availability of good building stone has resulted in a high number of gentry status manor houses, many of which belong to the later Middle Ages. Parker states that 'this is the richest district in England for the remains of houses of the 15th century.'[8] The quantity and survival of conventual buildings and accommodation is smaller, although a number of buildings remain at least in part.

A fundamental issue is to establish what was available as a smart model for work on domestic architecture in the region. The region differs from the areas focused on by Howard in its lack of royal palaces or great aristocratic houses to act as a precedent for fashionable design. The noble families of the region, the Staffords and Botreaux's for example, did not have their main seats in the county. Unlike Gloucestershire, that boasts the castles of Sudeley and Thornbury, for example, there was a lack of 15th and early 16th century castles in the South West. So, with this lack of obvious architectural precedent where did patrons go to find appropriate designers?

It will be argued below that the decline of ecclesiastical building at the great workshops at Wells and Sherborne led to availability of masons; this available source was, in particular, taken up by abbots and deans as increasingly important patrons of domestic architecture. The introduction to the region of masons associated with royal and court buildings and tombs provided an alternative source for both secular and ecclesiastical patrons, and was to have considerable impact on the style of domestic architecture. Through these links it will be shown to what extent stylistic data can be extended usefully to domestic buildings.

This is achieved through a selective sample of buildings in the South West; most of the buildings referred to are in the south of Somerset and in Dorset, as this area was especially rich in domestic architecture in the early 16th century. From an initial sample of thirty-two buildings a selection of thirteen buildings has been taken.[9] These thirteen, all but one of which were visited, form the core case studies (Fig. 8.1). Several of these buildings remain in private ownership and are either never, or only occasionally, opened to the public. For these reasons four were accessible only from the outside.[10] The criteria for choosing the thirteen buildings was what they revealed about the relationships between domestic architecture and the design context of the development of workshops in the region, as established in the preceding chapters. With this in mind the buildings have been identified as forming three groups that relate to the works at Wells Cathedral, Sherborne Abbey, and to Bath Abbey and the introduction of royal masons into the region.

Wells

Considerable works to secular buildings were carried out at Wells Cathedral during the 15th century, largely by Bishop Beckington who has been shown to be responsible for the gatehouses, Chain Gate, aspects of the vicars' close, and significant extensions to the bishop's palace. Beckington's gatehouses have already been discussed in detail as his most significant contribution to the present appearance of the precinct. The next episcopal name

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[8] Parker (1859), part II, 335.

[9] Of the thirty-two buildings, twenty-six were visited, five were not visited, (one of which no longer survives but drawings are available). After this initial survey and visits the case studies were selected. For full list of places visited and accessed see appendix seven.

[10] A couple of buildings which have not formed part of the three case studies selected for this chapter were opened by the owners, and I would like to thank the owners of Cadhay manor, Devon especially for their generosity in showing me around their home.

connected with a great building at Wells was Stillington, whose chapel, constructed between 1477 and 1488 has also been discussed above. Contemporary with the construction of Stillington's Chapel, Dean Gunthorpe (1472-97) embarked upon a major building programme at the deanery (Fig. 8.2).[11] Although Gunthorpe was in office between 1472 and 1497, the heraldry displayed on his building, in addition to his own, is the flaming sun symbol of Edward IV. This narrows the construction date to between 1472 and 1483. Its construction was therefore contemporary with the early stages of the work at Stillington's Chapel.

The dean's work consisted of the modernisation or construction of the north range (Fig. 8.2). This range consists of three storeys, the first of which houses the great hall. It is to this room that the main architectural features belong: it has a fireplace at the east end opposite an oriel window, and then two further elaborately recessed windows on the north side, a bay window to the east and a shallow oriel to the north. Windows of two-lights beneath a four-centred arch light the west bay of the room (Fig. 8.3A). The series of oriel and bay windows are all architecturally distinct: the easternmost window on the courtyard (south) side is vaulted by a pendant fan vault with heraldry on a central panel the length of the bay (Fig. 8.4 A&B, window SX). Simple two-light windows, with transoms and segmental arches to the lower lights run round the oriel (Fig. 8.3B). These are the same basic design as those used in isolation in the western most bay of the hall. On the north side a large oriel window has the same tracery and pendant fan vaults, although the pendants in this case are in rows perpendicular to the wall rather than parallel to it (Fig. 8.5A, window NY). The third oriel, a shallower construction, has a band of ogee panelling with heraldry set in the centre, and a four-light window with panels and inverted cusping (Fig 8.5B, window NZ). From the exterior this north façade has a somewhat varied appearance.

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[11] The courtyard is now largely hidden by insertion of later buildings

Heraldry on the bay windows identifies them as Gunthorpe's work, and all the bays windows and fireplace are his, as identified by heraldry.

Stone vaulted bay windows, and the structurally more ambitious first floor projecting windows or oriels, were becoming increasingly common from the reign of Edward IV onwards, with important examples being found in the houses of royalty and courtiers, for example the lierne vault in the hall bays at Eltham Palace (*c.*1479-80), and the pendant fan vault of the 'banqueting hall' at Sudeley Castle (*c.*1469-78) (Fig. 8.6). The deanery bay window is very close in date to the Sudeley example and its comparable choice of pendant fan vaults (window NZ), rather than lierne, should be seen as a general response to, and a development from, chantry chapels. This trend is seen in its infancy in the Beauchamp Chapel (1430s) in Tewkesbury Abbey, for example, but gained popularity in tombs and chantries as the century progressed. Exactly the same disposition of rows of pendant fans can be found in the side chapels of the Lady chapel of Gloucester Cathedral (*c.*1450-1475), the tomb in the south wall of the Lady chapel of Christchurch Priory, Dorset (*c.*1405), and later examples such as Elizabeth Beauchamp's tomb in Bromham, Wiltshire (*c.*1492) (Fig. 8.7 A&B). Stillington's Chapel, which can be described as a burial chapel, uses this idea as inherited from chantries on a much larger scale. Other details of the design of the deanery range, such as the bands of ogees panelling and the disposition of heraldry within them are typical of features introduced in the 1470s (window NX), which were to become standard and frequently used motifs during the Tudor period.

An awareness of secular and ecclesiastical precedents is clear in the choice of window tracery at the deanery. The two-light, four centred tracery patterns used at the deanery for the two large oriels are reminiscent of the windows in the great hall at Eltham Palace (*c.*1475) (see Figs 8.3 and Fig. 8.8). This particular design is found in a number of buildings by court masons in the 1470s, including its use in the Lady chapel of Burford parish church, Oxfordshire, attributed to the Robert Janyns (1490s).[12] The four-light traceried window has already been referred to in the discussion on Stillington's Chapel as a possible solution for the designs of the side windows of the chapel. In this context, with the closeness in date, it has been suggested that the deanery and the chapel should be considered sufficiently similar to be by the same designer. Although the locations of the windows dictate certain differences the general form has already been identified as Oxford derived, and a suggestion made that the designer, William Smyth, was trained in Oxford before coming to Wells. The presence of the 'Eltham Palace window' in Oxfordshire serves to reinforce this connection. Gunthorpe's deanery, therefore, like Stillington's Chapel was not a second generation work responding to earlier court fashions but contemporary with the developments emanating from Oxford and in court works of the early to mid 1470s.

On the exterior of the Gunthorpe north range the variety of the architectural forms of the main windows is immediately apparent. The bay window (NY) is deeply recessed in contrast to the adjacent shallow oriel on its west side (NZ) (Fig. 8.9A). The former has panels with heraldry above and below the tracery and is surmounted by a crenellated parapet and small castellated features on top of shafts framing the heraldic panels. The adjacent window is framed by side shafts, which carry on up into the floor above. This is essentially a more complex and larger version of the method employed on the Bishop's Eye gatehouse, where narrow finials rise either side of the square-headed traceried windows. In detail these two examples are distinct, and this may be a comparison of formal characteristics for framing secular windows on a general level. A closer parallel can be found in the window in the state apartments of Raglan Castle, dated *c.*1461-69 (Fig. 8.9B).[13] Precedents for the placement of shields in panels above or below the tracery, as found on the main oriel of the

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[12] See Harvey (1984), 160 for Janyns' links with Burford.

[13] Emery (1973), 151-186: William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke (1445-69) increased his social standing through royal appointments and became one of the leading landowners in Wales, obtaining manors in

deanery north front are found both in the Raglan example,[14] and more locally in the close at Wells, for example the bays added to the east end of the vicars' hall (Fig. 8.9C).

It is evident that designs were drawn from a combination of ecclesiastical and secular buildings; although notable that the ecclesiastical sources appear to be chantry and chapel related. The similarity of features and motifs between the deanery and Stillington's Chapel and the evidence for a common, Oxford based, source reaffirms the suggestion that they are by the same designer. Stillington's Chapel was constructed between 1478 and 1488, and it seems that Gunthorpe may have begun his new building a few years before the commencement of the bishop's chapel. This would mean that the dean was responsible for bringing in an outside designer aware of contemporary court fashions to design his residences. The bishop's palace was little used after the death of Beckington (d.1465) and Dean Gunthorpe's building programme, following Beckington's model of consistent and overt use of personal heraldry, may be a sign of the dean asserting his authority and status in a period of absentee bishops. Stillington's sporadic falls from political favour throughout the late 1470s and 80s and consistent absence from the diocese provided and an opportunity for the new dean to develop his own status.[15] When Henry VII visited in 1487 Stillington was in gaol and the king subsequently chose to stay in the deanery rather than the bishop's palace; a further indication of the increasing status of the deans.[16] The rise in status of non-episcopal figures in the chapter was noted above with regard to Hugh Sugar the treasurer, who has been quoted as attempting the same self-aggrandisement in his role in the construction of

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Wales and Somerset from 1460. He made further money through his trading links to Bristol. He was responsible for the keep, apron wall, great gatehouse, Fountain Court lodgings etc.

[14] Raglan's oriel is constructed of a Somerset limestone, *pers comm.* Dr. R.K. Morris. Links to Bristol with the family are strong not only through the trade connections, but William Herbert's father William ap Thomas married Elizabeth Berkeley in *c.*1406, only daughter of Sir John Bluet, who had previously married Sir James Berkeley, younger son of Lord Berkeley at the end of the 14th century. She brought Raglan as part of inheritance and his son went on to succeed to the lordship of Berkeley in 1417. Also Herbert owned several Somerset manors including Dunster from the 1460s, so there are lots of direct links with limestone producing areas.

[15] Grandsen in Colchester (1982): Stillington was in gaol in 1478, 1485 and between 1487 and 91.

Stillington's Chapel;[17] and more specifically in his choice of chantry chapel, which was chosen to emulate Bishop Bubwith's, both in location and design.

The deanery was not the only construction in the precinct in the later 15th century, oriel windows added to the vicars' hall and the construction of The Rib, (the remaining archdeacon's house situated to the east of the chapter house) can also be attributed to the second half of the 15th century. The Rib's dependence on the nearby Chain Gate is immediately apparent, and the analysis below shows how the buildings by both Beckington and Gunthorpe influenced architecture outside the cathedral precinct in the late 15th century (Fig. 8.10 A&B).

A number of local manor houses show the increasing trend for oriels and bays, for example, South Petherton, South Wraxall, and Purse Caundle. None of these display signs of innovation, but instead conform to the growing trend for oriels, in prominent locations such as gatehouses of solar blocks, as a sign of prestige. The oriels at Purse Caundle and South Wraxall are relatively shallow three-sided projections with two rows of cusped lights in square heads (Fig. 8.11 A&B).[18] The similarity between these two is the result of the presence of Robert Long as patron for both.[19] By contrast, a building that appears to depart from traditional details of design is Great Chalfield, Wiltshire. South Wraxall Manor, and the now demolished manor house of Kingston Seymour, have both been previously likened to Great Chalfield (Fig. 8.12 A&B).[20] All are dated to the late 15th century, but Great Chalfield has the earliest known date, and it was constructed by Thomas Tropnell between

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[16] *Ibid.*, 43, and 50 note 93.

[17] Sugar was a prominent member in chapter, especially during in the initial stages of the construction of Stillington's Chapel, which was built throughout the period Stillington was frequently in gaol.

[18] At Purse Caundle the arms under the tracery are reminiscent of the already established trend at Wells in the buildings of the close from *c.* 1450 to 80.

[19] Robert Long purchased the property of Purse Caundle in 1428: see J. Hutchins, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset,* IV (3rd edn London, 1870; facs. repr. Wakefield, 1973), 144.

[20] R. Garner and A. Stratton, *Domestic Architecture in the Tudor Period,* I (London, 1911), 42 and 23 respectively.

the 1460s, when he formerly acquired the property, and his death in 1488. Tropnell purchased a quarry at Hazelbury, near Box, in 1465,[21] presumably in preparation for the rebuilding programme. The construction of the main body of South Wraxall, including the hall and porch area, is attributed to Robert Long.[22] Long's house is entered through a gateway (see Fig. 8.11A), and the hall range is on the right of a courtyard area; it consists of a porch adjacent to a hall window, fireplace and bay window at the dais end (Fig. 8.12A). The three-light windows of the hall and bay window are simple Perpendicular windows akin to simple church aisle windows; and gargoyles interrupt the string course. The main façade of Great Chalfield displays four gable ends, identifying the accommodation ranges at either end, and the hall porch and bay in between (Fig 8.13A). What is immediately clear is that neither Kingston Seymour nor South Wraxall bear more than a passing resemblance to Great Chalfield, and any similarities are in planning and disposition of rooms rather than style or architectural detail. A key detail that identifies Chalfield as the turning point away from the traditional manor house of the South Wraxall type, is the use of heraldic beasts on top of the gable ends (see Fig. 8.13A). This feature was to become a standard addition to secular buildings in the 16th century in the region (see Melbury group below), but its earliest dated appearance is here.

It is the differences at Great Chalfield that identify potential sources for the design, and set it apart from the other manor houses mentioned. Although the positioning of the hall windows high on the wall is indicative of its date in the latter part of the century, and the porch and bay window retain their traditional positions, the handling of the windows is unusual when compared to near contemporary examples such as South Wraxall. The windows are of two-lights, with transoms under a four-centred arch, but with no cusping (see

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[21] The National Trust *Great Chalfield Manor* Guide Book (London, repr.1993), 16, 18-19.

Fig. 8.13B).[23] Their closest local comparison is in a domestic environment, and found in the design of the two-light windows at the deanery, Wells: the hood mould is similar, although the one at Wells is more flamboyant, and the Wells windows are decorated with cusping (Fig. 8.14A). Although roughly contemporary with the deanery, a greater simplicity is achieved at Great Chalfield by the reduction of detail. The house was designed with two bays, situated either side of the high end of the hall, and two oriels on its north-facing façade. The western one of is rectangular and simple in design, whereas the other, in the solar block at the east end of the hall is semi-circular in plan and highly decorated, with a complex lierne vault with pendants hanging across the opening into the room (Fig. 8.15). This is similar in form to the south facing oriel at the deanery, although in the latter a fan vault is used. Pendants and lierne vaults had been used in a similar form at the cathedral in the chantry of Beckington and some other details suggest that Chalfield was drawing from a series of works in the cathedral close dated from the middle of the century. A close parallel between oriels at Wells and Chalfield is the use of decorated blind panelling instead of moulded corbelling (Figs 8.14B and 8.15).

The cathedral precinct buildings, therefore, formed the precedents for these design features. Chalfield's oriel is considerably more ambitious than anything at Wells, and it appears to be the first attempt at a semi-circular oriel in the region. All those discussed so far, at Wells and in manor houses have been polygonal, and the added stone support under the Chalfield oriel may suggest it was an early and over-ambitious attempt at this construction.

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[22] Aubrey (1862) records the presence of Robert Long's arms in the hall, along with the coats of the Popham family into which he married. The manor was owned by the Hungerford family but had been transferred to the Long's by 1433.

[23] The lack of cusping has no obvious precedent within the region. At this date it is becoming used increasingly in secular properties, works by Waynflete at Wolvesey Palace and in brick domestic architecture largely patronised by ecclesiastics for example. It may, therefore, indicate of an awareness of contemporary fashions in secular architecture beyond the region.

The vaults at the bays either side of the dais end of the hall have, in contrast to the great oriel, simple tierceron vaults. Unlike the lierne vault, however, this vault has more complex rib profiles. Instead of the simple late Perpendicular profile of an axial roll and hollow chamfers, the tierceron vault has a more distinct form.[24] Composed of a chamfered mitre moulding but with the unusual addition of an axial roll, and with a rebate before a hollow chamfer, this moulding is a simplified version of that used for the south facing oriel window of the deanery great hall (Fig. 8.16 i-ii). The added elements of the deanery mullion, by virtue of its larger scale, do not diminish the comparison with the overall composition.

In summary, Great Chalfield (*c.*1465-88) shows evidence of using the mid-century works at the cathedral close of Wells for general precedents, but has some specific links with the deanery (*c.*1475-83). These works at Wells were constructed by the cathedral workshop and it has been shown that the deanery and Stillington's Chapel were by the same master mason, and furthermore that Dean Gunthorpe was responsible for introducing this master to the workshop. If it were this master who was responsible for Great Chalfield then the latter would have to be dated to after 1475 based on the above analysis of its details. In contrast to the links between Tropnell's new house and the cathedral workshop, the use of heraldic beasts and absence of cusping indicate a new awareness of architecture outside the region. Furthermore, the attempt at a semi-circular oriel suggests experimental designs within a secular environment. This set of circumstances would fit comfortably with the suggestion that the deanery master was aware of court precedents, and familiar with the buildings of Wells Cathedral precinct as carried out by both Beckington and Stillington. With the lack of great secular architecture in the region Tropnell, in attempting to establish his identity at

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[24] This contrast with the oriel window provides an explicit example of the tendency to simplify rib profiles for more complex vault designs, which is seen in a general context comparing the 14th to the 15th century.

Great Chalfield, chose to use a mason employed by the cathedral workshop, with training outside the region. With regard to the introduction of heraldic beasts at Great Chalfield, there is no obvious surviving precedent at Wells; but they were used in the prestigious chapel of St George's, Windsor and later in Bishop Fox's work at Winchester of the early 16th century. Perhaps it may be speculated that it was also a feature included in the design of Stillington's lost chapel.

Work at Wells Cathedral, therefore, was still the main source for bringing in new designers and innovative designs in the 1470s and 80s. The specific links between Great Chalfield and the deanery have assisted in confirming a source and a closer dating for the Tropnell's work. Whereas the more general use of precedents from mid-15th century works at the precinct can be found at Great Chalfield and elsewhere, and is indicative of a delayed influence from Beckington's works in the precinct. Other examples of domestic architecture being influenced from these works can be found at South Petherton, where the design of the transom derives from the windows of Beckington's gatehouses, and the use and form of the shields on the bay echo those of The Rib. The adoption of the former motif in domestic architecture at the end of the 15th century is paralleled by its popularity in parish church architecture in the early 16th century.[25] Beckington's Penniless Porch provided a direct source for the wooden flat ceiling in the Bishop of Crediton's house, Exeter. This ceiling is flat, with a reproduction of the vault pattern from the Penniless Porch produced as a repeating pattern across the width of a room (Fig. 8.16 iii-iv). Considering the nature of the overlapping repeated patterns at Wolsey's Closet, for example, the use of this sophisticated design at Exeter in a domestic context seems reasonable for an early 16th century date. The appearance of this ceiling demonstrates both the sustained prestige of Beckington's works in the precinct, and the Perpendicular context into which designs like Wolsey's Closet fit so

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[25] See Chapter Six.

comfortably. Rather than a reaction against this Gothic tradition these both form part of a similar approach to pattern and design inherited from an ecclesiastical context.

At Wells, therefore, the sources for the domestic architecture of the region are directly related to the secular constructions within the cathedral precinct. It is the works of the 1450s by Beckington and the opulence of the deanery rooms that appear to have provided appropriate models for local domestic architecture. In South Somerset and West Dorset a series of buildings exist that show, by contrast, a direct link to the construction of purely ecclesiastical architecture and its adaptation in a domestic context.

Forde Abbey and its context: the Sherborne Group

The focus for this section is the reconstruction of buildings within the monastic precinct at Forde Abbey. Through an analysis of Forde and its context it will be argued that the development of the most sumptuous secular accommodation can be directly linked to the leading church workshop at Sherborne Abbey.

Abbot Chard was responsible for the construction of an abbot's hall (refectory), a tower porch, adjacent accommodation block and a single range of a new cloister (Fig. 8.17A). Fortunately these works are firmly dated: an inscription on the tower porch reads '1528'. Heraldry is stamped over this building in a manner expected on a private house at this date, a tendency already been seen at the deanery at Wells in the 1470s. The hall was for the purposes of hospitality, and remained distinct from the monk's accommodation for everyday use, a function of personal entertaining of guests that can be paralleled by manor houses. Because of the complexity of this ensemble at Forde, each part of the building will be described and discussed separately. This demonstrates most clearly the different treatment given to the various parts of this group of buildings.

The abbot's hall consists of four windows, each with four arched and cusped lights and a transom, and is entered through a grand tower porch (Fig 8.17B). Square-headed but set under a segmental relieving arch, they are surmounted by a frieze, clearly derived from classical precedents, and on top of this a crenellated parapet. Inside, on the north wall a fireplace and a repeat of the window design against a blind wall is found. These blind panels are separated by deeply moulded jambs, which rise to support a coffered timber ceiling (Fig. 8.18A). With the exception of the frieze this set of features is most closely resembled at the refectory at Muchelney Abbey. The abbot's refectory at Muchelney, now largely demolished, was part of a range of buildings that appears to be contemporary with the abbot's lodgings (Fig. 8.18B). Fragments of stained glass in the abbot's lodgings, bearing the initials of Thomas Broke (abbot from 1505 to 1522), provide a date span for the Muchelney work. The general similarity between the two refectories is further supported by a comparison of the details. The deeply moulded jambs and mullions of the blind panelling and their associated vault responds are similar, although not identical (Fig. 8.19 i-ii). Evidence from the group of buildings at Muchelney show that this was the earlier of the two buildings. Slight aesthetic variations can be detected, namely the choice at Forde of round-headed rather than the more conventional two centred-lights at Muchelney, (Fig. 8.18 A&B). Chard's work is closely related to the Muchelney refectory, and furthermore there is evidence to suggest that the two works shared a common source.

The work by Abbot Ramsam to the nave of Sherborne Abbey has already been discussed: between 1475 and 1504 the nave piers were re-cased and a new vault, clerestory and north aisle were added to the nave. It is the work to the clerestory of the Sherborne nave that provides the closest comparison to the work of the refectories at Muchelney and Forde (Fig. 8.20 A&B). In an earlier chapter it was shown that the after the completion of the nave the great period of building activity at Sherborne was ending, and masons trained at this centre went outside the Abbey workshop to work. The crossing vaults of Milton Abbey and Wells Cathedral have been cited as evidence of the influence of the Sherborne vaults (dated to *c.*1500). Although the clerestory mullions at Sherborne are different from those of the refectories, this is accounted for in the difference in scale and the need at Sherborne for major and minor mullions for the articulation of the window tracery (Fig. 8.19 iii).

Sherborne continues the use of the Perpendicular respond introduced in the chancel design, and although this is adapted for the two refectories, it remains the favoured form for the cloister responds at both Muchelney and Forde (Fig. 8.19 iv). Although slight differences exist between the details of these three buildings, they are closely related: the panelling of the jamb and frame are the same and the disposition of all elements is similar. At Muchelney the mullion comprises an axial roll-and-fillet and roll (Fig. 8.19 i, m), whereas at Forde this is simplified into a roll and hollow chamfer in the refectory, although the 'Muchelney mullion' is used for the east window of the chapter house at Forde (Fig. 8.19 iiA). This window was added into the 12th-century chapter house probably by Abbot Chard (have figure drawing). This mullion seems to derive from mid-15th-century ecclesiastical works in the region, but probably more directly from its use in domestic architecture in Dorset of *c.*1500,[26] and provides a further direct link between the works patronised by Broke and Chard in the early 16th century (Fig. 8.19 v).

The influence of the Sherborne Abbey workshop is extensive in the 16th century: Crewkerne parish church, Milton Abbey crossing vault and Wells Cathedral crossing vault have already been described, and the refectories of Muchelney and Forde can now be added to this list of prestige building campaigns. The dating of these two supports the previously suggested pattern of influence from Sherborne, that can be specifically related to the availability of trained masons after the end of the nave campaign in 1504. The second main implication from the above comparisons is that the Abbots of Forde and Muchelney are not reliant on secular architectural forms for the grandest rooms of their new accommodation

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[26] Its earliest occurrence in the West Country is in a screen at Dartington Hall of the 1390s. This particular profile was next used as the main vault rib for Fromond's Chapel in Winchester College (after 1420) and as the mullion at the Divinity School Oxford of similar date. It was used subsequently at the Beauchamp Chapel Warwick in *c.*1448. Its first appearance in Somerset appears to be in the north chancel chapel of Kingsbury Episcopi, which can be dated by heraldry to *c.*1450, and related stylistically to the tracery of Bubwith's Chantry Chapel (*c.*1429), Wells Cathedral. It is subsequently used at Steeple Ashton aisles of the late 15th century. Its appearance in domestic

blocks, but rather are dependent on features developed in a workshop concentrating on a great ecclesiastical building. The reason behind this choice is surely that Sherborne was the most important architectural workshop in the area at this time; reinforced by the absence of any major cities or great palaces nearby.

Abbot Chard had also intended to reconstruct the entire cloister at Forde, although only the north range was actually executed, and even this was left without a stone vault, which it must have been designed to take. The cloister walk follows the conventional cloister models of Y-tracery with through reticulation and transoms, standard Perpendicular vault responds, and fan vault springers. All these features are also found at the cloister at Muchelney (Fig. 8.21 A&B), and in the remains of the cloister at Milton Abbey.[27] The cloister parapet at Forde is decorated with quatrefoils, in which heraldry and symbols are found.[28] This traditional motif is not used on the refectory, which favours instead an heraldic frieze with Renaissance features set below a crenellated parapet. Although by the 1520s the presence of applied Renaissance decoration may not appear surprising, this feature does distinguish Forde from the wealth of related buildings discussed below (Fig. 8.22 A&B). Friezes such as this can be found on a series of tombs in the 1520s and 30s, for example at Winchester Cathedral and Christchurch Priory; and are increasingly found in architectural contexts. Examples include Abbot King's parlour at Thame Abbey (c.1532), the frieze in 'Wolsey's Closet' at Hampton Court (*c.*1537),[29] and the English palace constructed at the Field of the Cloth of Gold (1520). In contrast, the handling of the cloister remains in a traditional form, probably attributable to the fact that the cloister form had an established

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architecture in Gloucestershire at Little Sodbury and Acton Court in *c.*1500 is contemporary to its use in domestic architecture in Dorset, for example Athelhampton Hall and the abbot's hall Milton Abbey.

[27] Muchelney cloister may well be associated with the abbot's lodgings, hence dateable to the early 16th century, although it is more often suggested that it belongs to the late 15th century: in Leedy (1980), 187. Milton Abbey cloister is attributed to Abbot Middleton (1481-1525): in H. Gordon Slade 'Milton Abbey' *Proceedings of the RAI* (1983), 61-65.

[28] Largely the stag's head of the abbey and Thomas Chard's initials, with his mace and doctor's cap.

[29] Thurley (1993), 47.

building tradition of its own. Although it has been shown that the Sherborne workshop was responsible for the detailing of the abbot's hall, the presence of the Renaissance frieze shows that another factor is influencing the final appearance of the building. This suggests a distinction between the workshop involvement of the tracery and moulded details, and a new superficial element of decoration presumably the result of later intervention from the patron.

The porch at Forde is a three-storey tower leading into the east end of the abbot's hall. Cerne Abbey gatehouse of similar form was constructed in 1509 by Abbot Sam, and provides an obvious precedent for the tower porch at Forde (Fig. 8.23 A-D). One of two buildings that remain of the monastic precinct at Cerne, the gatehouse consists of two tiers of windows separated by a band of quatrefoils that enclose heraldic symbols. Despite general similarities Abbot Chard's tower at Forde is much grander and more elaborate: each tier of tracery is divided into two sections, the upper a highly decorated Gothic design, whilst the lower was modified subsequently to a simple round classical arch with keystone.

The porch at Forde may have been completed twenty years later than Abbot Sam's work at Cerne, and it is perhaps not surprising that details have been developed and added. That Chard used the Cerne porch as his model or source for designers is confirmed by the closeness of the moulded corbelling between the two oriels (Fig. 8.19 vi-vii). As expected the oriel at Forde and its corbel moulding is larger and grander, but the motifs used are the same: both favour a series of ogees separated by fillets. This link may indicate either that Chard's mason was sent to Cerne to copy the prestigious local design, or that Abbot Sam and Abbot Chard both employed masons from a common source. The only difference between the two with regard to moulding formations is the introduction of a sunk double ogee, a form that had been indigenous to the area since its use in the early 14th century by Wells masons (Ottery St Mary, Redcliffe aisles). It had been used in early work at Sherborne but was not continued in the nave work. Its latest appearance in the region, in a similarly sunken form was in the east window of Bath Abbey of similar date to the Forde porch. Chard's ambition seems to have been to improve upon, and surpass the earlier direct precedents for his designs at both Muchelney and Cerne. In addition to this 'improvement' on local monastic houses, some details in the tower porch betray that Chard's search for precedents went beyond the locality. Particular design elements of the porch demonstrate that through the analysis of details of the porch the sources also show an influence from designs at Westminster Abbey and Palace in the early 16th century.

A number of aspects differentiate Forde's tower from that built for Abbot Sam at Cerne. The band of quatrefoils, retained on the cloister wall for example, is here replaced by a series of lozenges (Fig. 8.24A). Lozenges were being increasingly introduced either in addition to, or instead of, quatrefoils. General examples can be found at an exactly contemporary date in the vault design of the crossing vault of St George's Windsor (Fig. 8.27E), a derivative of a series of vault designs in the court school popularised in the late 15th to early 16th century. Locally lozenges of this type were used slightly later as architectural decoration, being found in the 1520s on the north façade of Brympton D'Evercy (see Fig. 8.36A). In the other Ham Hill buildings there was a tendency to favour individual lozenges with heraldic displays, for example in the works of the 1530s at Athelhampton and Sandford Orcas (all discussed further below). The form at Brympton D'Evercy, and its similar use at Forde, relates closely to other early 16th-century houses, for example a fireplace at St James' Palace Westminster (*c.*1530), and Sutton Place (*c.*1521-33) respectively (Fig 8.24B).[30] All these examples of the 1520s were derivatives of an earlier use of similar forms in panelling dating from the second half of the 15th century. These were found, for example, on a number of works associated with William Waynflete, Bishop

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[30] Compare the fireplace detail especially with the narrow band of detailing on the stair tower at Brympton D'Evercy.

of Winchester,[31] and then on the comparable works of Abbot Wallingford's Chantry Chapel and the great reredos in St Alban's Abbey (*c.* 1475-80).

Other aspects of the porch suggest non-local influences on the design. The vault of the porch takes the form of a fan vault with main diagonals, and a central circle feature composed of a bounding rib and eight quatrefoils. This vault can be compared to other local vaults: the Zouche Chapel in Stavordale Priory, and the porches of Ile Abbots and Crowcombe Holy Ghost parish churches (Figs 8.25A and 8.26 A&B).[32] The vault differs from the one at Cerne, where quatrefoils are not set within a circular bounding rib. The latter correlates more closely with the early 16th century designs of the Wykeham Chapel, Sherborne Abbey and the porch of the King's House, Salisbury than it does to Forde, reinforcing Abbot Sam's dependence on Sherborne masons. Forde's design is closer to the Trinity chapel in St David's Cathedral, Wales, which is dated to 1522 (Fig. 8.25B);[33] than it is to these more local Sherborne derived examples. Both of these, with their use of quatrefoils rather than mouchettes and flamboyant designs in the central feature, are comparable to the vaults of St Stephen's cloister, Westminster of the 1520s, and the vaults of St George's Chapel, Windsor of the late 15th century onwards (Fig. 8.27 A-F).

Despite the possible comparison of the vault with Westminster and Windsor, taken on its own the detail is perhaps not sufficient for a definite attribution. However, further evidence for the intervention of royal masons is available inside the porch oriel: a small traceried ceiling is fitted between the window and the panelled rere-arch, which spans the

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[31] The use of lozenges rather than quatrefoils as a feature of panelling at Eton College Chapel (probably *c.* 1460), Waynflete's Chantry Chapel at Winchester, and Tatterhsall Church (*c.* 1476) for example.

[32] These have already been mentioned in the chapter on Bath, where the use of more flamboyant tracery designs are linked to general late 15th century developments such as the Gloucester Lady chapel, but its introduction into the region may be via Bath. Although large fan pendants are not used for these, the use of the pendant bosses (as at Bath) is used.

oriel detached from the window head. This is highly reminiscent of the aisles of Henry VII's Chapel, where a vault in similarly suspended across a window opening, and a panelled flat ceiling separates the two (Fig. 8.28 A&B). Once seen together these aspects of the design confirm a direct knowledge of works belonging to the Westminster workshop. That Abbot Chard was aware of contemporary developments of renaissance ornament and friezes also related to the works of the court further confirms this awareness of non-local sources.

With regard to a potential 'external' source, it has already been intimated that the works of the court masons at Bath may have a role in this.[34] Introduced into the region under the direction of Bishop King, the Vertues were responsible for the fan vault design of the chancel and their successors for the east window and chantry chapel of Prior Birde. William Vertue had worked on the cloisters of St Stephen's and the high vaults at the east-end of St George's, Windsor as well as being attributed by Harvey with the design of Thornbury Castle, built for the Duke of Buckingham (*c.*1511-21). Vertue is also attributed with work at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and the Spencer tomb at Great Brington, Northamptonshire.[35] His successor at Bath had become master mason to the dean of St Stephen's, Westminster by 1528 and is documented as going on to work at a variety of courtiers palaces, including York Place and Hampton Court.[36]

The appearance of the porch at Forde, therefore, shows influences from outside the region, here manifested through the intervention of a court mason, in combination with the acknowledgement of local precedents for related building types. Whilst it is reasonable to assume that either William Vertue or John Lebons would have worked on a consultant basis

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[33] Bishop Edward Vaughan (1509-22) bequeathed money for the completion of the Trinity chapel in which he desired to be buried, and had strong connections with the south-east of England and London; see Leedy (1980), 197-8, and 14.
[34] See Chapter Seven.
[35] Sir John Spencer's tomb (d.1522) is in the north chancel chapel of Great Brington church in Northamptonshire. For attribution see Harvey (1984), 307-10.
[36] Harvey (1984), 205 and 307-309.

only, a resident master mason would provide the specific links to Sherborne, Muchelney and Cerne.

Remaining to be discussed is the accommodation block to the west of the refectory at Forde, which is also attributed to Chard. This has been much altered since the 16th century, but at the south-west corner there remains a fluted polygonal buttress, and moulded string courses (Fig. 8.29A). This particular feature had appeared in tombs during Edward IV's reign, some fifty years earlier, for example the canopy of the Duchess of Suffolk's tomb at Ewelme, probably erected during her lifetime (*c.*1475).[37] It was subsequently adopted for use in early Tudor architectural projects, for example two free-standing columns at the entrance to Henry VII's Chapel Westminster (see Fig. 7.32C), and in palaces, as seen at Hampton Court, where columns are placed at intervals around the upper string course of the Clock Court (*c.*1515-26). The continued use of such free-standing columns surmounted by heraldic beasts is found in Tudor gardens and tombs, for example, the chantry chapel of Bishop Fox (*c.*1513) and the corner buttresses of the chantry chapel of Margaret, Countess of Salisbury (before 1539) at Christchurch Priory (Fig. 8.30 A&B) and the Spencer tomb at Great Brington, Northamptonshire (1522). Whilst the Countess of Salisbury's Chantry is one of a group of related, but unattributed, tombs of courtiers, (including Bishop Audley's chantries at both Hereford and Salisbury for example), Bishop Fox's tomb has recently been the subject of investigation, and it has now been dated to *c.*1513, with its design being attributed to William Vertue.[38] This further direct link with court works, including those known to or carried out by Vertue, strengthens the hypothesis that Abbot Chard employed a royal mason for his new and sumptuous dwellings.

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[37] G.H. Cook, *Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels* (London, 2nd impression 1948), 177: says that Alice's tomb was set up by her husband, William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk. *Pers Comm.* Dr. John Goodall, evidence exists to suggest that Alice herself was responsible for the tomb and the chantry chapel, dateable to 1474-5.

[38] A. Smith, 'The Chantry Chapel of Bishop Fox' *WCR*, 57 (1988), 27-32, note 5: the chapel was completed by 1518, at which time its use is recorded.

It has been argued that Abbot Chard was responsible for the bringing together of two distinct and identifiable influences, probably through the employment of a local resident master mason and a consultant mason with training in royal works. Vertue must be seen as potential candidate considering his role at Bath. This duality of influence by these means is not unique and other examples of the employment of consultant masons for 'special' parts buildings can be found. That the practice had long existed is shown by the survival of a contract for the construction of the tower of the priory-church at Dunster. Although the contract, dated 1442, is made with John Marys the designs of the windows are to be made 'according to the patron ymade by the advyce of Rychard Pope Freemason'.[39] A second and more pertinent example is that of Hengrave Hall. A contract was drawn up between the building's owner and the mason John Eastawe, stating that the mason is to build a house to the design of the frame he has seen. A master John Sparks is separately contracted to do the bay window and gatehouse details.[40] At Forde, the refectory relates to the works at Muchelney and ultimately to the nave at Sherborne, and suggests that Sherborne was the source for a designer. The presence of a lodge at Sherborne is discussed above as is the fact that the scale of the works at the abbey was reduced greatly by the early 16th century. This reduction in the work at Sherborne itself seems largely responsible for the dissemination of its architectural features by individual masters in the employment of major patrons.

As a patron, Chard aimed to create sumptuous dwellings, and reveals different attitudes to the varying functions of the buildings he built through his adherence to a set of precedents from comparative building types. His case is further illustrative of how a series of abbots began to take a prominent role in the development of secular architecture; others included Abbot King at Thame, Abbot Broke at Muchelney, and Abbot Dovell at Cleeve, for

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[39] Salzman (1992), 514.

[40] *Ibid,*. 574; Harvey (1984), 278; Anon. 'Hengrave Hall' *Country Life* (April 1910), 558-566; and S. Tymms, 'Hengrave Hall' *Proceedings of the Bury and West Suffolk Archaeological Institute,* I (1853),

example.[41] Their patronage contributed towards the transferring of details between secular and ecclesiastical buildings. This cross-over of features between secular and ecclesiastical was evidenced in court works, for example, the transfer of the bay windows of Henry VII's tower Windsor, to the aisles of Henry VII's Chapel, Windsor. The refectories and vaults at Forde and Muchelney demonstrate the role of the abbot's patronage in perpetuating this lack of distinction between the features of each of the two building types. Forde was a prestigious set of buildings, utilising local masons' skills and consultants brought together by the patron, an ambitious abbot. Its prestige is perhaps most clearly demonstrated by the lead that this set of buildings seems to have taken in the locality.

The Melbury Group

Previous authors have identified a group of buildings in Dorset and south Somerset as having a number of common stylistic features.[42] Melbury House, Lytes Cary, Athelhampton, Sandford Orcas, Clifton Maybank, Parnham, Bingham's Melcombe, Brympton D'Evercy, and Montacute Priory gatehouse are all included in this group and have work dateable to the period *c.*1530-60. The approximation of dating within a narrow date span creates difficulties in establishing an accurate chronological sequence. Melbury, however, which contains the greatest number of the stylistic features to be discussed, is often considered the earliest of this group.[43] The series of features common to all or most of these buildings are fluted polygonal buttresses and finials, heraldic shields in lozenge frames, decorated chimneys, and heraldic beasts; common to a few of them are bay windows with quatrefoil parapets and cuspless tracery. As all of these houses are constructed of Ham Hill

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331-339: Hengrave was constructed between 1525 and 38. Spark is attributed with the bay windows and gatehouse.

[41] Robert Janyns (*fl.* 1499-1506) was responsible for Henry VII's tower from 1499-1505. He then was one of three masons who submitted designs for Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster Abbey: Harvey (1984), 160-1. It is clear that the designs of the aisles at the chapel were drawn from Janyns work at Windsor. In the 1520s this Windsor precedent was used for the construction of Thornbury Castle.

[42] Most recently Newman and Pevsner B/E (1975), 273-274 and Howard (1987), 178.

stone, Pevsner cites this group as proof of the existence of a group of masons based around the Hamdon Hill quarries (see Fig. 8.1 for distribution).[44] With this in mind, this section intends to answer the following questions: can these buildings provide sufficient appropriate comparisons to support the idea that a Ham Hill team of masons existed? Was this team of masons specialising in secular architecture? And what were the sources for the design features employed?

Melbury house was built by the MP Sir Giles Strangways, who owned the property between 1504 and 1547. Leland states that it had been recently constructed when he visited in 1542.[45] The house has a number of distinctive features, such as the lantern tower, but includes a wide repertoire of motifs that are used in a series of buildings all using Ham Hill stone. These include its fluted polygonal finials and chimneys, polygonal buttresses (Fig. 8.29B), and bay window detailing, for example. Aspects of its planning suggest an awareness of developments in domestic architecture outside the region in the palaces of courtiers: that Strangway was looking to London for ideas has been suggested by Howard because of the choice of an indoor corridor around the courtyard (Fig. 8.31 A&B).[46] This is supported by the appearance of a similar feature in Wolsey's work at Hampton Court in the outer court, and at Hengrave Hall, Suffolk, dateable to 1520 and *c.*1525 respectively.

By contrast some of its design features fit within a specifically local context. The west-facing bay window of the main wing of Melbury belongs to a group of windows with similar sets of motifs. Bays at Lytes Cary (dated by inscription to 1533), Brympton

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[43] Pevsner considered this to be an early member of the group, and Howard also suggests that this may have been the first of the group.
[44] Newman and Pevsner B/E *Dorset* (1975), 43.
[45] Leland, IV (1964), 73: Leland states that Sir Giles had lately started to build and caused 3000 loads of freestone to be fetched from the Hamdon Hill quarries nine miles away.
[46] Howard (1987), 178.

D'Evercy (*c.*1530?),[47] and the oriel in the gatehouse of Montacute priory (completed by 1532)[48] (Fig. 8.32 A&B) all share the common elements of quatrefoil bands below crenellated parapets, with similarly uncusped arched lights, and probably all belong to *c.*1530.[49] The complexities and innovations of the oriels at the deanery at Wells, and Great Chalfield have been abandoned in favour of a standard design for a domestic feature.

Other features at Melbury, such as the fluted finials and decorated chimneys remain in use over a broader span, and are found locally at Athelhampton (*c.*1525-50), Parnham (after 1522),[50] Sandford Orcas (*c.*1530-40), Clifton Maybank (*c.*1546-64), and Barrington House (*c.*1560), being derived from early Tudor tombs and houses. All of these also share the use of polygonal buttresses, mostly fluted.[51] The appearance of this feature at Forde, and its related origins has been discussed above. The porch of Clifton Maybank (now surviving on the façade of Montacute house of *c.*1590)[52] develops this polygonal buttress feature into an extravagant display of late medieval mouldings (Fig. 8.33A): this is adopted in a hierarchical arrangement with waves, fillets, beads and double ogees interrupting the flutes. Despite the obvious Renaissance heraldic symbol over the door these mouldings are based on the 14th and 15th century precedents. This Gothic tradition for details is further seen in the elaborate ogee band above the heraldic feature, whilst the specific dependence on the buildings of the Melbury group is evident from the twisted pinnacles with figures placed above a castellated cap (Fig. 8.33B). The central feature of the porch, with decorated

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[47] *Ibid.*, 214: the house was built by John Sydenham who died in 1542, including the parlour and the staircase turret which carry the royal arms.

[48] Completed by the death of Abbot Chard in 1532. See Garner and Stratton, I (1911), 32. Note this is a different Thomas Chard to the abbot of Forde in the period leading up to the dissolution.

[49] In view of the Leland's comment that Melbury had been built recently in 1542, and the closeness of dates of the other related buildings it seems unlikely that it preceded these other examples, but with no further evidence was contemporary to them.

[50] Howard (1987), 203: Howard attributes this to Robert Strode before *c.*1550.

[51] One can speculate that the lost wing of Lytes Cary manor of *c.*1530 also shared these features.

[52] The National Trust *Montacute House, Somerset* (London, 1979), 36: for reference to the sale of material from Clifton Maybank in 1785. Also for Clifton Maybank see H.A. Tipping, *The story of Montacute and its house* (London, 1947), 16-18.

buttresses framing and rising above the heraldic feature is reminiscent of the later 15th century windows at Raglan Castle (see Fig. 8.9B) and on the north façade of the Wells deanery (see window NX in Fig. 8.2 and 8.3A). This form continues in use without the Gothic trimmings of Clifton Maybank into the mid-16th century at Bingham's Melcombe (Fig. 8.34 A-C).

Other examples demonstrate the interchange between tombs and domestic architecture for a number of these features, for example the tomb of Sir John Tregonwell in Milton Abbey. This tomb uses the similar features of twisted columns and fluted octagonal turrets in the canopy; and the polygonal corner buttresses of the tomb chest relate to the polygonal features below sill level in Strangways' tower (Fig. 8.35A). Unfortunately the date of this particular tomb is ambiguous. Tregonwell was a commissioner involved in the dissolution of Milton Abbey, who died in 1565, but it generally stated that he appropriated an earlier tomb for which no date is given.[53] It could stylistically belong to any time between *c.*1520 and 1565, but it would not be unreasonable to attribute this tomb, as commissioned by Tregonwell or an anonymous patron, to the *c.*1530-40 period on the basis of its similarities to contemporary architectural features.[54] The buttresses at Forde, however, are the earliest dated example on a large scale and, as such, precede those buildings in the Melbury Group. Probably the first use of the feature on a grander architectural scale in the region, the works at Forde provide a precedent for its popularity in the succeeding decades.

Other details found at Forde appear in buildings amongst the Melbury group. At Brympton D'Evercy the lozenges on the staircase turret are cusped and form a band, which replaces the more traditional row of quatrefoils (Fig. 8.36A). Such rows of cusped squares

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[53] Newman and Pevsner B/E (1975), 288; and Howard (1987), 28.

[54] The overall form remains popular after the Reformation and in some the quatrefoil designs are also retained in addition to the polygonal buttresses. These later tombs, however, are distinguished by their introduction of Elizabethan and Renaissance detail, for example the tombs John Skerne at Bere Regis (1596) and that of John Clavell at Church Knowle (1572).

were used increasingly as a decorative motif on buildings and fittings in the early 16th century, and examples at Sutton Place (*c.*1521-33) and St James' Palace, Westminster (*c.*1530) (Fig. 8.36B), have already been cited in relation to its appearance at Forde Abbey. A further variety of lozenge design, also ultimately inherited from decorated tomb design, appears at Brympton D'Evercy where each lozenge is divided into cusped squares. A local precedent for this is found on the tomb chest belonging to Sir William Martyn (d.1503), located in Puddletown church (Fig. 8.35B).[55] This tomb also has polygonal corner buttresses: at a date earlier than its appearance on a domestic building in the locality this reinforces the dependence of many of these features on tomb design.

Individual lozenges framing heraldic devices are found at Athelhampton and Sandford Orcas, but neither favour the decorative bands of detail seen at Forde and Brympton D'Evercy. This alternative form at Athelhampton seems to be a precursor to the Clifton Maybank and Bingham Melcombe variety of framed heraldic devices. Both Athelhampton and Sandford Orcas also favour the use of heraldic beasts on the finials rather than castellated or ogee caps. Robert Martyn, who owned Athelhampton between 1525 and 1550, added a new wing to the north of the hall block which had been constructed by his predecessor Sir William Martyn in the late 15th century (Fig 8.37B). He was also responsible for a new gatehouse, opposite the hall, on which his arms could be found quartered with those of his wife, a Kelway. Although the gatehouse was destroyed in 1862 drawings by Nash show this armorial panel set on a corbelled out oriel window (Fig. 8.37A).[56] The details of this gatehouse appear to match those still extant on the north wing,

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[55] Sir William Martyn, Lord Mayor of London in 1493, (d. 1503) was responsible for the late 15th-century work of great hall and porch at Athelhampton, and was succeeded by Robert Martyn who constructed the north wing and gatehouse. See J. Hutchins, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset,* II (3rd edn London, 1863; facs. repr. Wakefield, 1973), 580 for pedigree of family and RCHM Dorset, III (1970), 27 for tomb.

[56] See A. Oswald, *Country Houses of Dorset* (London, 1935), 66. For a plan drawn from Buckler and picture of the gatehouse (a lithograph from Nash's *Mansions of England in the Olden Time*), see Oswald (1935), 62, plate 52.

that is, the window design, and heraldic beasts surmounting fluted octagonal buttresses at the corners of the buildings. It is these buttresses and the distinctive lozenge feature on the west front of Athelhampton's north wing that form the most obvious visual links between this building and Sandford Orcas (Fig. 8.38A). Sandford Orcas is usually dated to after 1533,[57] the point at which Edward Knoyle succeeded, and also at which time he married the daughter of Robert Martyn, builder at Athelhampton. The arms of Knoyle and Martyn are found on the current house.

Despite the similarities of comparable applied detail some fundamental differences between these two exist. At Sandford Orcas the windows have no arched lights, but are square-headed, and it is a compactly planned house with good accommodation on the first floor over a single storey hall.[58] The circumstances of the two buildings explain some of the contrasts: the Athelhampton wing is an addition to an existing building, and is juxtaposed with the late 15th-century hall. Arched heads to lights in the north wing and gatehouse could be making a visual reference to the earlier work. This is in contrast to Sandford Orcas, which did not need to relate to such prominent earlier fabric. In addition Martyn's main aim was to provide increased private accommodation, compared to Knoyle's work at Sandford Orcas, which created a complete building incorporating a hall and attached porch. A comparison between the gatehouses demonstrates the comparatively modest design of Sandford Orcas, in contrast to the great entrance with oriel and armorial at Athelhampton (see Figs 8.37A and 38B).

A direct relationship exists instead between Sandford Orcas and Melbury, which is shown by a comparison of their mouldings. The superficial differences between these two

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[57] For example, N. Cooper, 'Sutton Place, East Barsham, and some related houses: some problems arising' in M. Airs, ed. *The Tudor and Jacobean Great House* (Proceedings from conference 1994, Oxford), 40. Square-headed windows are also found at Clifton Maybank of the 1540s, as only other local dated example.

[58] For further details of single storey halls, with chambers above, including Sandford Orcas, see *Ibid.*

appear the greatest: Sandford Orcas has none of the Gothic trimmings of arched lights and crenellations prominently displayed at Melbury. It may be partly for this reason that Melbury is often dated as the earliest, identifying a gradual progression away from Perpendicular features. Despite this, the hall of Sandford Orcas and the lantern windows of Melbury have virtually identical mullions. The slightly smaller mullions required at Melbury may explain the only small difference, being that the minor moulding lacks a rebate found on the exterior of the Sandford Orcas mullion. With the exception of this tiny variation, the external and interior mullion profiles are the same, as is the moulded sill (Fig. 8.39 i-ii). Compared to the many simple profiles found in much manorial architecture these mullions are unusually distinctive, and as such can be directly linked to a specific source. The form of major and minor mullions has been seen in the nave of Sherborne and in Stillington's Chapel on a more monumental scale. The particular profile at Melbury and Sandford Orcas differs from these local examples, however, and is instead a reduced version of a moulding introduced in *c.*1475 at St George's Chapel, Windsor.[59] The profile was subsequently adopted in the work of Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster between 1503 and 1509 (Fig. 8.39 iii). After this initial appearance the form was used for royal tombs that emulated many of the details of the Westminster workshop but on a reduced scale. A significant second-generation work that uses this profile is the chantry chapel of the Margaret, Countess of Salisbury in Christchurch priory, dated to 1529.[60] It was also used for the nearby Draper Chantry of the 1530s in the same church (Fig. 8.39 iv).[61] Its subsequent appearance in domestic architecture after *c.*1530 probably draws directly from this local source, which demonstrates a comparable reduction in size from its original and monumental

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[59] Henry Janyns was the designer of the north aisle of the choir, which set the pattern for the remainder of the building, and is first recorded there in 1474: see Harvey (1984), 159.

[60] It was not until Clifton Maybank in the middle of the 1540s that the Renaissance detail applied to the buttresses at the Salisbury Chantry in Christchurch was applied to local domestic houses.

usage at Windsor, and would explain its appearance in domestic architecture in Dorset at this date. Identification of these distinctive details can confirm, therefore, that both Melbury and Sandford Orcas were post 1530 and that royal tombs were their direct sources. The other details at Sandford Orcas suggest its later date, and these two factors combined challenge the suggestion that Melbury need be the first of the group. It further suggests that masons working on tombs could also be responsible for special details in domestic architecture.

All these buildings have different plans but draw for their overall appearance from a set of decorative details. The features discussed originated in the late 15th century and were transferred from royal buildings through the presence of royal masons in the region, and through tomb design. Early examples, such as Forde, have a number of quite specific links with Henry VII's Chapel and other Westminster building projects (such as St Stephen's Chapel cloister), and it is likely that Chard employed Vertue or a comparable royal mason for designing and consulting on his grand scheme. As it has been shown through an analysis of the details the houses in the Melbury group all belong to a period after 1530. Melbury is the only one of these buildings to amalgamate the majority of these features and this, along with the connection to London through its patron, has been the reason for assuming this to be the first of the group. Instead it seems to be taking advantage of the introduction of royal masons into the region, through Forde Abbey (*c.*1528) and Christchurch Priory (*c.*1529).

The propensity for using these set pieces after their initial introduction to the region, which give these buildings their characteristic appearance, might be suggestive of either a centralised source for design patterns or individual masons specialising in component parts by the 1530s. The fact that all these components are constructed of Ham Hill stone has already been noted by both Pevsner and Howard. Whereas the buildings of Forde Abbey

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[61] John Draper II was the last prior and surrendered the priory in 1539; his chantry chapel is dated 1529: T. Perkins, *Wimborne Minster and Christchurch Priory, a short history of their foundation and description of their buildings* (London, 1902), 118.

and Melbury are all of Ham Hill, Althelhampton for example has Portesham Limestone ashlar and uses Ham Hill only for the dressings and these stylistic components. At Athelhampton the construction of the hall range, with its bay window and porch in the 1490s, did not use Ham Hill for either ashlar or dressings instead favouring Portesham Limestone, which was also used in the contemporary work at Milton Abbey.[62] That Ham Hill was only introduced in the 1530s in direct association with these fashionable components suggests that the source of the features was quarry based. The one exception to this use of Ham Hill stone is found in the tombs already discussed, where Caen stone was used (the Salisbury and Draper chantries in Christchurch for example). Considering the closeness of detail already identified between these and windows at Melbury and Sandford Orcas, it is likely that the role of the master mason has not been completely superseded by the quarry produced components, and that certain aspects of design were still within the remit of an employed individual. Furthermore, there is still the issue of who produced the patterns for the quarry, the quarry master or contractor, or a master mason specialising in domestic and tomb architecture which acted as a catalyst for the specialisation in these features evident at the Ham Hill quarries.

In the last decade of the 16th century a number of similar features in Dorset and Somerset houses were taken to be 'out of the same workshop', and centralised on the designs produced by William Arnold, a mason who seemed to have specialised in these buildings.[63] Is it in fact the beginning of this trend that is seen in the Melbury Group? A change in structure of the working environment for masons and the production of decorative elements from quarries was seemingly the result of dispersal of the workshops traditionally associated

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[62] Sir William Martyn. Lord Mayor of London in 1493 (d.1503) built hall and attached oriel and porch in the 1490s. This and the work by Abbot Middleton (1481-1525) at Milton Abbey (see Gordon Slade (1983), 61-65) are closely related through tracery and identical moulding profiles using the same templates.

with ecclesiastical centres. The resulting loss of continuity that these long-term training grounds had produced, in combination with the growth of a new market for domestic accommodation, seems to have contributed to the increase in specialist masons working for a variety of local patrons on domestic projects.

Once these more consistently used features were accepted into the region it seems that they had a certain longevity. Barrington Court was once assigned a leading role in the development of the E-plan house, through its dating to *c.*1514 when Giles Lord Daubeney took over the property. The Victoria Counties History have since suggested that 1560s is a more appropriate date, and that it was constructed by Clifton, a London merchant.[64] The new planning was possible because a new site adjacent to the medieval house was chosen. Features as described in the group of houses belonging to *c.*1530s to 40s above are also favoured for this post-reformation E-plan house (Fig. 8.40). Those details introduced into the region through tomb design and the Tudor court, therefore, retained their suitability well into the 1560s. In fact some Perpendicular details also remained in use, for example the arched lights to the windows at Barrington Court and even later at Chantmarle, not constructed until the early 17th century. A similar inheritance has already been seen in local tomb design of the last decades of the 16th century. With regard to mouldings, there is the introduction of the ovolo form from the mid-16th century, and the reintroduction of the sunk chamfer, both becoming popular mullion profiles. In addition, however, there is the continued use of the Perpendicular mouldings in late 16th-century bay window designs,[65] but originating from church buildings, for example the work to the nave vault at Winchester Cathedral in the early 15th century. This form, of chamfered mitre flanked by a roll and

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[63] NT Montacute (1979), 30. Others, like Lawrence Shipway, are recorded as working in the 1580s and 90s on domestic and ecclesiastical architecture: see M. Airs, 'Lawrence Shipway, freemason' *AH*, 27 (1984), 368-377.

[64] For revised dating on Barrington Court see *VCH Somerset,* IV (1978), 115. For earlier dating see N. Pevsner, *South and West Somerset* B/E (Harmondsworth, repr.1989), 82.

[65] For example in the bay window at Great Chalfield and the oriel over the gateway at South Wraxall.

hollow chamfer, can be found in the Elizabethan work at both Montacute House and Berry Pomeroy Castle (Fig. 8.39 v).

Conclusions

In this chapter a limited number of buildings in the study region have been considered with the main aim of assessing the extent to which the methodology applied to earlier chapters could be usefully applied in the alternative field of domestic architecture. The nature of the evidence has dictated that most of these have been clustered in the early 16th century, with a proliferation of stylistically related houses that contrasts with the individually distinctive properties of the 15th century, of which Great Chalfield is an obvious example. From the three case studies it has been demonstrated that the analysis of decorative components and moulded details can assist in assessing both the source of their details and their relative dating. Some details, like simple mouldings at Athelhampton in the 1530s (roll-and-fillet mullion, flanked by hollow chamfers) have lost the distinctiveness associated with the late 15th century adjacent work of the hall, and problems inherent in comparison with this simplification are to be expected. Ambitious patrons, however, have been identified, and it is in their buildings that the distinctive works with sufficient criteria for valuable comparisons can be found. It has been shown that such analysis can be a useful tool in dating, assessing the sources of features and the patterns for the transmission of designs within the region. The precinct buildings at Wells, the ecclesiastical building at Sherborne and the introduction of royal masons into the region, firstly at Bath but later at Forde Abbey and Christchurch Priory, have been identified as three distinct sources of influence on domestic architecture.

Many of the decorated features associated with the Tudor period were largely formulated during the reign of Edward IV. The deanery at Wells in particular shows how the development of these was in secular architecture as well as ecclesiastical, and the range of sources from which it drew further shows how the distinction between the two building types is blurred. As expected the parts of buildings that compare most successfully are porches, small-scale vaults and window designs. The changing nature of a training and working environment for masons led to a shift in working practice, and developing from this masons appear to have specialised certain types of components applicable to both domestic and tomb architecture. It has also been demonstrated that despite this change in working practices there is a certain continuity in the use of specific details in buildings from the 1530s to the 1590s.

Although church building continued in the 16th century, the groups identified in an earlier chapter, such as Selworthy, show no sign of new works or innovation. Furthermore, they tend to be small-scale rebuilds rather than complete reconstruction as previously seen at Yeovil and St Cuthbert's Wells a century earlier. The groups identified in secular design in the same period show the initiative being centred on transferable details in tomb and house design not applied to church architecture in the region. St George's Windsor provides an example where the kind of heraldic display of beasts on decorated shafts is applied to church building, but this is a chapel with the specific affiliation with a knightly order. No such grand church building was carried out in Somerset and Dorset after the 1520s. Bath Abbey is perhaps indicative of the situation: taken up with zeal by a major patron, its continuation was slow and patchy losing momentum at the death of the bishop. In fact all the great church works discussed in the above chapters were begun no later than 1501.

New detail introduced into the region can be specifically linked to the works of certain patrons. Great Chalfield and Forde Abbey have emerged as the most significant buildings of the groups because of their adoption of details new to the area. Both, however, make clear reference to the context from which they grew: that is, major ecclesiastical workshops in the region. The workshop centres of Wells, Sherborne and Bath demonstrate three alternative means of influence on secular architecture in the region, and differ in the nature and extent of their influence in this later period. The mid-century works in the precinct at Wells and the striking new works in the 1470s were clearly relevant to a series of local manor house designs. Secular works in the cathedral workshop, not surprisingly, formed a means of transmission of style to private patrons outside the town. The situation at Forde is slightly different, in that its ultimate source was part of the church design of late 15th-century Sherborne (albeit possibly indirectly received via Muchelney). Sherborne appeared to be hugely influential in the south of the region in the 16th century, with direct effect on local monastic architecture. The introduction of court masons at Bath provided an opportunity for consultant masons involved in royal designs to be used by the most ambitious local patrons. The role of Forde as a catalyst for much secular building in the region in the subsequent decade has also been argued. The buildings of the Melbury group became more detached from the ecclesiastical workshops, and associated instead with a significant output of work from masons, based increasingly at the Ham Hill quarries, as the innovation and output in ecclesiastical architecture lost momentum in the region after *c.*1510.

CHAPTER NINE

Conclusion

Our reassessment of the architectural history of late Gothic in the South West opened with the Wells Cathedral workshop: it began with the arrival there of William Wynford, whose personal influence had previously been regarded as the single most significant determinant on the character of late 14th-century architecture in the region. Through an analysis of the history and development of moulding templates in the 14th century in Bristol and North Somerset it has been demonstrated instead that contextual considerations and a local parish church tradition were of over-riding significance towards the end of the 14th century. A strong parish church tradition evolved in the late 14th century with complete reconstructions of the churches of St John's, Yeovil, and St Cuthbert's, Wells. As such, Wynford's documented appearance is not an indicator of his personal influence on the architectural details produced by the workshop, although more general early Perpendicular details are attributable to his intervention.

After the death of Wynford and his patron Bishop Harewell, Wells Cathedral benefited from the patronage of two builder bishops, namely Bubwith and Beckington. The former's decision to reconstruct the north tower is shown to perpetuate the design details of Wynford's period, and his bequest for the cloister marks the turn towards ancillary and precinct buildings. An assessment of the cloister tradition in the South West has shown how Wells fits into this development and responds to precedents at Worcester and Exeter. In these works and Beckington's subsequent patronage of the precinct gatehouses the moulding profiles and vault designs demonstrate the relative conservatism of the workshop as a whole. Beckington's works were a response to civil unrest in the middle of the 15th century, and their construction interrupted the repair works to the central tower during his episcopate.

During the period from 1360 to 1465 two major churches in the region underwent large-scale reconstruction. The earliest of these was St Mary Redcliffe, Bristol. Through an investigation of mouldings, stylistic changes and building breaks the main source for the design is identified as the Wells Cathedral workshop. Crucial evidence for the formulation of the later design stages has been demonstrated to come from the context of the earlier building phases. Dependence on documentation of medieval and post-medieval date is shown to have misled the attribution of the patronage of the building and a reassessment of this evidence in combination with a proposal for a late 14th-century design date has challenged traditional assumptions regarding the involvement of William Canynges in the rebuilding campaign. The case of Redcliffe exemplifies how successful comparative analysis can be when the mouldings are complex and distinctive, and shows how assumptions based on later documentation had impeded an understanding of what could be revealed by a detailed assessment of the fabric.

In the early 15th century, directly after the major works at Redcliffe, the east end of Sherborne Abbey was reconstructed. The extant church had never been analysed in detail beyond the general model of a two-phase Perpendicular building, of the early and late 15th century. This imbalance has been redressed through a re-evaluation of its structural history. A more complex and continuous period of building activity is demonstrated through a detailed assessment of all the late medieval moulding profiles. By providing an architectural and stylistic context for the workshop the influences of individuals on the building campaign is evident, and this approach allows for a new interpretation of the chronology. The south side of the nave was begun at the end of the 14th century and related closely to the parish church tradition of Somerset, most explicitly to St John's in Yeovil. Subsequently the updating of the south transept shows an awareness of related building works at Milton Abbey in its use of late 14th-century mouldings. This upgrading of the south side of the nave and construction of the chapel-of-ease at the west end appears to be inextricably linked with the documented developments surrounding the parishioners' discontentment with the abbot and monks.

The change in circumstances created by the fire of 1437 resulted in a significant delay to the chancel reconstruction, which until that time had continued to refer to the Perpendicular of the Wells workshop. By the time the aisles were reconstructed around 1450, having been left in their Romanesque form during the chancel reconstruction, a mason from the Winchester workshop had been employed, as is evident from the change in templates at the Sherborne workshop.

The second half of the 15th century at Sherborne witnessed the rebuilding of the nave after the completion of the east end and the north transept. The late Perpendicular period is often considered to be one of standardisation, but the relative roles of Wells and Sherborne in the region has permitted this issue to be re-addressed. The traditionally held view that the designer of Stillington's Chapel at Wells was the most formative influence on the regional style of the 15th century, was challenged. The impact of the continuity created by the existence of the workshop at Sherborne is shown to be highly significant on the designer of Stillington's Chapel and it was from the prestigious Sherborne chancel that the main forms of late Perpendicular were created in the region. The designer at Stillington's Chapel, however, took the principles established at Sherborne further, in contrast to the introspective nature of the later works carried out in the Sherborne workshop. The result was a chantry chapel at Wells that anticipated the aisle elevations of later prestigious works such as Winchester Cathedral and was part of the development of pendant lierne vaults witnessed contemporaneously at the Divinity School and St Frideswide's in Oxford. Those works that derived directly from the Sherborne workshop, in the form of crossing vaults at Wells and Milton Abbey and a series of parish churches, betray the conservatism resulting from conscious emulation of the 1420s design.

Bath Abbey was the last great church to be reconstructed in this region before the Reformation. The well-known documentary evidence linking this building to the royal masons Robert and William Vertue, and the patron Bishop Oliver King is shown to have dominated the modern historical interpretation of this building. These royal connections have tended to detach the church from its local environment in the minds of historians, and led to a series of assumptions concerning the history of the church. A detailed fabric analysis shows how much can be learnt about the development of a building of this kind, and it is demonstrated that it cannot be divorced from the late 14th-century parish church tradition of the county. Commenced in *c.*1480, the initial campaign was in advance of any personal intervention from Bishop King. This explains the lack of influence of the Sherborne nave and Stillington's Chapel, previously thought to precede Bath, but actually its contemporaries. The impact of the bishop and the royal masons was immense, and was matched only by the equal impact on the campaign by the death of the patron in 1503, when the circumstances of the rebuilding returned to the poverty stricken, slow progress evident before their arrival. For this reason the decision to build a Lady chapel was finally abandoned in the 1520s when the present east window was built by a royal mason, probably by William Vertue in *c.*1525. The ruined east end of the Romanesque church disappeared only at the Reformation.

During the 16th century, Somerset and Dorset witnessed a large amount of work on parish churches and domestic and monastic architecture, as the nature of patronage shifted lower down the social scale. A selective analysis of domestic architecture has shown how this building type challenged parish church architecture in the region in terms of inventiveness. The use of detailed fabric analysis shows how this methodology can be used to good effect to identify means of stylistic transmission and regional context for this building type. Specifically the precinct works at Wells were seen to be a method of transmission to secular patrons in the late 15th century. The influence of Sherborne Abbey was clearly evident in the monastic precincts of Forde and Muchelney and this reinforces the hypothesis that the workshop at Sherborne was at its most influential in the early 16th century just after the completion of the nave works as masons from the workshops dispersed. The introduction of royal masons into the county at Bath was also influential for aspiring patrons in the region and Forde Abbey provided a melting pot for ideas from Westminster via this source. The other main source of transmission to domestic architecture was seen to be by the tombs of the nobility in the region, which copied ideas prevalent in royal works, and soon became standard features of a group of houses constructed of Ham Hill stone in Dorset.

It is self-evident that the study of moulding profiles is a crucial tool in the methodology of this thesis. The relative lack of new mouldings introduced during the 15th century, and the longevity of use of some basic features, has limited the use of mouldings as dating criteria for the Perpendicular period. There is evidence of a significant dependence by masons in the 15th century on innovations of the early 14th century. None the less, there are clear indications of changes in fashion in moulding profiles and their use throughout the period. Although many forms did not survive the first quarter of the 15th century it is striking that certain moulded features in buildings as late as Henry VII's Chapel have their origins in south-west Perpendicular. This demonstrates how the design of moulding profiles remained an important aspect of the mason's work and commission.

From the buildings studied in this thesis a series of conclusions can be drawn about the development of moulding templates. In the late 14th century several types of stepped chamfer mullions were popular. The basic stepped version was in use in the early 14th century in Bristol, for example in the north porch of St Mary Redcliffe (*c.*1320), and continued in use in north Somerset and related parish church buildings throughout the late 14th century, for example, Axbridge, Temple Church, St Cuthbert's Wells, and Yatton. Variations using angle rebates or flanking fillets emerged from *c.*1340, being used at about this time in precinct buildings at Wells Cathedral (the vicars' hall) and most notably in the south aisle of St Mary Redcliffe. This form was subsequently favoured at a number of parish churches in the second half of the 14th century, namely Yeovil and St Cuthbert's Wells, and from this Wells workshop source spread to the south nave aisle of Sherborne Abbey and Ilminster parish church, of the late 14th and early 15th centuries respectively. Even though various features of late 14th-century parish church design, as exemplified at Yeovil, are revived in the third quarter of the 15th century, the stepped chamfer mullion is absent. This suggests its use was restricted to a period from *c.*1340 to *c.*1420. Instead a hollow chamfer and chamfer, or hollow chamfer and roll-and-fillet is favoured. However, the common application of these two mullions means that their appearance in a work after *c.*1420 does not provide a useful dating criterion.

The upper stages of both Redcliffe and the chancel of Sherborne use a mullion profile which was to become a major feature in 15th-century architecture. Whilst chamfers remained in use for aisles in an established form at Redcliffe, the upper stages of the church were designed with an axial roll flanked by slightly canted fillets. The general form had originated in the middle of the 14th century in varying forms, for example in the choir aisle windows of Wells Cathedral and the south transept of St Mary Redcliffe. The subsidiary element of the mullion at Redcliffe comprised free-standing fillets and hollow chamfers, in contrast to the south transept rib profile, which had tiny wave mouldings flanking the axial unit. The usage in the nave mullion at Redcliffe is indicative of a general trend away from wave mouldings, either small-scale or as a larger repeated motif (for example, in the strainer arches of Wells Cathedral) during the early Perpendicular period. The axial roll mullion with canted fillets was generally favoured for larger scale windows, for example the Redcliffe clerestory and transepts at Sherborne Abbey and Milton Abbey, all dateable to a period between the1360s and 1420s. As a general type this became popular through the first half of the 15th century, both within and without the region, being found subsequently at the Divinity School, Oxford, (north elevation of 1425-39) and Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick (1443-64), for example. Canted fillets, which had been especially popular in the mid-14th century, at Gloucester and the Winchester west front for example, continued to be used for this mullion form up until the middle of the century. By the 1450s the evidence suggests that the use of the axial roll mullion with canted fillets had died out in the region.

Also symptomatic of this period was the disappearance of elaborate combinations of mouldings for window jambs, previously seen in the interior window frames of the Lady chapel and choir aisle window jambs of Wells Cathedral and south nave aisle of St Mary Redcliffe. In its place came a three-part formation for the jamb mouldings, as used in the aisle design for the rest of the church at Redcliffe. The precursor to this had already been seen in the western windows of the choir aisles at Wells, dateable to the middle of the 14th century, but by the design of the main elevations of aisles at Redcliffe of *c.* 1360 the three-part jamb was established. By the 1480s and 90s the use of a moulding central to the frame had been replaced by a panel feature, as a direct spin-off from the Sherborne chancel.

Whereas the above described forms develop with variations within the region, from outside the immediate locality two new types of profiles were introduced during the Perpendicular period, namely the polygonal termination and the three-part mullion. Both of these reflect the continuing connections with works at Winchester Cathedral. The polygonal termination was introduced into the region in the 1390s with Wynford's work at the west end of the cathedral at Wells, and stayed for the remainder of the period. The three-part mullion had been used in Winchester from the end of the 14th century, but variations of the form, including those with roll-and-fillets became popular through their use at Eton and King's College Cambridge from the 1440s. It was first seen in the region at exactly this time, appearing in the 1450s in the chancel aisles of Sherborne Abbey, designed by a Winchester mason. As such the appearance of this form is generally indicative of the second half of the century within the region.

Variations of the three-part mullion were used in almost all major building campaigns in the late 15th century, making dating on such criteria alone less certain. However, whilst this may be the case for a number of such profiles, exceptions exist where an aspect of the mullion appears sufficiently distinctive to trace its source. The variation of the three-part mullion employed at Sherborne Abbey nave falls into this category because it includes the distinctive 'Winchester College mullion' as its subsidiary element. It is into this category that the mullion at Sherborne Abbey nave falls. First introduced into the region in the last quarter of the 15th century with the design for the clerestory of Sherborne nave, this profile had been in use in Winchester since the 1390s. The appearance of this feature in the South West can therefore be dated to after its appearance at Sherborne in *c.* 1490.

During the early 14th century, when exchanges between the centres of Winchester, Wells and Exeter were prolific, a number of distinctive profiles were apparent at two or more of the locations. For example, the interrupted wave moulding was found as early as the 1320s in the presbytery of Winchester Cathedral. Reflecting the general trend away from waves this particular profile seems to have had a limited life-span of*c.* 1320 to *c.* 1410, with its latest use being associated with the work on the north transept of Milton Abbey, and the nave arcade of St Mary Redcliffe. It appears not have been used in any new building after the completion of Redcliffe. Ogees and double ogees continued to be popular throughout the period and this may in part explain the rather more illustrious history of a comparable moulding, which also originated in the first half of the 14th century. The interrupted double ogee appeared as early as the presbytery arcades of Winchester Cathedral. After selective later 14th-century appearances on the exterior of the north transept at Milton Abbey and the south transept at St Mary Redcliffe, it was adopted by Richard Winchcombe at the Divinity School, Oxford (in the 1420s). From this Oxford source it re-appeared in the works of St George's Windsor and Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster, after 1475 and 1505 to 1509 respectively. Its late medieval form tended to be a sunk double ogee, and it is exactly this design form, without the central roll of the original form, that is brought back to the region in the east window of Bath Abbey in the 1520s.

Oxford may provide the link between other works in the South West and the appearance of details from them in prestige works elsewhere in the 15th century. For example, the close comparisons that can be made between features associated with the vaulting of the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick and designs at Wells and Bristol have been discussed. The close similarity between the Beauchamp Chapel vault in the near-contemporary vault at the Penniless Porch (*c.* 1450) suggests knowledge of indigenous vault designs emanating from the Wells workshop. The closeness to the vault respond of St Mary

Redcliffe may seem more surprising, as this was designed in the 1360s, but significantly it was completed just before the commencement of the Divinity School, Oxford. Details of the jambs at the Divinity School suggest knowledge of 14th-century architecture at Redcliffe. The presence of the double ogee flanked by a chamfer with axial roll is reminiscent of the handling of details in the Redcliffe south porch, and it is likely that knowledge of Redcliffe mouldings was transferred to Warwick via the Oxford intermediary.

In summary, therefore, this brief outline of the salient features shows that there is a general conservatism of mouldings in the region, and that many forms are drawn from the inventive period at Wells, Winchester and Exeter during the first half of the 14th century. The interchange between Winchester and Wells was not as complex in the 15th century, and it was Sherborne that developed direct links with the Winchester workshop. Although the major centres of innovation in the late 15th century were outside the study region, being centred on Eton, Oxford and Winchester for example, the influence of Wells, Bristol and Sherborne was not lost. The use of mouldings in the period has assisted in identifying those building projects that remained prestigious and the sources from which such details were derived.

Scholars of the Decorated period have long heralded the inventive tradition in stone vaulting in the South West, especially at Wells and Bristol in the first half of the 14th century. This thesis has shown how the tradition for lierne vaulting designs executed in stone (or occasionally wood) remained throughout the Perpendicular period. These vaults have been discussed largely in the context of local workshop traditions, but it is appropriate here to review the sources and development of lierne vault design in the later Middle Ages, in the region and beyond. (See dossier F for a reference source for development of lierne vaults relevant to the thesis)

A number of general points have become evident, and perhaps most significantly is that the innovative ideas in lierne vaulting of the first half of the 14th century were to remain the essential basis of designs for the Perpendicular period. The aisle and high vaults at Wells and the high vault at St Augustine's, Bristol were of considerable significance for later 14th-century designs in the locality. Having already seen the specific dependence of St Mary Redcliffe on the Wells workshop it is hardly surprising that the cusped lozenges favoured for the aisle vaults had been preceded directly by the choir vault at Wells Cathedral and the chancel and Lady chapel vault of Ottery St Mary. The disposition of the lozenges in the Redcliffe aisles precluded the use of ribs for the main diagonals, a method of lierne vault design which had been used previously in the aisles and eastern transepts of Wells Cathedral and St Edmund's chapel in Exeter Cathedral, for example. A potentially closer comparison with the Redcliffe aisles was the cloister vault at Sherborne Abbey. Constructed between 1351 and 1370 the cloister is also contemporary with the Redcliffe work and indicates the development of the lozenge ideas in small-scale square vault bays in the third quarter of the 14th century.

The link between the Redcliffe aisles and Sherborne cloister is a clear indication of the close relationship between the design of cloisters and aisles. Further examples can be found in the last decades of the 14th century, where a trend away from cusped lozenges in small-scale vaults is evident. A form of lierne vault that maintained the use of main diagonals and where the liernes consisted of short ribs forming an octagon in the centre of the vault, was used for the nave aisles at Winchester Cathedral and a number of cloister designs in the west of the country, for example at Worcester, Exeter, Wells and Lacock. Whilst the period of experimentation in lozenge designs ceased in this period, the octagon design remained in use throughout the later Middle Ages. This may be largely because of its adoption in a series of Oxford colleges after its appearance at Winchester, and the popularity that it had in the development of a late medieval cloister tradition at this time. When Bishop Fox paid for the re-vaulting of the presbytery aisle at Winchester, (1506-09) the design of the nave aisle vault, of hundred years earlier, was chosen. Whilst reflecting in general terms the length of time this vault pattern was in use, this conscious emulation of a vault pattern used previously within the workshop of a major building is a not uncommon theme in the design of late medieval great churches. Such emulation, and the resulting introspection of the workshop, appears to be a reflection of the high status in which certain designs were considered. The inevitable consequence of this workshop trait is longevity of use. More significant examples of this trend for introspection within a workshop have been seen in relation to the high vaults of both Sherborne Abbey and Winchester Cathedral, described further below.

The nave vaults of Winchester Cathedral and St Mary Redcliffe were near contemporaries, and both represented great tunnel vault designs at the end of the 14th century. A brief analysis of their stylistic conceits demonstrates a fundamental aspect common to lierne vaults in the Perpendicular period; namely the dependence on a small number of innovations dating from *c.*1290 to 1330.

At Redcliffe three distinct designs are used for the high vaults. That of the south transept, dateable to *c.*1350, is copied for the later north transept, in line with the evident desire for a relative consistency across the transepts reflected in the north transept elevation design. The form of four cusped lozenges in the centre with further lozenges dividing the transverse and ridge ribs is first seen in the retrochoir of Wells Cathedral and was brought to Redcliffe for the south porch design of *c.*1340, the details of which have already been shown to be derived from the Wells workshop. Once used within the lodge at Redcliffe, it was then further used for the south and north transepts and for the later east bay of the Lady chapel. The chancel vault at Redcliffe is simply an extension of the same design principles but developed with continuous ribs running the length of the chancel to provide a unified vault space rather than a series of distinct bays. In principle this is based on the net-vault designs of Wells, Ottery St Mary and Malmesbury.

The nave vault at Redcliffe, by contrast, uses kite shapes rather than lozenges, a feature that was directly inherited from the chancel of St Augustine's, Bristol. Unlike St

Augustine's the kites do not interrupt the ridge rib, but sit on the springing of the diagonal ribs and at the apex of the wall rib. At the centre of the vault a square divided into four lozenges by the main diagonals is set at a forty-five degree angle. The bounding ribs for the square are created from ribs that run parallel to the main diagonals, a feature which suggests a close knowledge of the chancel vault at Wells and related designs that use triple diagonals (most obviously Ottery), and distinguishes the vaults at Redcliffe from those of St Augustine's, Bristol. A significant distinction between Redcliffe and Wells that should be noted, however, is that in the latter the bay division is broken down by the use of two-bay diagonals, a feature not emulated at Redcliffe, where instead the placement of a kite-shape each side of the transverse arch of each bay helps the effect of continuity. The Redcliffe nave vault is clearly the source of inspiration for the next set of high vaults at Bristol Cathedral in the last quarter of the 15th century, when the crossing and transepts were vaulted. This reverse of influence at the end of the century indicates that the lodge at Redcliffe has become the main centre of creative architectural designs in Bristol during the late 14th and early 15th centuries.

At first glance the nave vault at Winchester bears a slight resemblance to Redcliffe nave in its use of a square rotated at forty-five degrees in the centre of each bay. The concept behind this design at Winchester, probably of *c.*1400, is however quite different, being based on the premises of using a tri-radial design, and the loss of the main diagonals or their reduction to subsidiary ribs. Two factors, therefore, are significant in this design: the introduction of a tri-radial design on a large-scale vault and the lack of prominent main diagonals in the design. Both these principles of design can be seen in vaults already discussed as emanating from the Wells workshop. In the east transept vaults at Wells Cathedral the main ribs are interrupted with kite shapes creating a vault with no diagonals in *c.*1320, and the net vault at Ottery St Mary (*c.*1340) used a combination of triple diagonals and a tri-radial design that resulted in a rotated square in the centre of each bay. The origins of both of these basic concepts, however, can be found in *c.*1317 at Exeter Cathedral.

The two vaults of the Exeter pulpitum are the earliest within the region to exhibit two principles essential for the future development of lierne vaulting. One of the designs comprises the kite shape dividing a main rib, as was used in the east transepts of Wells and the high vault of St Augustine's, Bristol, as described above. The other design, which divided a main diagonal was created from the tri-radial rib, an idea which was developed in the construction of St Edmund's chapel, Exeter of *c.*1328. In this particular pulpitum vault the two ideas are conflated and whilst the use of tri-radials creates a central lozenge this is overlaid by main diagonals, two-bay diagonals and lierne ribs. The St Edmund's chapel design and pulpitum vault contain all the essential elements required for the Winchester nave vault. Whilst these small-scale designs themselves are less copied directly during the later period, the success of the Winchester high vaults seems to be the application of these principles to a large scale. Furthermore, because of the scale of the Winchester vault the one main distinguishing factor from the Exeter vaults is the presence of angular lierne ribs which create star-like patterns around the springers.

That the Winchester nave vault was considered prestigious is demonstrated by its two most significant successors: the Winchester chancel vault and the Divinity School, Oxford. The former copies the same pattern as the nave but develops it by a change in attitude to the springers. It seems to be the preoccupation with springers that seals the fate of the 'Wellsian' net vault and the repeated lozenge designs. Whereas in the nave at Winchester the design is applied to a pointed tunnel vault the chancel is constructed with a more conoidal springer, the latter method providing a direct link to the vaults of the Divinity School. Although not constructed until the last quarter of the 15th century the Divinity School vault combines the central 'lozenge' with the main diagonals that reflect a close knowledge of Winchester and its sources. In the Oxford vault the angular springers that divide the central square bay from the lateral rectangular ones form the prominent pendants.

As the Winchester nave was being completed the chancel at Sherborne Abbey was designed, where the use of fan springers previously used in small-scale vaults was combined with a lierne vault tradition indigenous to the South West. As with Winchester the presence of a prestigious high vault design extant in the building provided the direct inspiration for the later vaults of the Perpendicular remodelling, and the nave at Sherborne is clearly dependent on the chancel design. Subsequently, the influence of the Sherborne nave can be described as two-fold. The designer of Stillington's Chapel vault (1477-88) utilised the fan and lierne vault ideas originating from Sherborne, but added pendants to a relatively large-scale vault with chantry chapel aspirations. At a contemporary date pendants were included in the vault of the Divinity School, Oxford, as described above, and these concepts provided the basis for a series of Tudor vaults, for example, St Frideswide's Oxford and Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster. Sherborne's second wave of influence was through the dispersal of the workshop at the end of the major building campaigns in the early 16th century, at which time the vault designs of the chancel and crossing were taken up in a number of buildings in the more immediate locality, such as Wells Cathedral and Milton Abbey.

The principle behind the Winchester nave vault was essentially one of superimposing two lierne designs, which was the guiding force in a number of small scale vaults during the first fifty years of the 15th century. It was shown above that the middle of the 14th century was a period of experimentation in its use of cusped lozenges in aisle and cloister vaults, and subsequently that this trend had died out, along with net vaults and associated lozenge designs, by the late 14th century. Whilst the cloister tradition evolved using the octagon lierne vault a number of other vaults of the late 14th and early 15th century represented instead this principle of overlapping designs. Amongst the earliest was the south aisle of Sherborne Abbey, probably dateable to *c.*1400. Whilst the fan springers are the first sign of a recognition of Gloucester traditions in the workshop at Sherborne, the vault itself is designed by combining a basic tierceron vault with a hexagon design clearly derived from the Wells choir aisles and the central lozenge design reminiscent of, for example, St Edmund's chapel, Exeter Cathedral. The result is a complex mesh of ribs in a neat geometric formation.

Further examples of vaults that combine major designs support a date span for this approach and method of vaulting of *c.*1400-1450, for example, the Fromond Chapel in Winchester College (*c.*1420), the vicars' hall staircase (1448) and the Penniless Porch both at Wells Cathedral (*c.*1450). The Winchester vault and vicars' hall vault are both close to the Sherborne aisle design, whilst the Penniless Porch formed a new design from a series of principles favoured in the Wells workshop from the 1330s onwards (that is the hexagon design and use of lozenges, and the cloister vault).

By the middle of the 15th century, however, a number of smaller vaults betray the demise of the hexagon vault design. At Thurbern's Chantry in Winchester College Chapel and the Bishops Eye (both of *c.*1450) and the north nave aisle of Sherborne Abbey (*c.*1490) a variety of lierne designs all tend towards irregular shapes, losing the regular overlapping of strict geometrical forms. A revival of the pre-1450s style can be seen in the 1479 vault of Salisbury Cathedral crossing, a vault which owes its form to the tradition of Wells and Bristol.

In Tudor vaults a number of distinct influences can be detected. Certain design elements, however, filtered in from the South East, perhaps most obviously the 'star-vault' design. Originating in the Aerary Porch at St George's Chapel Windsor (*c.*1353), the design was subsequently adopted at Christ Church, Canterbury in the cloister vault and wooden chapter house vault. It was then introduced into Westminster when it was used for the vault of Henry V's Chantry Chapel in Westminster Abbey (*c.*1440), which set it as a prestige design for a number of subsequent chapels. Its immediate use was in another royal chantry, which is heavily dependent on Henry V's Chapel, that of Duke Humphrey's Chantry in St Alban's Abbey (*c.*1447), and after its appearance in royal chapels it was adopted by William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester. Through its use in his chantry chapel of *c.*1476 it was popularised in the last quarter of the 15th century and first quarter of the 16th century. Its subsequent use was for a variety of the most prestigious vaults of royal patronage, for example, the Lady chapel of Winchester; St Frideswide's Oxford; the polygonal chapel vaults at St George's, Windsor; the nave and choir vaults of St George's; the apse of Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster Abbey and the vaults of the 1520s in the cloister of St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster. Once accepted into use this became a symbol of a building or chapel associated with masons working on royal buildings, and was favoured by bishops, nobility and aspiring abbots in chantry chapels in the early 16th century.

Tudor vaults owed much, however, to the tradition of design and construction emanating from the West Country vaults in the 14th and 15th centuries. The fundamental concepts of combining lierne and fan vault techniques across a major span, and the addition of pendants within this formula in a structural vault were both first developed in the South West. It was these technical and visual achievements that formed the basis for the structures of the great Tudor vaults of Windsor and Westminster.

From this brief collation of the information on vaults relevant to this thesis a number of general observations can be made. Primarily, the necessity to discuss the vaults of the first half of the 14th century in order to understand the design principles of the Perpendicular vaults, indicates their dependence on these early innovative design principles. This does not mean, however, that the subsequent vaults lacked innovation, and those of the late 14th and early 15th century especially continued this inventive tradition of design, as at Redcliffe, Winchester and Sherborne, for example. In the 15th century the second major theme is evident in the dependence of workshops on earlier innovations, and the repeated use of these in later works on the same building. Whilst this developed a notion of introspection in workshop identities, it reflects most clearly those vaults that were considered prestigious, and contributed most to the development of Perpendicular designs. Subsequently the designs were kept in circulation throughout the century. Winchester Cathedral and College, although outside the scope of this thesis, have figured prominently in the discussions above, and the role of the buildings and their patrons in the formation of Perpendicular in its early and late stages is clearly evident. Its specific relevance here is three-fold: its general impact on the development of vaulting, its role in combining the traditions of the lierne vault from the early

14th century and the influence from the South East, and its more direct influence on Sherborne Abbey as discussed above.

In conclusion, therefore, the workshop tradition developed at Wells in the first half of the 14th century proved to be highly influential in the construction of great church architecture in the late 14th and early 15th century in the region. Most obviously this was the case at St Mary Redcliffe, where the Perpendicular model for the region was developed out of the Wells chancel elevation. Redcliffe cannot be separated from the parish church tradition in the county, and it shows the combination of the Wells Cathedral workshop mouldings and great church design, with the concept of local architecture displayed through its choice of tracery. Furthermore, it acted as a pivotal point in perpetuating the ideas of the parish church tradition in the coming century, never losing its prestige status.

Its proportions, tracery and elevation designs contributed to the subsequent appearance of the rebuilding of the Romanesque east end of Sherborne Abbey, probably designed as Redcliffe was being completed; and also to the more poverty-stricken interpretation at Bath Abbey in the 1480s. The rebuilding at Sherborne east end also drew on a tradition within its own workshop for utilizing masons and designs from parish churches in Somerset. Its location, although geographically close to Yeovil and south Somerset, was significant in its relationship with Winchester rather than Wells from the mid-15th century. This is symptomatic of the waning influence of Wells as a centre of ecclesiastical building.

The great building activity at Sherborne throughout the 15th century provided an opportunity to rival the output and influence of Wells in the locality. The history of Sherborne Abbey throughout the period is an example of the continuity of overall design generated by the workshop in the early 15th century, while the demonstrable changes in moulded details reflect the introduction of a new master mason. That its workshop acted as a stylistic trend-setter for the region has been demonstrated by the nature of its influence, which had crossed the boundaries of monastic, cathedral, secular and parish church architecture in Somerset and Dorset by the 16th century. Its influence was, however, largely based on the innovations of the design of *c.*1425 for the chancel. The nave of the abbey, and the north transept vault, with their conservative loyalty to the east end design, perpetuated the motifs of the 1420s to the 1450s. The nave design, however, provided a more easily adaptable design to other building types, as seen through its reinterpretation in the abbot's lodgings at Muchelney and Forde.

The development of the workshop identity at Sherborne betrays retrospection, whereas at Wells this conservatism is apparent in the late 14th and early 15th century only. At Stillington's Chapel the versatility of its model, that is the east end of Sherborne, was exploited. The outcome was a splendid chantry chapel that, unlike the nave of Sherborne, was comparable to the late 15th-century structures of, for example, the Gloucester Lady chapel and Winchester presbytery aisles. Furthermore, Stillington's vault, although a product of the innovation of fan and liernes at Sherborne as a West Country phenomenon, was part of a wider experiment in large scale pendant vaults paralleled by contemporary work in Oxford. Although Henry VII's Chapel was the one building fully to exploit fans and pendants in the country on such a scale, it could not have been achieved without the initial steps of the 1470s and 80s in Oxford, and at Stillington's Chapel. The earliest fan-vault designed for the high vault of a major church was also to be found in the region, at Bath Abbey in *c.*1503, but this was imported into the region in contrast to the indigenous lierne vault tradition.

Throughout the period the proven desire to employ certain masons, or go to certain workshops, can be seen, even in the instances when those masons remain anonymous. The evidence suggests, however, that from *c.*1500 the nature of masons' activity was changing as a direct result of the dispersal of masons from the great ecclesiastical workshops as the major works came to an end. The resulting loss of continuity that these long-term training grounds had produced, in combination with the growth of a new market for domestic accommodation, seems to have contributed to the increase in itinerant masons working for patrons on domestic projects. Eventually, an increase in the availability of architectural treatises further affected continuity of design. A change in the structure of the working environment for masons and the production of decorative elements from quarries was seemingly the result of the dispersal of the workshops traditionally associated with ecclesiastical centres.

APPENDIX ONE

Wells Cathedral and Precinct: documents and dates relevant to chapters two, three and six

DATES	*EVENT*	*SOURCE*
1315-22	Construction of central tower	Cal. I (1907), 197 from Liber Albus I, 157
1326	Lady chapel described as newly built	Cal. I (1907), 215 from Liber Albus I, 175
1329	William Joy master mason of cathedral	Cal.I (1907), 220
1333	Chapter complained at least three-years work left to be done on choir	Cal.I (1907), 232
1338	Reference to deformed state of central tower	Cal. I (1907), 239
*c.*1327-39	Glazing of east window of choir 1327-39	Edward III heraldry: crowns
1340	Royal Licence granted to Ralph of Shrewsbury, bishop of Bath and Wells, to make a walled and crenellated enclosure around the cathedral precinct	Patent Rolls 1338-1440, (March 29), 446
*c.*1340	Glazing side windows after 1339	Edward III heraldry: fleur-de-lys
1343	Repairs made to bells in two towers at the cathedral	Communar's Accounts, 12
1347	William Joy dies	Harvey (1984), 164-5
1348	Bequest for vicars' hall	Rodwell in Colchester (1982), 212
1354	April, 50 loads of Doulting stone for new buildings of choristers' house	BM Arundel MS 2,14v
1354	December, 20 loads of stone from abbot of Glastonbury, unspecified	Draper in BAACT Wells (1981), from BM Arundel MS. 2. 18v and 27v

1358	May, 50 loads of stone from Abbot of Glastonbury, for tower	Draper in BAACT Wells (1981), from BM Arundel MS. 2. 18v and 27v
1363	Ralph of Shrewsbury died, will refers to houses he has built for the vicars	Weaver, SRS (1903), 286
1365	1 February, William Wynford as master mason	Cal. I (1907) 267
1367	John Harewell made bishop of Bath and Wells	Le Neve, Wells (1964), 2
1379-8	William Wynford working at New College, Oxford for William Wykeham, bishop of Winchester	Harvey (1984), 352-356
1387	William Wynford working at Winchester College for Wykeham	Harvey (1984), 352-356
1394	William Wynford working on the nave at Winchester Cathedral for Wykeham	Harvey (1984), 352-356
1382	Vicars' houses described as the New Close	Colchester (1987), 176
1386	Bishop Harewell dies. In his will he left 2/3rds of the cost for the south-west tower and money for the glazing of the west window	Palmer, SRS (1924), 69
1386	Walter Skirlaw consecrated bishop of Bath and Wells	Le Neve, Wells (1964), 2
1388	Skirlaw translated to Durham and Ralph Erghum consecrated bishop of Bath and Wells	Le Neve, Wells (1964), 2
*c.*1390	Construction of south-west tower	Based on references below
1391	28 May: payment to William Wynford for 3 days	Fabric Accounts, 8
1392-3	Repairs to Harewell's Bells, and repairs to the three new bells hanging in the 'old north tower'	Communar's Accounts, 27-8
1394-5	Door of south bell tower, lock made for door	Escheator's Accounts, from Cal. II (1914), 30
1400	Ralph Erghum dies	Le Neve, Wells (1964), 2
1401	Henry Bowet consecrated bishop of Bath and Wells	Le Neve, Wells (1964), 2
1405	William Wynford dies	Harvey (1984), 352-356

1407	Henry Bowet tramslated to York, and Nicholas Bubwith made bishop of Bath and Wells	Le Neve, Wells (1964), 2
1411	Bequest William Felawe 24 March 'to make a window in the upper part of the nave of the church of Wells, on condition that it be made within one year after my death'	Weaver, SRS (1901), 46-48
1414-15	Reference to repair of ladder in the 'old tower'	Communar's Accounts, 52
1424	Bishop Bubwith's will 5 Oct. Bequeaths fund for the construction of the library and the north-west tower and the residue for the Almshouses. Buried in nave, chantry chapel erected.	Jacob, Cant. (1936), 299
1425	John Stafford made bishop of Bath and Wells	Le Neve, Wells (1964), 2
*c.*1420-36	Construction of east walk of cloister, library and north-west tower as a result of Bubwith's bequest in his will	Jacob (1938), 298-302
*c.*1430	Construction of library for vicars' close: wooden door has carved heraldic shields for Bishops Bubwith and Stafford	Heraldry
1436	Money bequeathed by Bubwith transferred to Almshouses, suggesting completion of cathedral works to tower and cloister and commencement of Almshouses	Parker (1866), 49
1439	Reference to fire in central tower: 'repairs to bell tower and other parts of the cathedral damaged by fire'	Escheator's Accounts 12 May 1439, in Cal. II (1914), 70
1439	Reference to the fall of the high steeple, probably signifying the destruction of a wooden spire	Communar's Accounts, 132
1443	Stafford dies and Thomas Beckington consecrated bishop of Bath and Wells at Eton	Le Neve, Wells (1964), 2, and Griffiths (1981), 304
1444	Beckington resigns Privy Seal	Maxwell-Lyte, SRS (1934), xiii
1446	Implied date that the sacrist is ringing bells in the west tower	Communar's Accounts, 124
1446	Two collectors appointed to each parish to exhort monies, all parishioners to become members of the brotherhood of St. Andrew, and indulgences of 40 days promised	Maxwell-Lyte, SRS (1934), xxxv and Cal. II (1914), 675

1448	17th September: vault beneath vicars' staircase constructed, executors of Henry Martyn's will 1448	Vicars' register *c.*1360-1500, 12 quoted by Rodwell in Colchester (1982)
1448	Bishop Beckington received King Henry VI at Wells	Wolfe (1981), 367 for Henry's Itinerary
1449	Masons to protect goods and jewels	Communar's Accounts, 122
1449	Awaiting reinforcements from Wales	Communar's Accounts, 122
1449	Messenger sent to Southampton to find out the situation regarding arrival of Frenchmen	Communar's Accounts, 122
1450	Sacrist paid extra to ring bell in west tower, and for last four years because Sanctus bell in tower could not be used	Communar's Accounts, 124
1450	Caen fell, 24th June 1450	Harvey (1991), 131
1450	Richard Aiscough, bishop of Salisbury murdered	Harvey (1991), 125
1451	Licence granted to Beckington to create a secured and walled environment to the precinct, including provision for the control of entry and egress to the precinct	Patent Rolls, HVI (1908), 473
1451	Conduit constructed in Market Place by Beckington	Cal. I (1907), 433
1451	Beckington summoned meeting of canons, measures for the repair and defects of the roof and elsewhere, and against the defence of the church against enemies	Maxwell-Lyte, SRS (1934), xxxvi
1451	Faculty to the dean of Wells – re: possessions, rights and liberties being oppressed and withdrawn by enemies.	Maxwell-Lyte SRS (1934), 157-8, no. 554
*c.*1451	Penniless Porch, Bishop's Eye and Dean's Eye gatehouses constructed	LM
1452	Beckington's chantry chapel, 12 January	Maxwell-Lyte SRS (1934), xxxix, 175, 178
1452	Bishop Beckington received King Henry VI at Wells	Wolfe (1981), 370 for Henry's Itinerary
1452	Beckington exempt from attending parliament on account of his age and infirmity	DNB, II, 87

1455-6	Sacrist referred to as having been ringing bells in the south-west tower ever since the fall of the high steeple	Communar's Accounts, 132
1456	Oratory constructed in bishop's palace	Maxwell-Lyte, SRS (1935), no. 510, 515
1457-8	Paving of east cloister walk and one bay of the south cloister walk by John Turpyn	Fabric Accounts, 12-13
1457	Systematic collection of money through diocese	Maxwell-Lyte, SRS (1934), xxxvi
*c.*1457-*c.*1462	Construction work to update exterior of the central tower	LM
1459	Beckington held a visitation of the close and subsequently reissued the statutes (of Ralph of Shrewsbury) of the vicars' choral	Grandsen in Colchester (1982), 38
1459	Beckington was also prompted to repair buildings after his visitation, and this probably included the commencement of work on the chimneys of the vicars' close	LM
1459	Permission given by dean and chapter for Chain Gate construction	Parker (1866), 39, note a
1460	Beckington issued Statutes for the choristers (Ralph of Shrewsbury had built a dwelling for them by the school in the west cloister range	Grandsen in Colchester (1982), 39
1460	West walk of cloister rebuilt	See Harvey in Colchester (1982), 94
*c.*1460	Construction of the Nova Opera	Worcestre (1969), 295
1461	Beckington's exemption from attending parliament on account of his age and infirmity confirmed	DNB, II, 87
1462	Last documented reference to the sacrist ringing bells in west tower	Communar's Accounts, 139
1465	Bishop Beckington dies	Le Neve, Wells (1964), 2
1466	Robert Stillington consecrated bishop of Bath and Wells	Le Neve, Wells (1964), 2
1470	Next surviving account, no reference to sacrist in west tower	Communar's Accounts
*c.*1472-83	Dean Gunthorpe's new deanery constructed	Heraldry relates to Edward IV (1471-83)

1476	Lady chapel by the cloister described as 'ruinosa et defectiva' by chapter	Watkin, SRS (1941), 155
1477/8	28 January: consistory court met in the chapel of the Holy Rood at the west end of the nave on account of the rebuilding of the Lady chapel in the cloister	Watkin, SRS (1941), 155
1480	William Smyth documented as master mason to cathedral by this date (a William Smyth made freeman of the city in 1475 could be this mason)	Harvey (1984), 277
1487	New altar of St. Nicholas in the new chapel	Watkin, SRS (1941), 92
1488	22 September: last meeting of the consistory court in the chapel of the Holy Rood	Watkin, SRS (1941), 155
	25 October: first meeting in the new Lady chapel	
1489	Treasurer, Hugh Sugar died, and buried in nave of Wells Cathedral. His chantry chapel was constructed by executors: June 22 William Bocat requested leave from the dean and chapter to 'remove the wooden chapel in the nave, and to rebuild the same'.	Le Neve, Wells (1964), 11; and Cal. II (1914), 115
1490	23 October: William Attwood documented as master mason	Harvey (1984), 10
1491	Visit of Henry VII to Wells	Harvey (1984), 278
1491	Stillington dies and is buried in the Lady Chapel in the cloister (Stillington's Chapel)	Maxwell-Lyte, SRS (1937), xiv and Le Neve, Wells (1964), 3
1506	Last surviving documented reference to William Attwood	Harvey (1984), 10
1507	Work on the south cloister work resumed: November, treasurer Thomas Harryes agreed to find all the stone and masons' wages for the new cloister 'about to be finished', if the canons residentiary found the timber and carpenters' wages	Cal. II (1914), 201 and 206-7
1508	Dated boss in south cloister walk, three bays from west	Heraldry

APPENDIX TWO

ST MARY REDCLIFFE: selective documents and dates relevant to chapter four

DATES	*EVENT*	*SOURCE*
*c.*1330	Construction of west aisle of south transept	LM
*c.*1340	Construction of south porch	RKM and LM
*c.*1340	Construction of south nave aisle wall	LM
*c.*1350	Construction of south transept	LM
1376	Ricart's Calendar includes (later) inscription indicating that William Canynges the Elder constructed the body of the church from the cross aisle downwards	BRO 04720 (1)a, folio 101 and Ricart (1876), 36
*c.*1370-80	Main body of church begun, commencing with the nave with the west bays	LM
1386	John Stanes burial in 'new chapel' of St Mary Redcliffe	Wadley, SRS (1886), 14, no. 20
1392	Licence for the marriage of Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas de Berkeley, 5th Lord Berkeley and Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick	Cokayne XII (1959), part 2, 381-382
1394	Henry Calf leaves money to work at Redcliffe church	Wadley, SRS (1886), 39, no. 47
1397	Marriage of Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas de Berkeley, 5th Lord Berkeley and Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. At this time the ownership of Bedminster is transferred to the Beauchamps	Cokayne XII (1959), part 2, 381-382
1398	John Frenssh requests burial near the font	Wadley, SRS (1886),109, no.56
1401	Walter Newcombe requests burial in the chapel of St Nicholas (east end of choir aisle)	Wadley, SRS (1886), 69, no. 101
1418	Alice Newcombe requests burial in the chapel of St Nicholas (east end of choir aisle)	Wadley, SRS (1886), 69, no. 101
*c.*1420	Reconstruction of church possibly essentially completed	LM

1441	Post-medieval references refer to William Canynges re-edifying the church, with the help of others at this date	Williams (1950), 80-81
1445	Collapse of the spire at Redcliffe	Adams (1910), 66 folio 93 and Worcestre (1969), 131
1445	Fall of spire causes relatively minor and sporadic damage to vaults	LM
1459	A quarry at Dundry is granted to Redcliffe	Smith 91995), 89-93
*c.*1459	?Construction of vestry and east bay of Lady chapel	LM
1466	Canynges gives £350 to the church for the maintenance of tenements	William (1950), 81-82
1466	Canynges endowes a chantry in St Catherine's chapel in Redcliffe	see Williams (1950)
1466	Canynges gives Holy Sepulchre to Redcliffe	Smith 91995), 89-93
1467	Canynges endowes a chantry in St George's chapel in Redcliffe	see Williams (1950)
1468	Canynges says his first mass in St Mary's Redcliffe	see Williams (1950)
*c.*1470	Repairs to tower and construction of tower vault, and has on its boss a copy of Canynges merchants mark, suggesting his input in the building at this stage	LM
1474	Canynges dies	see Williams (1950)
1478	Worcestre makes reference to tower vault being new at this time	Dallaway (1834), 71
1480	Worcestre speaks to John Norton, mason	Dallaway (1834), 133
1483	Great Red Book of Bristol refers to William Canynges as renovator and special benefactor of the church	Williams (1950), 81, note 3 quoting the Great Red Book of Bristol, folio 247

APPENDIX THREE

SHERBORNE ABBEY: selective documents and dates relevant to chapters five and six

DATES	*EVENT*	*SOURCE*
*c.*1330s	north nave aisle wall, and processional door into cloister	Morris and Monckton (in preparation)
1349-73	cloister constructed during abbacy of Frith	Leland, I (1964), 153
*c.*1380	Construction of All Hallows	LM
*c.*1390-1400	Construction of the south nave aisle of the abbey, followed by St Katherine's chapel	LM
*c.*1380	Font moved and door in west wall of south nave aisle narrowed	LM
*c.*1400-1425	Construction of south transept and Holy Sepulchre chapel	LM
1415-23	Daughter of Hunphrey Stafford of Hooke marries James Berkeley	Cokayne, II (1912), 132
*c.*1425	Chancel elevation and vault designed and construction started (during abbacy of Robert Brunying)	For example: Harvey (1978), 165; Gibb (1985), 199; and LM
1436	Inquiry held concerning dispute between the parishioners and the monks	See Gibb (n.d.), 1-18
1437	January 8th: ordinance given by Bishop Neville	Ordinance of Bishop Neville, transcribed and translated in Willis (1865), 197-8
1437	Construction of chancel reached upper stages of elevation and chancel arch. Romanesque east wall, and aisle walls left standing	Gibb (1985), 115, figure 8; and LM
1437	October 28th: fire in abbey church, starting in the crossing and moving eastwards	Leland, I (1964), 152-53; Willis (1865), 193-195; Gibb (n.d.), 4-8, 12; Gibb (1985), 101-105

*c.*1440-59	Completion of chancel elevation and vault. Design of chancel aisle elevations, and subsequent construction (during abbacy of John Brunyng), including refacing of fabric with some previously fire damaged stones	LM
1440-42	Robert Hulle recorded as mason at almshouse	Fowler (1970), 112-133
1440	Humphrey Stafford of Hooke gives four oaks towards the new work at the almshouse	Fowler (1970), 113
1442	Humphrey Stafford of Hooke dies	Hutchins (1863), 179
1446	Licence granted from Henry VI for acquisition of land in mortmain for building works to east end of church	Willis (1865), 195 and 198
1450	All Hallows made a parish church by Bishop Beauchamp of Salisbury	Kingsford (1913) quoting BL Harley 3906
1459	East end of building completed	Leland, I (1964), 151-3
1459-1475	Abbot Saunders responsible for work at King's House, Salisbury	RCHME, Salisbury Houses (1993), 218 and 220
*c.*1459-75	Building work to north transept, comprising east and west windows and a new vault	LM
*c.*1480	Reconstruction of nave begun by Abbot Ramsam, with recasing of Romanesque piers	Heraldry
1486-93	Reconstruction of upper stages of nave elevation and high vault	Heraldry
*c.*1500	Construction of north window, panelled arch and vault in Wykeham's Chapel	Leedy (1980) and LM

APPENDIX FOUR

BATH ABBEY: documents and dates relevant to chapter seven

DATES	*EVENT*	*SOURCE*
1088	John of Tours made prior	Davenport (1996), 19
1122	Lower vaults completed, death of John of Tours	Davenport (1996), 19, quoting Hunt (1893), 34
1205	41 monks living at the priory	Knowles (1971), 59
1206	Bishop Jocelin consecrated the altar of the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary	Weaver, SRS (1903), 19, 231
1245	Joint see of Bath and Wells created	Davenport (1996), 19
1260	Indulgences to money given for the Lady chapel, under Bishop Bytton	Hunt, SRS (1893), 40
1263	Matilda Champfleur of Batheaston, perpetual mass at new altar to BVM and St Catherine on the north side of the altar of the Holy Cross	Hunt, SRS (1893), l, 26, 36
1323	Episcopal visit by Bishop Drokensford	Hunt, SRS (1893)
1324	Bishop Drokensford licenced collection of funds throughout the diocese having found the church in disrepair	Hunt, SRS (1893)
1325	Church consecrated by Bishop Drokensford	Irvine (1890), 87
1330	Tiling of crossing	Irvine (1890), 91
1334	Richard of Farleigh working at Bath	Harvey (1984), 106
1340	Prior Thomas, resigned, priory in heavy debts	Hunt, SRS (1893)
1344	30 monks in priory	Hunt, SRS (1893)
1377	17 monks in priory	Hunt, SRS (1893)
1424	Bishop Bubwith leaves 324 marks to the priory and for a chantry chapel to be constructed	Irvine (1890), 87
1444	A burial in the nave before the high cross. Clothmaker William Phillips, founder of St Catherine's hospital.	Weaver, SRS (1903) 338-9

1445	1445-1465 Beckington gave money for the construction of the dormitory	Worcestre (1969), 295
1467	Bishop Bubwith 1424-67 left 328 marks for buildings at the priory, in return for which the monks agreed to build him a chantry chapel etc.	Irvine (1890), 87
1475	Robert Vertue at Westminster Abbey	Harvey (1984), 306-307
1478	William Worcestre visits Bath	Worcestre (1969)
1480	Oliver King given canonry at Windsor, and made Registrar of the Order of the Garter.	Maxwell-Lyte, SRS (1939), viii
*c.*1480	Beginning of reconstruction of church by prior and monks	LM
1480s	Prior Cantlow builds St Mary Magdalen hospital, Bath	Dugdale (1819), 260
1482	Prior Dunster moves to St Augustine's, Canterbury	Bradford, SRS (1911), 35-36
1482	Oliver King made Archdeacon of Oxford	Maxwell-Lyte, SRS (1939), viii
1483	Prior Cantlow describes the 'soden ruyn' of most of the church	Bradford, SRS (1911), 35-36
1483	Robert Vertue fully trained mason at Westminster Abbey	Harvey (1984), 306-307
1485	From 1485 to 1496 priory exempt from paying tenths to the crown	Fine Rolls Edward IV, 308, is the earliest such reference to Bath.
1486	Episcopal Visitation	Watkin, SRS (1941), 83
1488	Oliver King made a canon at Wells Cathedral, no residence required	Maxwell-Lyte, SRS (1939), viii
1492	Exemption from paying tenths stated to be because of ruinous state of houses and buildings	Fine Rolls Henry VII, 171
1492	Oliver King made Archdeacon of Taunton, no residence required	Maxwell-Lyte, SRS (1939), viii
1492	Oliver King made Bishop of Exeter on promotion of Bishop Fox from Exeter to Bath and Wells	Maxwell-Lyte, SRS (1939), viii
1495	November 8th Alexander VI informed the chapter of Bath that he had translated Oliver King to bishop	Maxwell-Lyte, SRS (1939), viii

1496	Thomas Chaunceler asked for burial in the Chapel of Our Lady	Weaver, SRS (1901), 341-4
1496	King made bishop of Bath and Wells, orders issued 9 Jan. 1495/6	Maxwell-Lyte, SRS (1939), viii-ix; and Patent Rolls Henry VII, 47.
1497	Between 1497 and 1503 ordinations in the Lady chapel behind the High Altar	Maxwell-Lyte, SRS (1939), 84
1497	Bishop King's first recorded visit to his new diocese, accompanied by Henry VII	Cal. I (1907), 107
1499	Bishop King spends time in diocese, with recorded stays at his palace at Bath in April, July, August and September	Maxwell-Lyte, SRS (1939), 54
1499	Prior Cantlow dies	Maxwell-Lyte, SRS (1939), 518-519
1499	August, King visits Bath: William Birde made prior on 30th August 1499.	Maxwell-Lyte, SRS (1939), 87, no. 518
1499	1499-1504 Robert Vertue working for the King at Greenwich.	Harvey (1984), 306
1500	Injunction by King (October).	Dugdale, II (1819), num XX, 270.
1500	Reconstruction of church reached clerestory level in choir	LM
*c.*1502	William and Robert Vertue visit Bath, and Bishop King writes letters to Reginald Bray. Vault designed at about this time.	Robinson (1914), 1-4
1503	Jan 18: Richard Lacy buried at the entrance to the chapel of the BVM	Weaver, SRS (1903), 57
1503	£10 left to the building of the cathedral, by John Compton	Weaver, SRS (1903), 47
1503	Ordinations in the Lady chapel behind the High Altar	Maxwell-Lyte, SRS (1939), 84
1503	Romanesque choir still in use	LM
1503	letters from Oliver King to Bray, Vertues in Bath and glass ordered from Normandy	Robinson (1914), 1-10
1503	Church exempt from payment of the second moiety of the subsidy (13 May)	Maxwell-Lyte, SRS (1939), 80-81, no.'s 488 and 490.

1503	Oliver King dies (Aug 29) and is buried (probably at Wells)	Maxwell-Lyte, SRS (1939), xiv; Weaver, SRS (1903), 44-47; and Cal. II (1914), 171
1503	January, foundation stone laid at Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster Abbey	Harvey (1984), 307-09
1506	Robert Vertue dies	Harvey (1984), 306-307
1506	William Vertue and John Aylmer contracted to construct the choir vault of St George's Windsor	Harvey (1984), 307-09
1506	Estimates submitted for various works in connection with the tomb of Henry VI	Harvey (1984), 307-09
1507	John Stradlynge buried in the chapel of the BM in the cathedral church of Bath.	Weaver, SRS (1903), 108
1507	William Vertue at King's College, Cambridge to advise on completion of chapel.	Harvey (1984), 307-09
1511	Contract for William Vertue to undertake vaulting of the Lady chapel at St George's Chapel, Windsor	Harvey (1984), 307-09
1512	1512-18 William Vertue at Corpus Christi College, Oxford for Bishop Fox of Winchester.	Harvey (1984), 307-09
1513	William Vertue may have been responsible for Bishop Fox's chantry chapel in Winchester Cathedral.	Smith PhD (1989)
1515	Birde's chantry chapel begun	Davis (1834), 2.
1518	Fan vault over choir completed by 1518	Heraldry of Castello
1523	1523-6 ordination in the cathedral church at Bath	Maxwell-Lyte, SRS, (1940) 89, no. 60
1523	Romanesque east end no longer in use for burials or ordinations; newly completed choir in use for services, roofed and glazing being completed	LM
1524	(Oct.) Thomas Chapman glass of window to be ordered in the chapel of Saints Peter and Paul in the north aisle, and burial in the same chapel. The Chapman arms on the westernmost corbel on the north side of the choir could indicate that the chapel was the westernmost bay of the north choir aisle	Weaver, SRS (1903), 231 For heraldry see Britton (1887)
*c.*1525	East window of choir constructed, probably by William Vertue	LM

1525	William Birde dies	Maxwell-Lyte, SRS (1940), 80-1, no. 477
1525	William Holleway made prior (and carried up in new choir to high altar)	Maxwell-Lyte, SRS (1940), 80-1, no. 477
1525	23rd May: Birde dies and buried in chantry chapel	Maxwell-Lyte, SRS (1940), 81
1527	William Vertue dies	Harvey (1984), 307-09
1528	John Molton becomes master mason to the King and to Westminster Abbey on the death of Henry Redman	Harvey (1984), 205-06
1533	Leland visits and Romanesque east end in ruins	Leland (1964), 144-5
1534	November 14th: Isabel Chauncellor requests burial in St Leonard's chapel in the north aisle under a stone already prepared	Weaver, SRS (1905), 24
1535	Commissioner's visitation	Archbold (1892)
1536	A burial in the church of Thomas Style	Weaver, SRS (1905), 30
1537	John Molton mentioned as mason for the church at Bath	BL Marl MS 3970, folio 252 and Dugdale, II (1970), num XXI, 270-271 .
1539	Surrender of priory at Bath	Archbold (1892)
1539	19 monks at priory, and total income 617 pounds	Knowles (1971), 52-55
*c.*1540	St Mary de Staulls used for worship instead of the abbey	Irvine (1890), 89
1542	Leland text is of this date referring back to his visit of 1533, at which time he saw the east end in ruins	Leland (1964), 144-145
1543	Church sold from H. Colles to M. Colthurst (March), by which time lead, bells and iron has already been sold	Britton (1887), 31-35
1559	Edmund inherited church, sold to city	Britton (1887), 31-35
1572	Chapman repairs to east end of the building	Wood (1749), 201
1576	Comment concerning the church commenced by the late prior not being fully finished at the time of the suppression	State Papers Edward, Mary, Elizabeth, 533
1589	St Mary de Staulls ceases to be used for worship as abbey-church re-opened to the parish for services	Irvine (1890), 89

1608	Bishop Montague takes an interest in repairing the church	Rawlinson)1719), 163-172
*c.*1610	John Harrington writes Life of Bishop King in which he claims King had a dream in 1499 that inspired him to reconstruct the church	Harrington (1804), 136-138

APPENDIX FIVE

Letters from Bishop Oliver King to Sir Reginald Bray, c. 1503

From A. Robinson, 'Correspondence of Bishop Oliver King and Sir Reginald Bray' *SANHP,* 60, part II (1914), 1-10.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY MUNIMENTS, 16,040

After due Recommendations Robert and William Vertu have been here with me that can make unto you Rapport of the state and forwardness of this our chirche of bathe. And also of the vawte devised for the chancelle of the said chirche. Wherunto as they say nowe ther shal be noone so goodely neither in england nor in france. And therof they make theym fast and sure.

The have with theym a Writing of Recesse uppon the communication between theym and me had in al things for to shewe the same unto you. Wherfor I am the shorter in that behalf.

I beseche you to Remembre Cunesby oon of the kings sargentes at the lawe for the writing the priour here shuld make unto us two for our chanteryes and the other suffrages to be had in this monastery for evir.

Item that I may have knowledge from my feluwe Dawtre of Lampton what bargeyne he hath made for the hundred cases of glasses to be had out of Normandy, with the price of every C. cases bothe of coloured glassys and others.

This chirche as farne as I can see shalbe thoroughtely covered far beforne alhalowe tide next commyng with the leve of our Lord who send unto you the accomplisshement of your goodely desirs. At my Monastery of Bathe forsaid the xviij day of janyver, with the scribbling hand of hym that ys

all your owne Oliver Bathe

Endorsed: to Mai[ster] Ser Reynald Bray

WESTMINSTER ABBEY MUNIMENTS, 16,046

Sir I beseche you to be good having fader in myn absence to my Niepce Dame Elisabeth Philpot in al her causes. And that ye geve no licence to eny free mason to absent hym from this buylding. Divers masons ther be that wol not comme til after Candelmas trustyng that on the meane saison they wol cause you to be entreted to write unto me for to suffre theym to work in other meenys businesses. One ther ys called thomas lynn oone the most necessary mason for me that I can have and oone [of] theym that ys appointed by Robert Vertu.

It shal please you to Remembre Mr Dautre for the Normandy glasse and Mr Cunesby for our boke for our chanteryes and other suffraiges. And thus I Recommande me unto you with al myn hert.

At my monastery of bathe the xxv day of January where is myn hab (8 letters lost) harme I perceive it wel.

all your Oliver Bathe

Endorsed: to Maister Ser Reynald Bray

Two further letters are included in the article by Robinson, a more formal one concerning the post of precentor at Wells from King to Bray (11th June ?1502); and a fourth one to Bray from John Dawtrey written in October 1501 or 1502 telling of a plot at Beaulieu Abbey

APPENDIX SIX

Injunctiones facte Priori et Conv. Bathon 9 Oct. A.D.1500

[Harl. MS. 6966, e Registro Oliveri Kyng Episc. Bath. Well. Fol 62]

From: W. Dugdale *Monasticon Anglicanum*, II (London, 1817, repr. 1970) NUM XX , 270.

Oliverus permissione divina B.W. episcopus dilectis nobis in Christo confrati nostro priori et conv. Bathon. salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem. Tandem dolenter inter cætera invenimus dictam nostram ecclesiam cath. Bathon. per incuriam multorum priorum non reparatam aut refectam, imo funditus dirutam, ipsisque in voluptatibus evanuisse, Prioremque modernum, cui prædecessorum suorum culpam non ascribimus, remissum non benevolum ad dictæ ecclesiæ refectionem seu edificationem, paterna compassione deploramus. Nos igitur præmissis consideratis de consilio multorum nobilium, prælatorum, et abbatum, ac aliorum, jurisperitorum, de Dei misericordia et apostolorum ejus Petri et Pauli patrocinio confisi, necnon aliorum Christi fidelium, et amicorum nostrorum elemosyna freti, eo libentius quo celerem dicti operis expeditionem et perfectionem conspicimus manus nostras adjutrices duximus apponend. non laboribus aut expensis nostris parcentes. Speramus itaque dictum opus perfectum volentes infra paucos annos facere quod nunquam impensis dictorum prioris et conventus, aut vix infra centum annos nostra et amicorum nostrorum omissa vel spreta diligenter posse fieri existimamus. Quamobrem præfatos defectus monachorum, voluptates, otia, ecclesiæ ruinam, ex superfluitate pensionum, indumentorum, cibariorum, et potuum orta, temperare volentes. Ut etiam aliis Christi fidelibus in elemosynarum suarum largitione pios animos non auferamus si dictos priorem et conventum non reformatos, aut competentes expensas ad dictum opus juxta vires non conferre dimittemus, præsentes Injunctiones ab eisdem fidelibus observandas decrevimus.

Et quia per visum Compoti vestri luculenter nobis apparet quod redditus assisæ beneficiorum, firmarum, et pensionum, cum exitibus lanæ extendit ad summam iiij^{c}.iiij^{xx} .

libr. xvj^{s} . vj^{d} . ob. Vobis domine prior ad sustentationem vestram iiij^{xx} . marc. injungendo assignamus. Item conventui vestro, qui xvi. numero existunt, et ut arbitrio abundantius exhibeantur quam stricte regulæ vestræ intellectu ad nudam literam cavetur iiij^{xx} . lib. Item cæetera onera rationi consona, prout in eodem visu continentur, de summa etiam prædicta deducenda censemus omnia preter xx. li. de tirma feudi de Berton et clx. li. ad exhibitionem monachorum, cum credamus et sufficienter experimur quod iiij^{xx} . li. summa ad sustentationem eorum sufficiat. xl^{s} . de feudo celerarii. xxvj^{s} . viij^{d} . de feudo sacristæ. xx^{s} . de decima fœni sacristæ antedicto assignat. xxx^{s} . pro decima agnellorum etiam sacristæ assignat. cum monachis solus victus et vestitus, non pensio aut proprium concedatur, præter etiam l. libr. pro reparationibus vestris in maneriis faciendis cum judicio nostro xl. li. sufficiant; nec non xx. libr. pro stipendio servientum, cum etiam ipsis x. lib. sufficient : residuam vero omnium proventuum, deductis necessariis loco tempore per nos vobis citra festum natalis Domini assignand. in constructionem dictæ ecclesiæ nostræ cath. exponend. et realiter expendend. mandamus et injungimus sub pœna juris. Volentes quod omnium casualium anni instantis, et aliorum annorum futurorum, viz. terrarum, ecclesiarum in manibus vestris tentarum, finium, heriotorum, mortuariorum, releviorum, custodiarum junvenum, et eorum maritagiorum, wevarum, streyarum, amerciamentorum, reddituum capitalium, venditionum agnorum, ovium matricum, sub-bosci, et cæterorum omnium quorumcumque, quocunque nomine censeantur fidelem nobis compotum infra mensem post compotum vestrum generalem apud vos ut moris est tenend. et celebrand. una cum compoto omnium beneficiorum, pensionum, et portionum vestris officiariis deputat. archi. exhibeatis.

APPENDIX SEVEN

(Places mentioned, visited or relevant to chapter eight)

Domestic residences in the South West

(x) = visit to exterior only

PLACE	*DATE*	*VISIT*
Athelhampton, Dorset	1493 & *c.*1540	Yes
Barrington Court, Somerset	1552-64	Yes (x)
Berry Pomeroy, Devon	*c.*1570-84	Yes
Bingham Melcombe	*c.*1550	No
Brympton D'Evercy	*c.*1520-40	Yes (x)
Cerne Abbey, abbot's gatehouse, Dorset	1509	Yes
Chantmarle, Dorset	1612-23	No
Cleeve Abbey, abbot's lodging's, Somerset	Late 15th century	Yes
Clifton Maybank (at Montacute House)	*c.*1546	Yes
Forde Abbey, abbot's lodgings	1528	Yes
Great Chalfield, Wiltshire	*c.*1475	Yes
Kingston Seymour (demolished)	*c.*1470-80	-
Lacock Abbey, Wiltshire	After 1540	Yes
Longleat, Wiltshire	1546-72	Yes
Lytes Cary, Somerset	1533	Yes
Melbury, Dorset	*c.*1530-40	No
Milton Abbey, abbot's lodgings, Dorset	*c.*1498	Yes
Montacute House, Somerset	*c.*1590-1601	Yes
Montacute Priory Gatehouse, Somerset	*c.*1530	Yes
Muchelney Abbey abbot's lodgings, Somerset	1505-22	Yes

Parnham	After 1522	No
Purse Caundle	*c.*1480	Yes
Raglan Castle	1461-9	No
Sandford Orcas, Dorset	*c.*1530-40	Yes
South Petherton, Somerset	*c.*1500	Yes (x)
South Wraxall, Wiltshire	*c.*1460-80?	Yes (x)
Sudeley Castle, Gloucestershire	*c.*1469-78	Yes
Thornbury Castle, Gloucestershire	1511-21	Yes
Wells, the deanery	1475-83	Yes
Wells, The Rib	Late 15th century	Yes
Wells, vicars' hall	Second half 15th?	Yes
Exeter, bishop of Crediton's house	Early 16th century	Yes

Outside South West

Eltham Palace, London	*c.*1479-80
Hampton Court, Middlesex	*c.*1520-30s
Hengrave Hall, Suffolk	1525-40
Thame, Abbot's Parlour	*c.*1532
Sutton Place, Surrey	*c.*1521-33
Field of the Cloth of Gold	1520

Tombs, fittings, vaults and chapels etc.

Bath Abbey, chancel vault, east window	1503-18, *c.*1525
Bromham Wiltshire, Elizabeth Beauchamp	*c.*1492
Burford, Oxon, Lady chapel	1490s
Christchurch Priory, Countess of Salisbury	1529

Christchurch Priory, Draper Chantry	1529
Christchurch Priory, Lady chapel chantry	*c.*1405?
Crowcombe parish church, tower vault	Early 16th century
Ewelme, Oxon., Duchess of Suffolk	*c.*1475
Gloucester Cathedral, Lady chapel chantry	*c.*1450-75
Great Brington, Nothants, Spencer Tomb	1522
Ile Abbots parish church, tower vault	Early 16th century
Milton Abbey, Sir John Tregonwell	*c.*1530-40
Puddleton, Sir William Martyn	1503
Salisbury, King's House porch	*c.*1500
Sherborne, Wykeham Chapel	*c.*1504
St. David's, Trinity Chapel	1522
Stavordale Priory, Zouche Chapel	*c.*1520s?
Stillington's Chapel	1477-88
Tewkesbury, Beauchamp Chapel	1430s
Wells, Chain Gate	1459
Westminster, Henry VII's Chapel	1503-09
Westminster, St. James'	*c.*1530
Westminster, St. Stephen's cloister	1520s
Winchester, Bishop Fox	*c.*1513
Windsor, St. George's Chapel	1475-1528

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Abbreviations

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AJ	Archaeological Journal
AMST	Ancient Monuments Society Transactions
B/E	Buildings of England Series, Penguin Books
BAACT	British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions
BAAJ	Journal of the British Archaeological Association
BGAST	Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society Transactions
BM	British Museum
BRO	Bristol Record Office
BRS	Bristol Record Society
Burl. Mag.	Burlington Magazine
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
HER	Economic History Review
OASR	Oxford Archaeological Society Record
PRO	Public Record Office
RCHM	Royal Commission for Historical Monuments of England
RCHME	Royal Commission for Historical Manuscripts
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects
SAHJ	Society of Architectural Historians
SANHSP	Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society Proceedings
SDNQ	Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries
SIANH	Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History
SRS	Somerset Record Society
VCH	Victoria County Histories
WANHS	Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Magazine
WCR	Winchester Cathedral Record

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BM	British Museum
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B23119 – View of Redcliffe showing proposed restoration as advised by J. Britton and W. Hosking

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Braikenridge Collection: Numerous early 19th-century views and drawings of St Mary Redcliffe

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H45

Late Gothic Architecture in South West England

Four Major Centres of Building Activity at

Wells, Bristol, Sherborne and Bath

Two Volumes

Volume Two

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PhD
University of Warwick
Department of the History of Art

May 1999

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LM	Linda Monckton
RKM	Richard K. Morris
Warwick	History of Art Department Photographic Library, Warwick University
WMA	Warwick Mouldings Archive

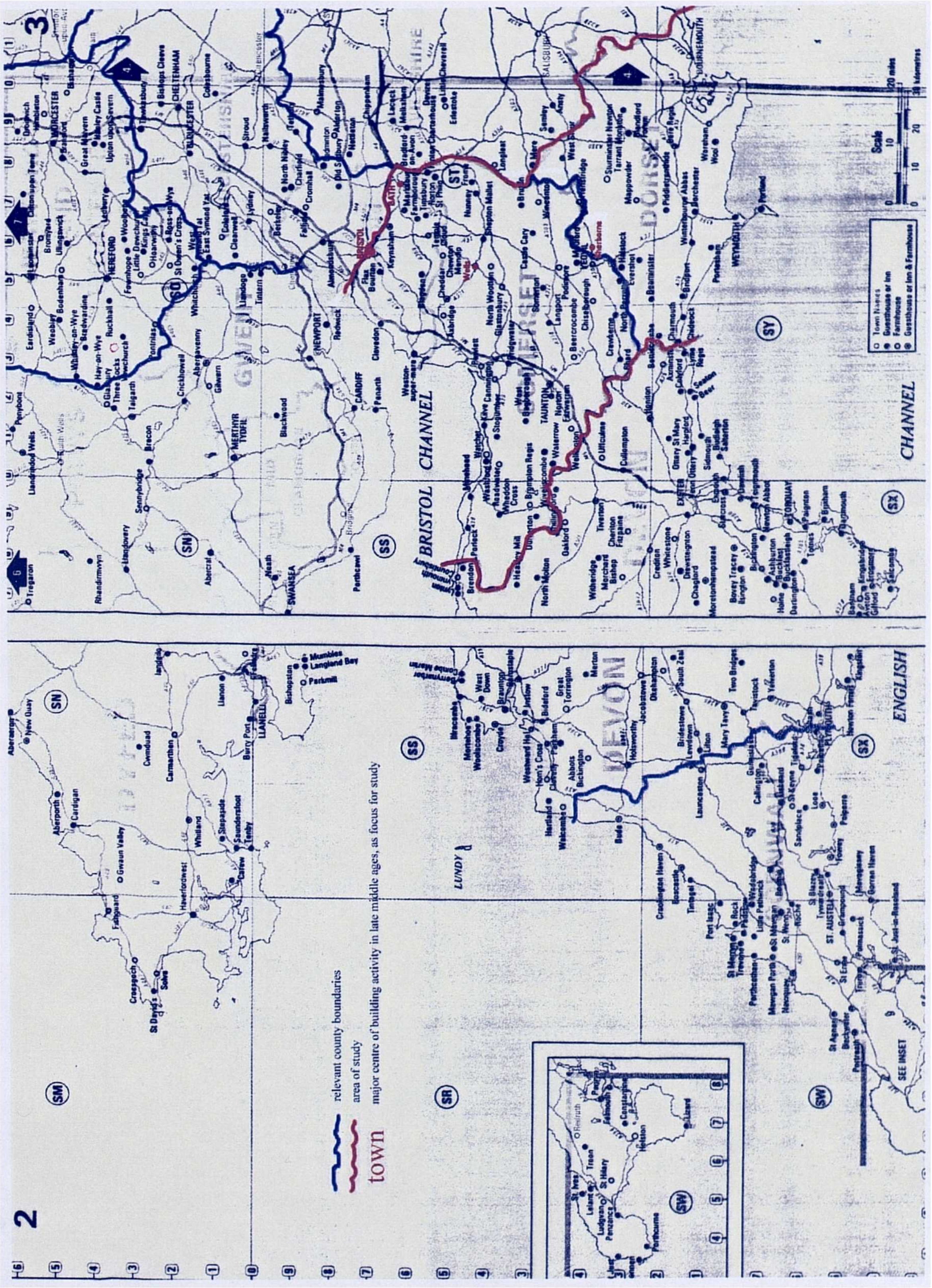
FIGURES FOR EACH CHAPTER

DOSSIERS

FIGURE 1.1

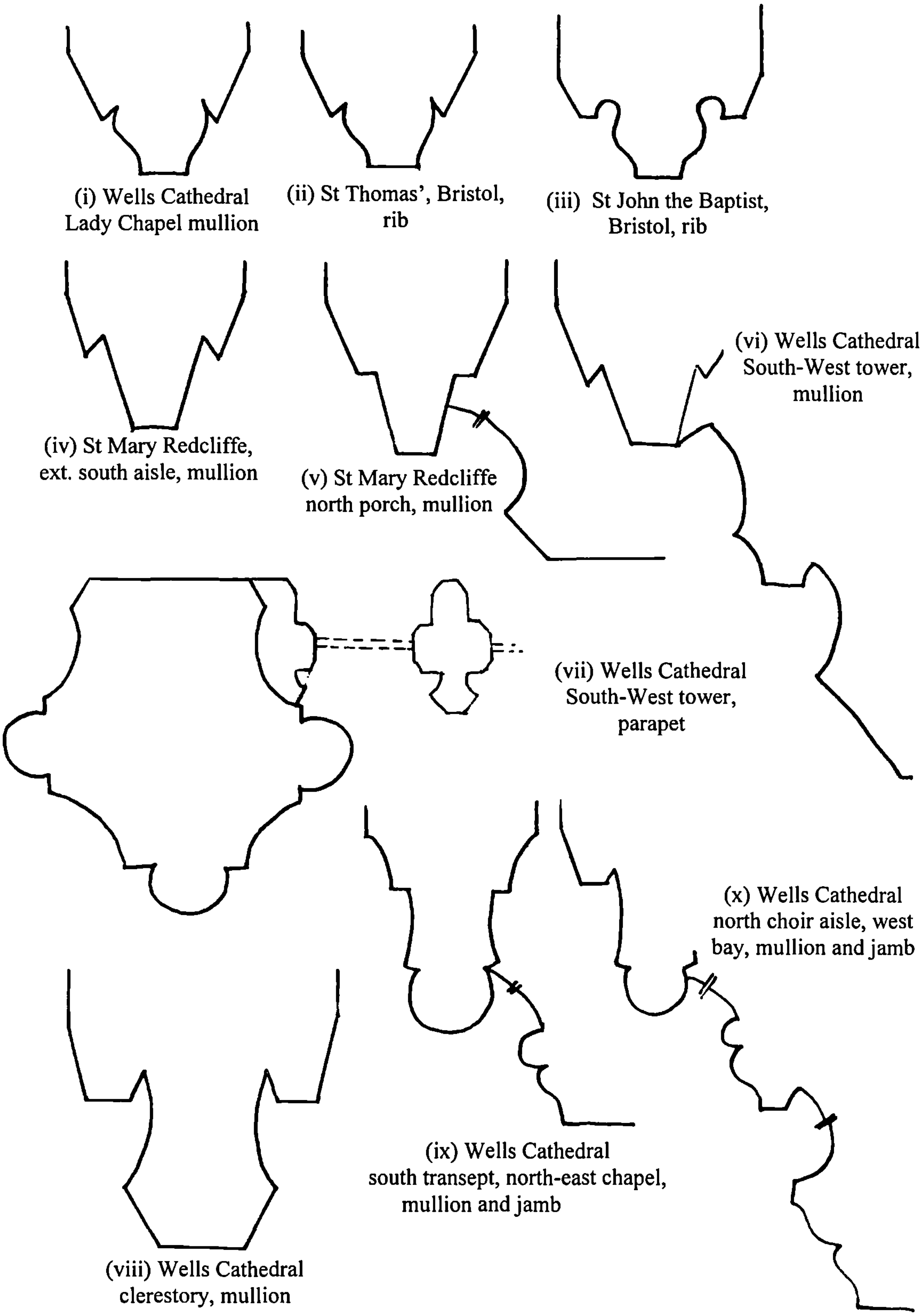
1.1: Plan of Medieval dioceses (dotted lines show county boundaries)

FIGURE 1.2



1.2: Map of the South West of England, showing county boundaries and area of study

FIGURE 2.1



(i) Wells Cathedral
Lady Chapel mullion

(ii) St Thomas', Bristol,
rib

(iii) St John the Baptist,
Bristol, rib

(iv) St Mary Redcliffe,
ext. south aisle, mullion

(v) St Mary Redcliffe
north porch, mullion

(vi) Wells Cathedral
South-West tower,
mullion

(vii) Wells Cathedral
South-West tower,
parapet

(viii) Wells Cathedral
clerestory, mullion

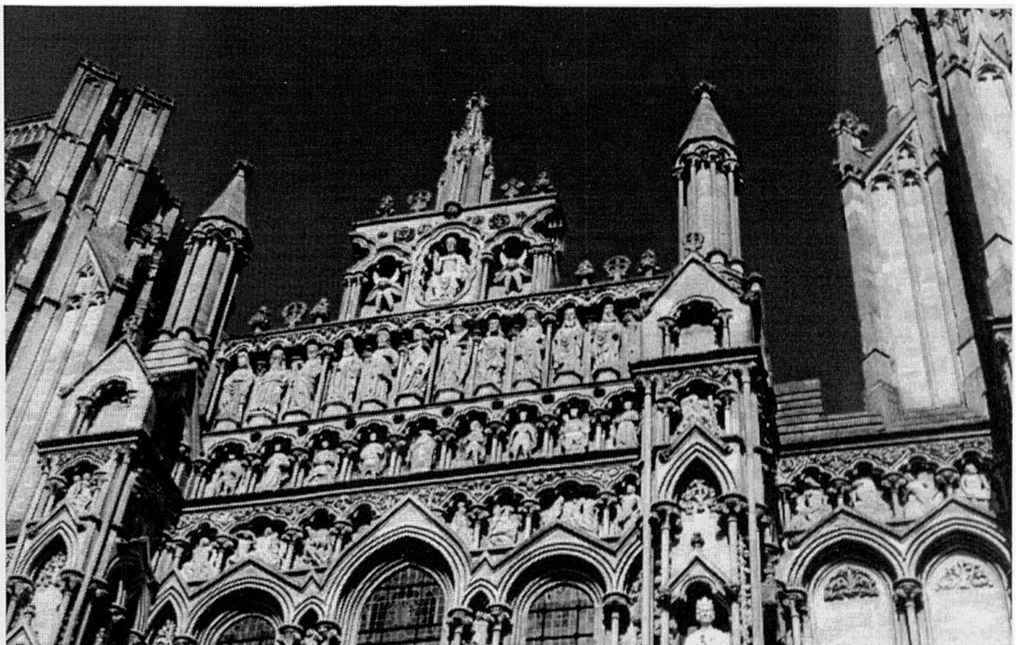
(ix) Wells Cathedral
south transept, north-east chapel,
mullion and jamb

(x) Wells Cathedral
north choir aisle, west
bay, mullion and jamb

2.1: Mullions and ribs from Bristol and Wells in the 14th century

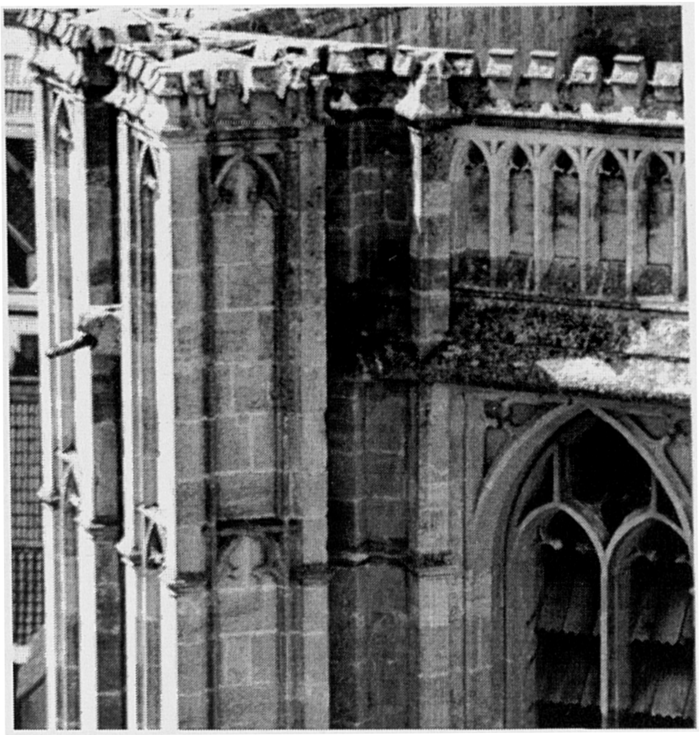
FIGURE 2.2

2.2A: Wells Cathedral, south-west tower from south



2.2B: Wells Cathedral, upper stage of west front
showing junction of west towers with west front

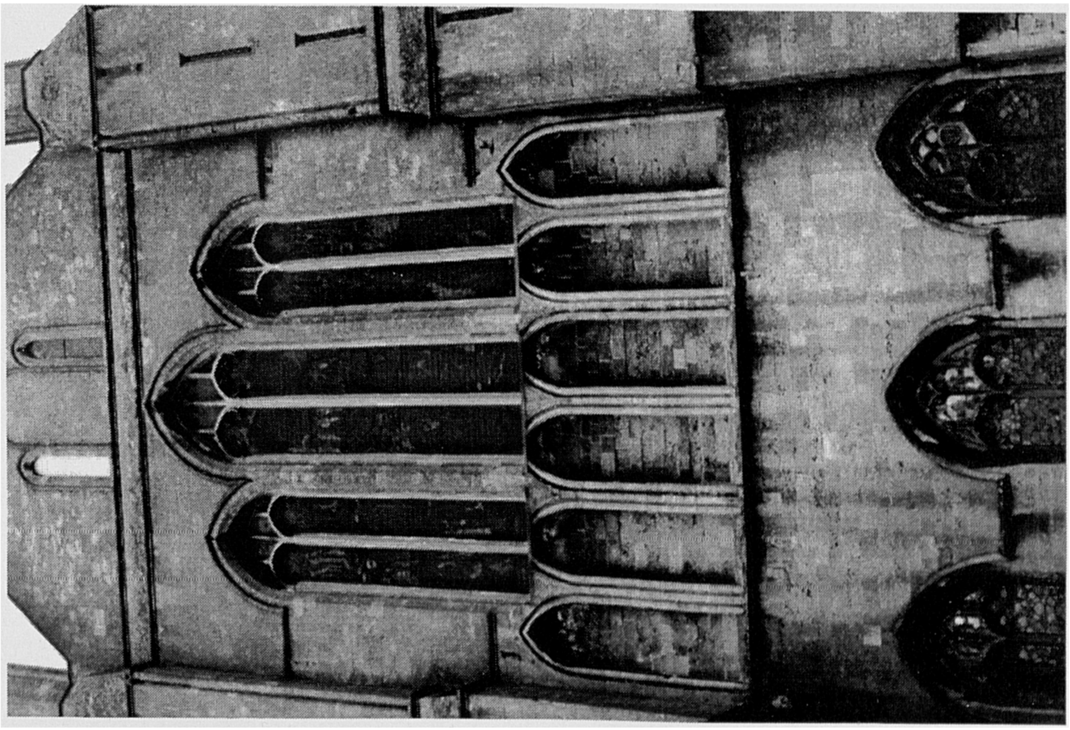
FIGURE 2.3



2.3A: Wells Cathedral, south-west tower tracery detail

2.3B: Winchester Cathedral, central porch of west front, tracery detail

FIGURE 2.4

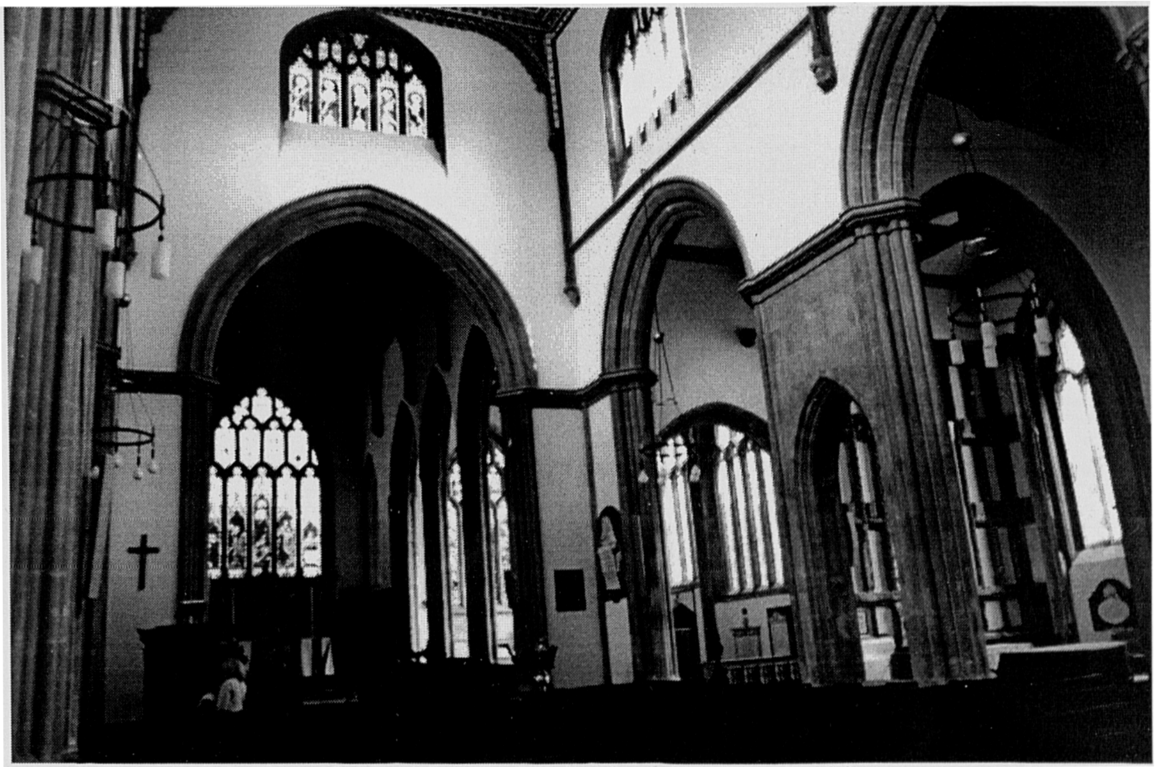


2.4A: Wells Cathedral, south transept tracery showing Perpendicular tracery as inserted throughout

2.4B: Winscombe parish church, west tower

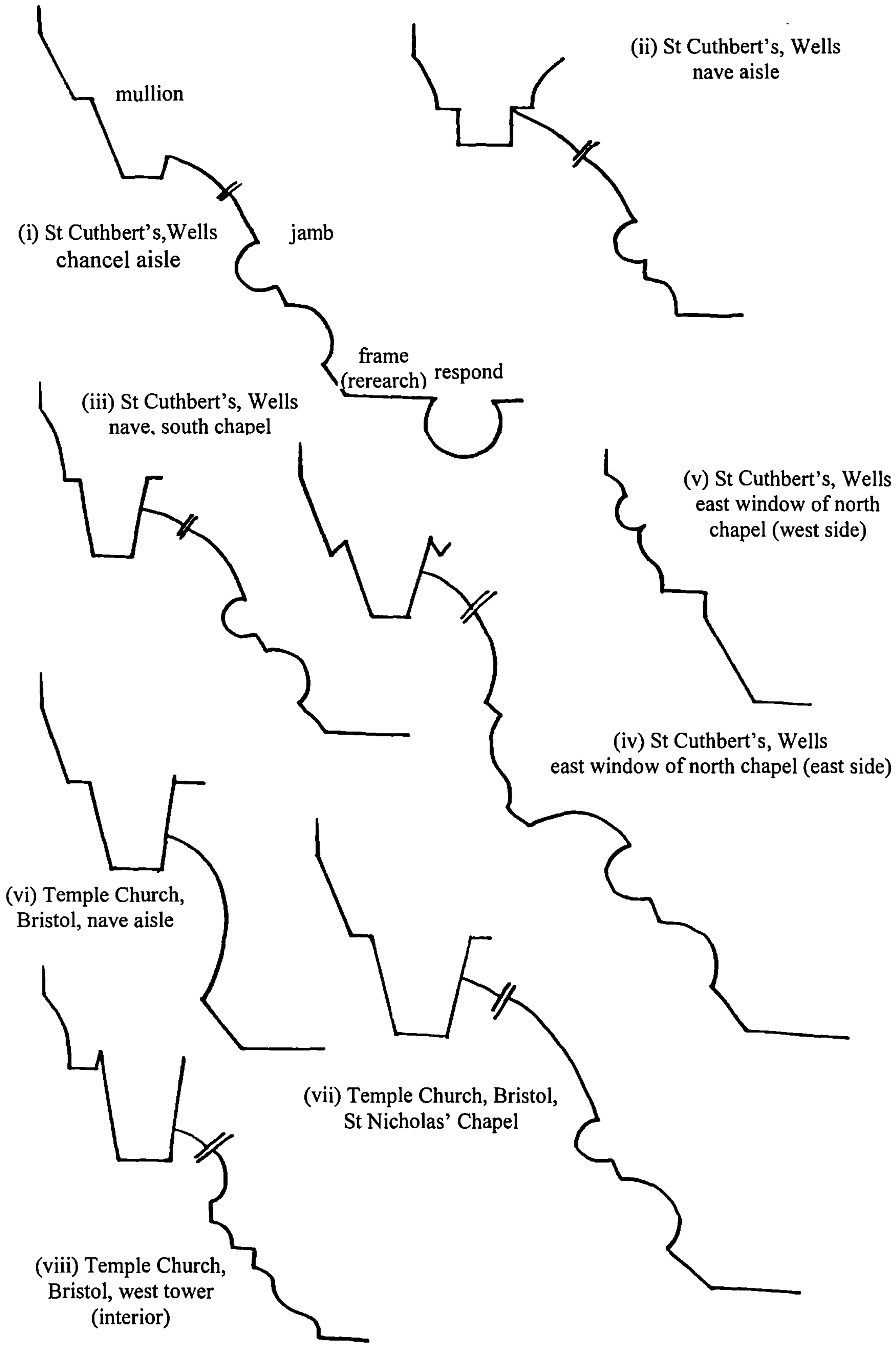
FIGURE 2.5

2.5A: St Cuthbert's, Wells, exterior view from north east



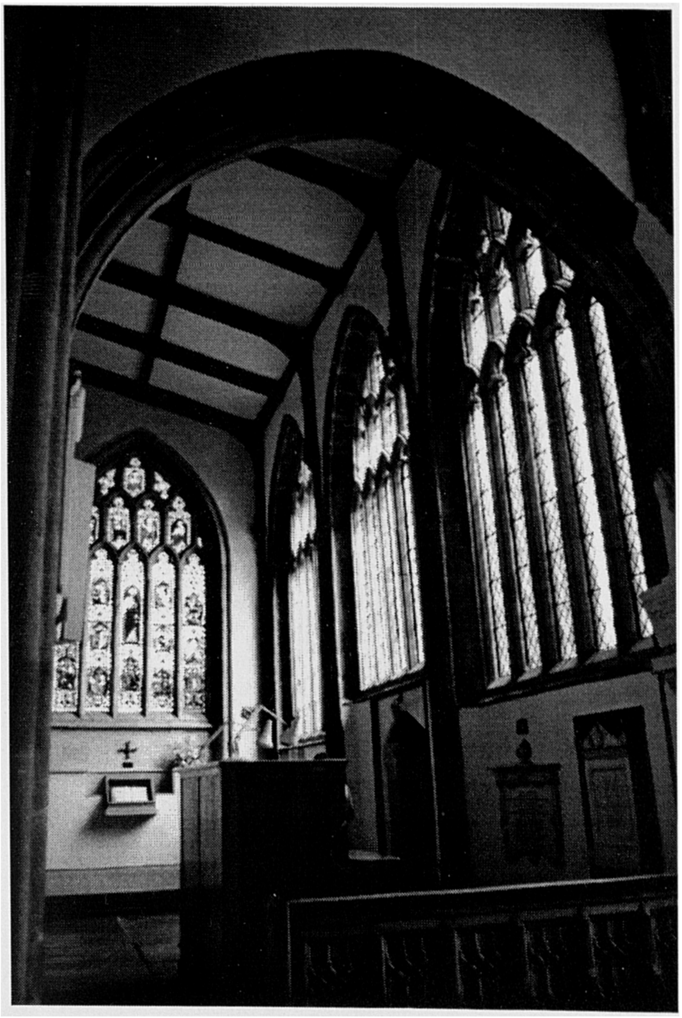
2.5B: St Cuthbert's, Wells, interior view looking east
showing piers of original central tower and added 16th-century clerestory

FIGURE 2.6

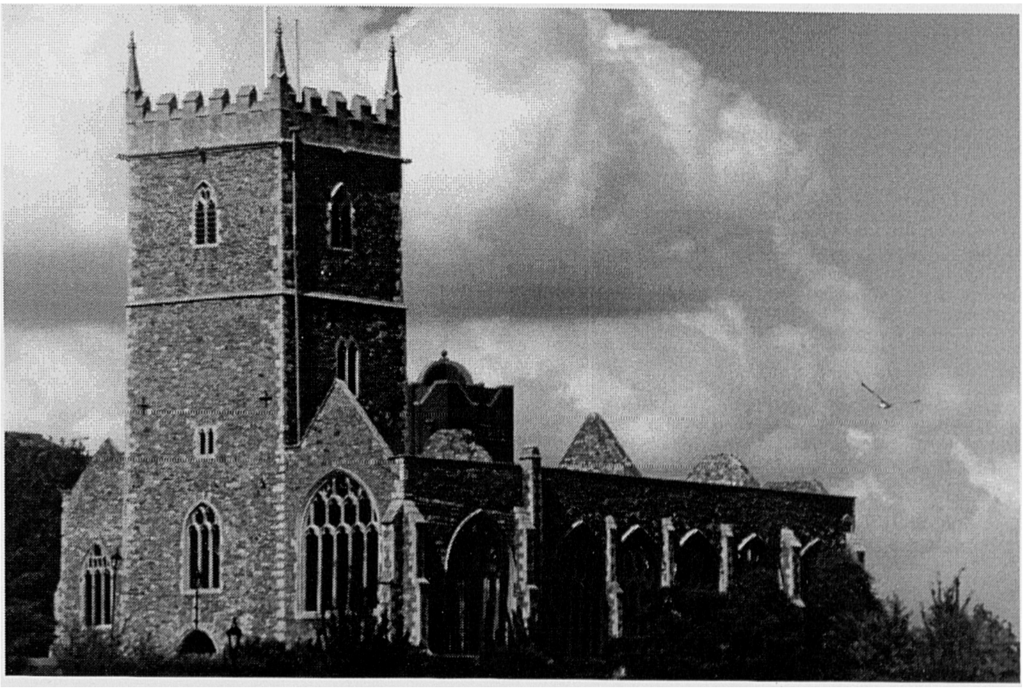


2.6: Mouldings of St Cuthbert's, Wells and Temple Church, Bristol

FIGURE 2.7

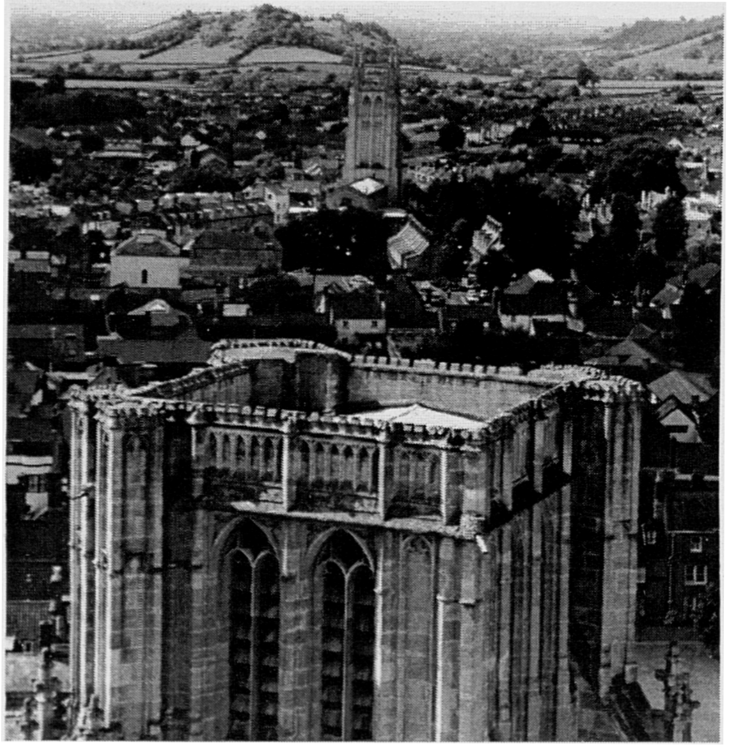


2.7A: St Cuthbert's, Wells, chancel elevation (interior)

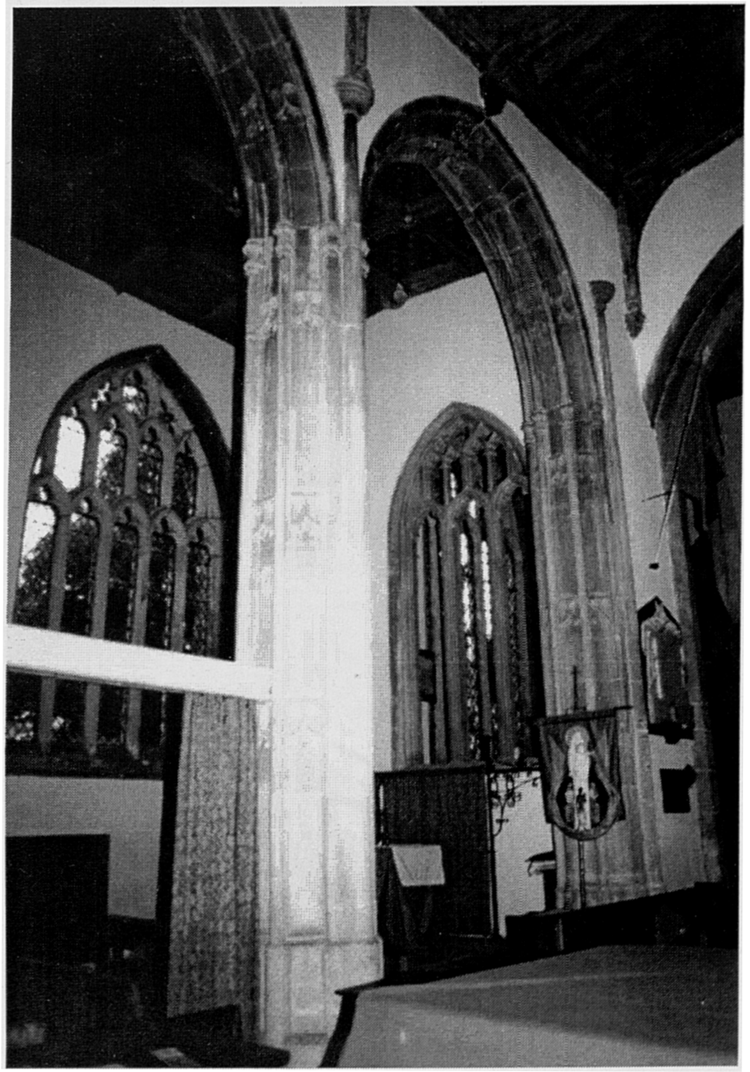


2.7B: St Peter's, Bristol, exterior view from west (bomb damaged church)

FIGURE 2.8

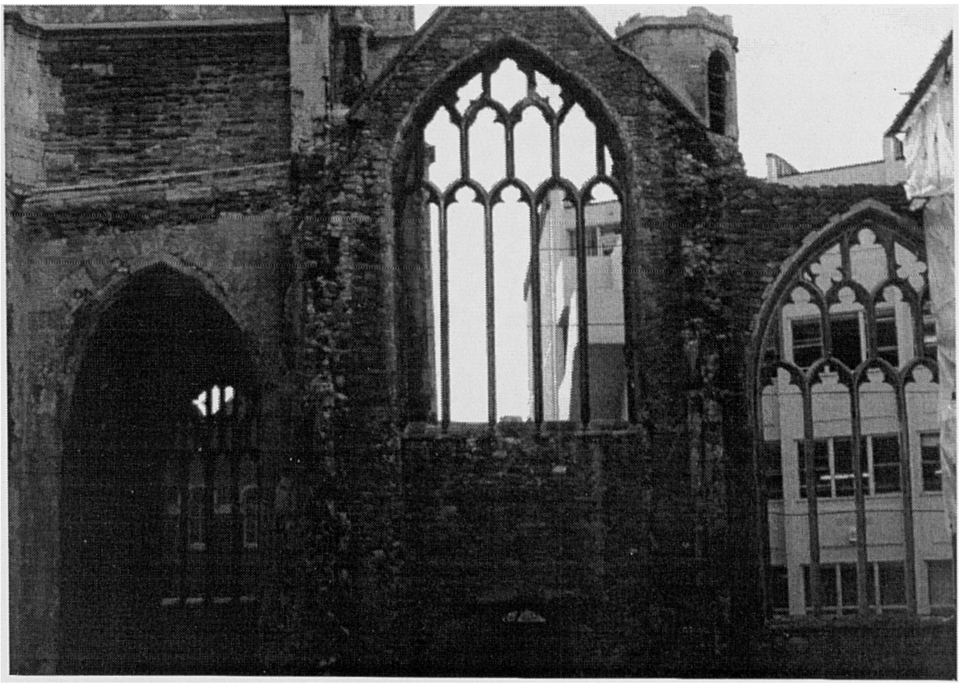


2.8A: St Cuthbert's, Wells, view from Wells Cathedral

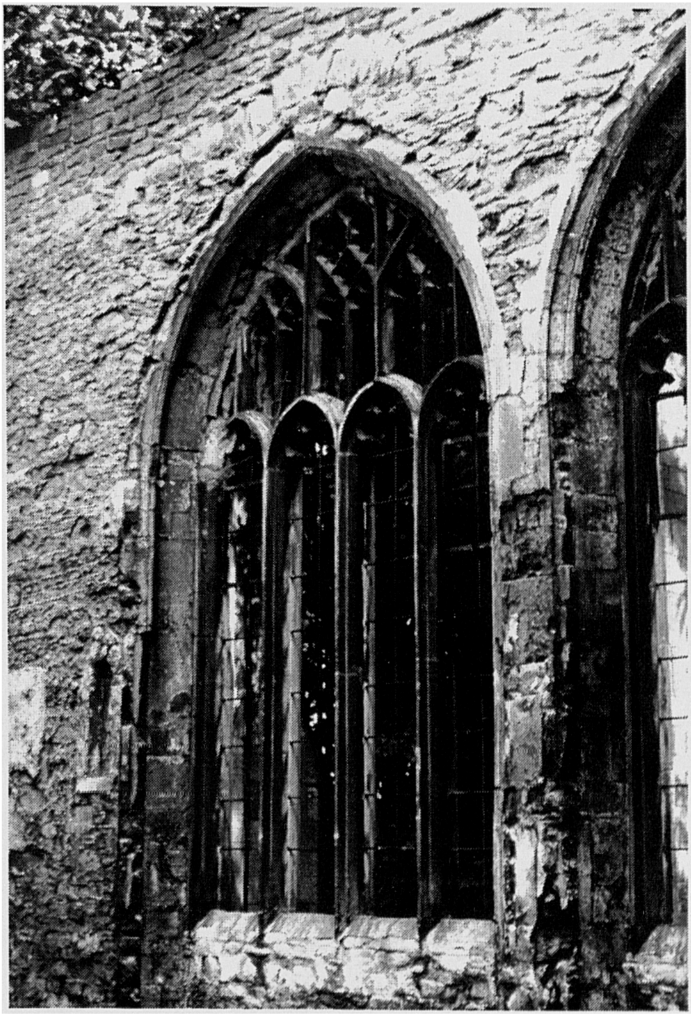


2.8B: St Cuthbert's, Wells, west window of north transept

FIGURE 2.9

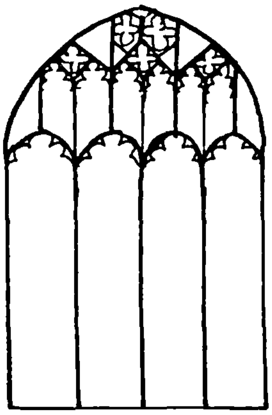


2.9A: Temple Church, Bristol, interior view of west wall (bomb damaged church)

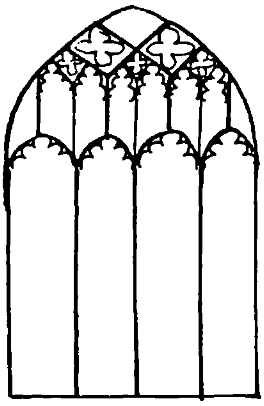


2.9B: Temple Church, Bristol, south window of St Nicholas' Chapel

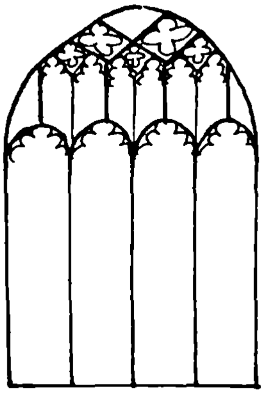
FIGURE 2.10



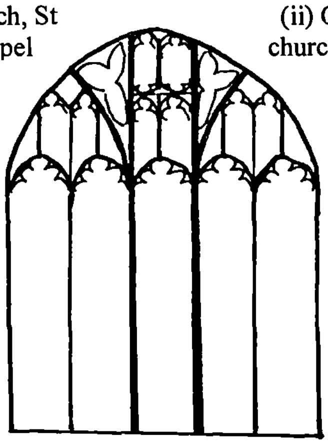
(i) Temple Church, St Nicholas' Chapel



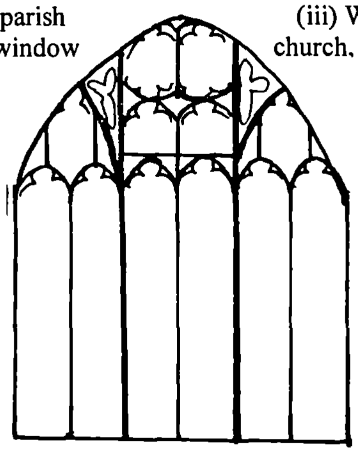
(ii) Cheddar parish church, west window



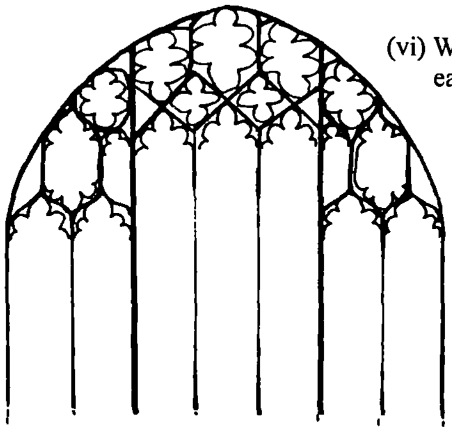
(iii) Winscombe, church, west window



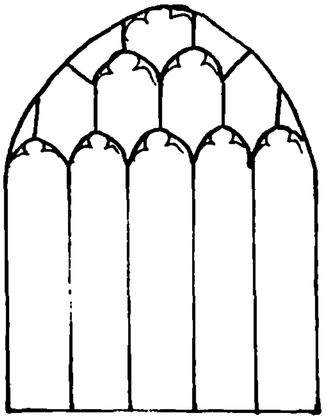
(iv) Temple Church, west window



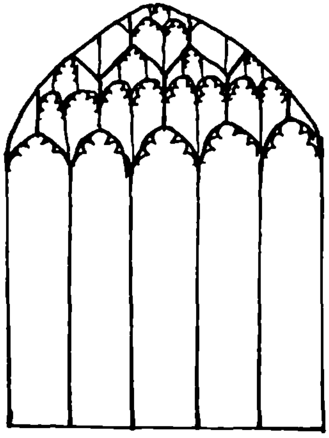
(v) St Cuthbert's, Wells, west window



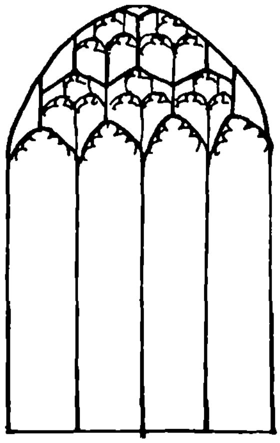
(vi) Wells Cathedral, east window



(vii) St John's, Yeovil, aisles window



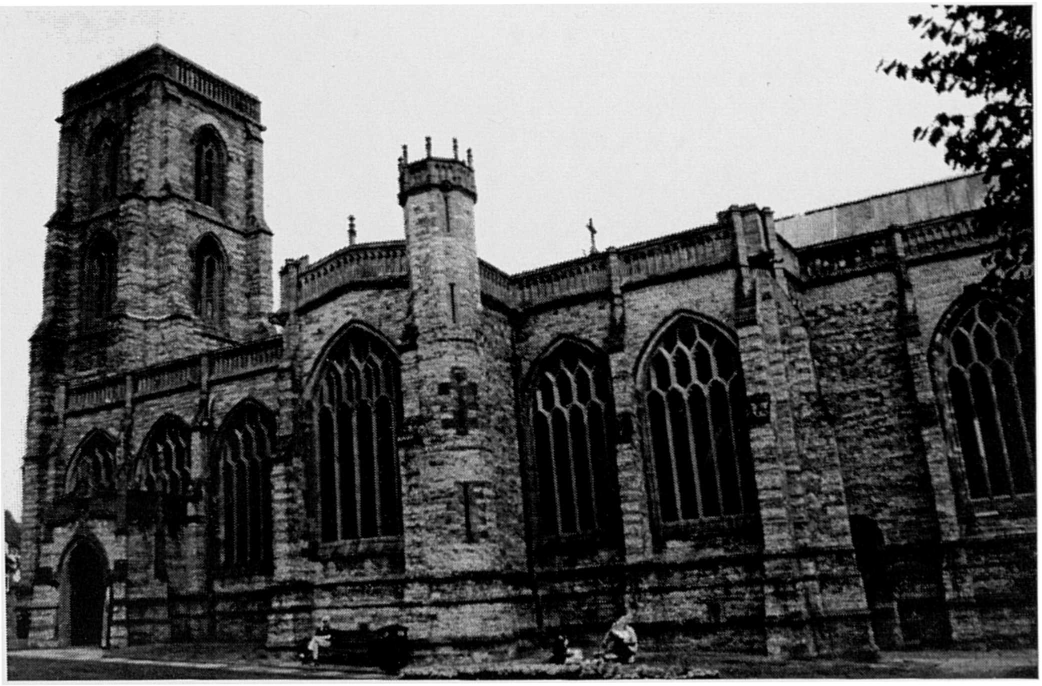
(viii) St John's, Yeovil, 'feature' windows



(ix) St Mary's, Yatton, Newton Chapel east window

2.10: Comparative Tracery Designs

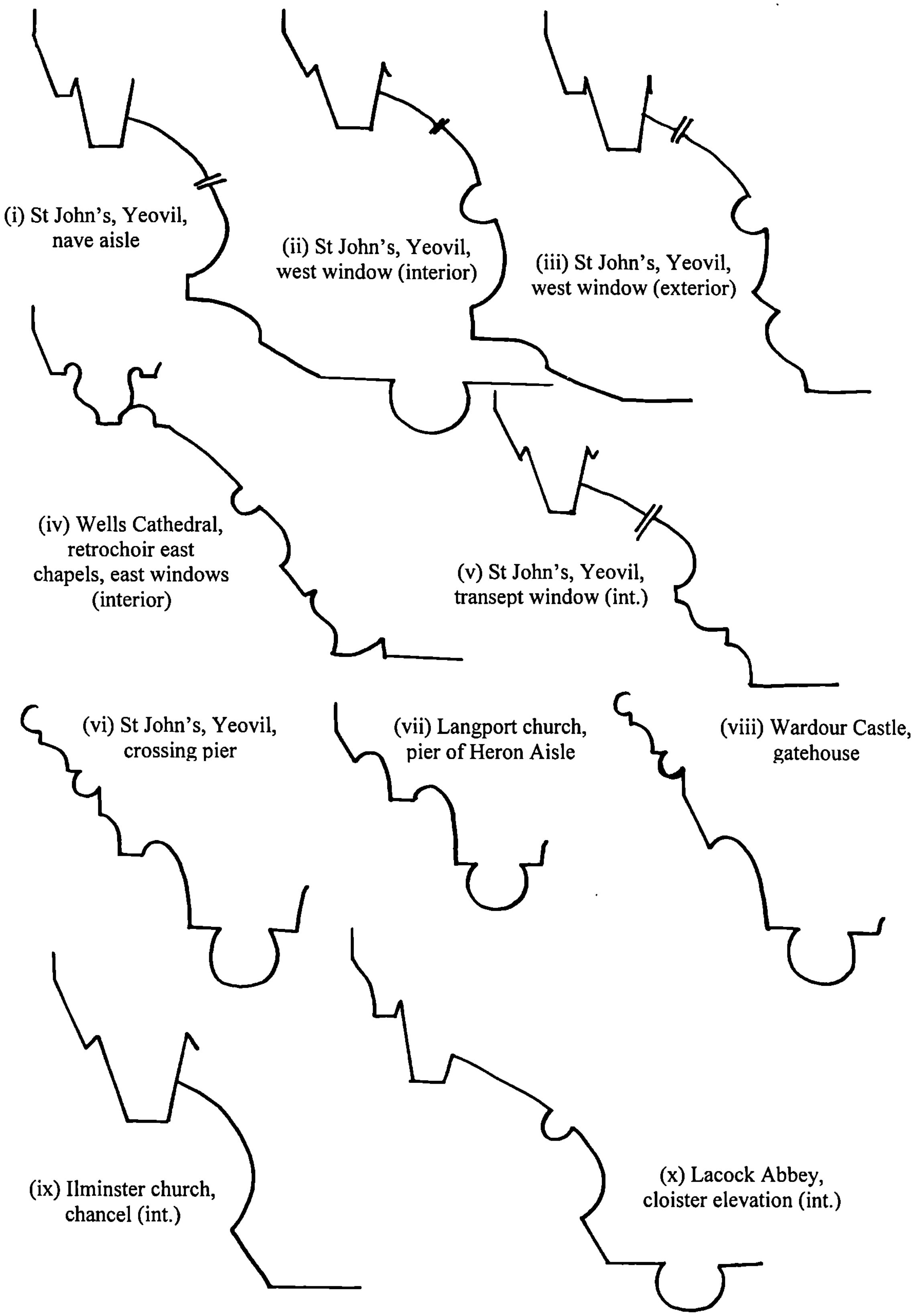
FIGURE 2.11



2.11A: St John's, Yeovil, exterior view from south

2.11B: St John's, Yeovil, south nave aisle elevation (interior)

FIGURE 2.12



(i) St John's, Yeovil, nave aisle

(ii) St John's, Yeovil, west window (interior)

(iii) St John's, Yeovil, west window (exterior)

(iv) Wells Cathedral, retrochoir east chapels, east windows (interior)

(v) St John's, Yeovil, transept window (int.)

(vi) St John's, Yeovil, crossing pier

(vii) Langport church, pier of Heron Aisle

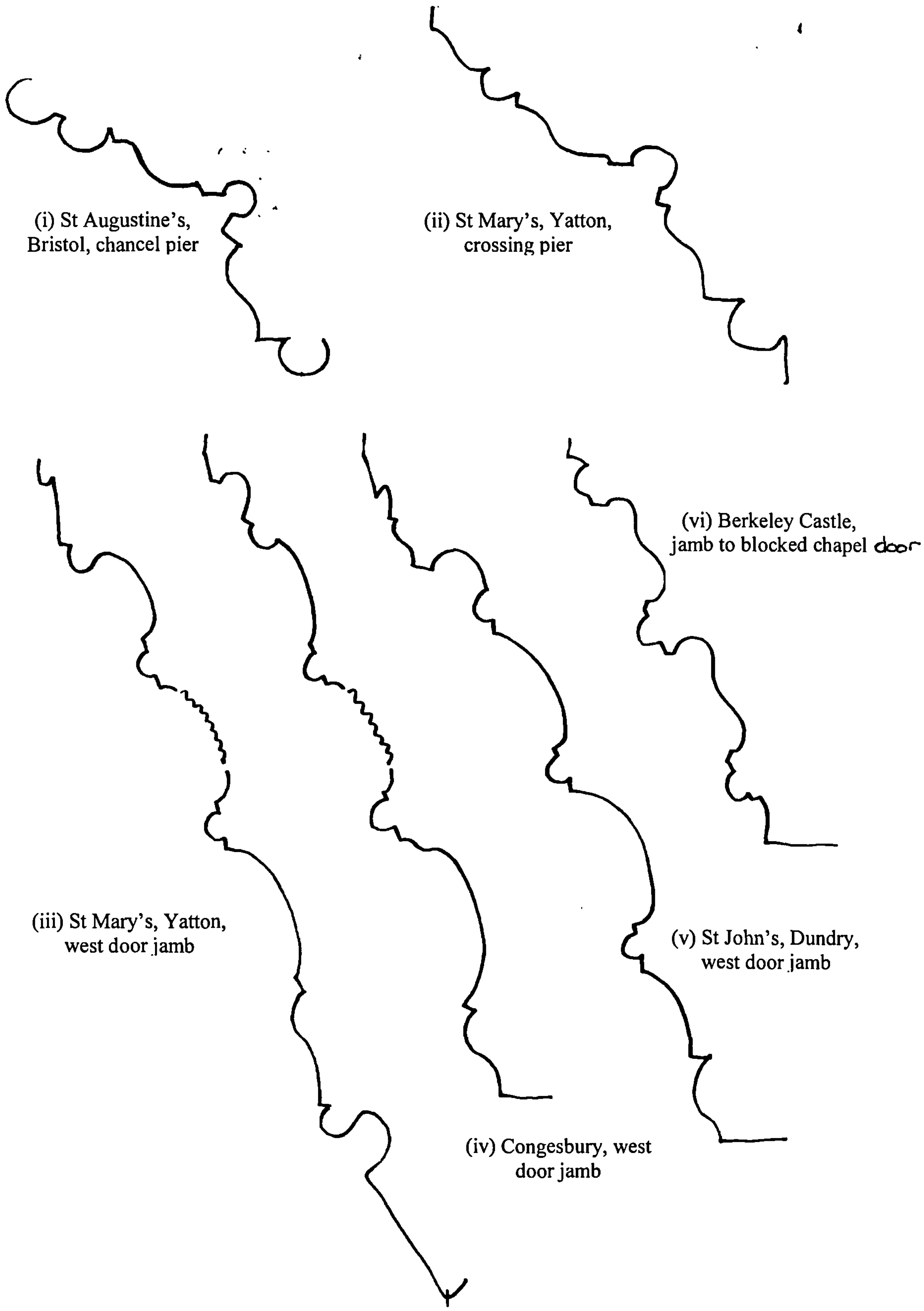
(viii) Wardour Castle, gatehouse

(ix) Ilminster church, chancel (int.)

(x) Lacock Abbey, cloister elevation (int.)

2.12: St John's, Yeovil, and comparative moulding designs

FIGURE 2.13



(i) St Augustine's, Bristol, chancel pier

(ii) St Mary's, Yatton, crossing pier

(iii) St Mary's, Yatton, west door jamb

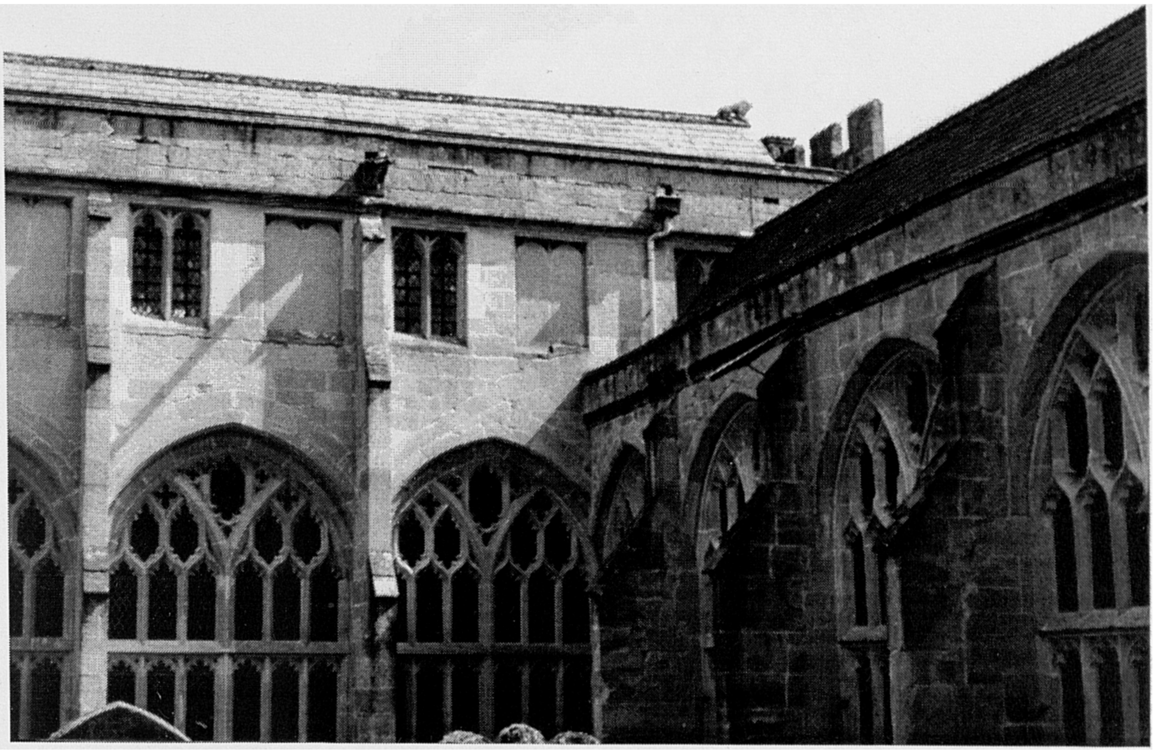
(iv) Congesbury, west door jamb

(v) St John's, Dundry, west door jamb

(vi) Berkeley Castle, jamb to blocked chapel door

2.13: Somerset parish church mouldings and sources

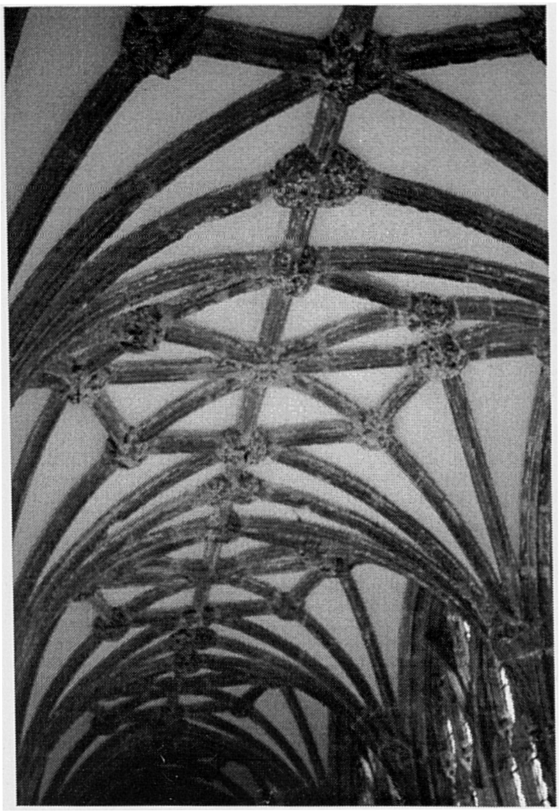
FIGURE 3.1



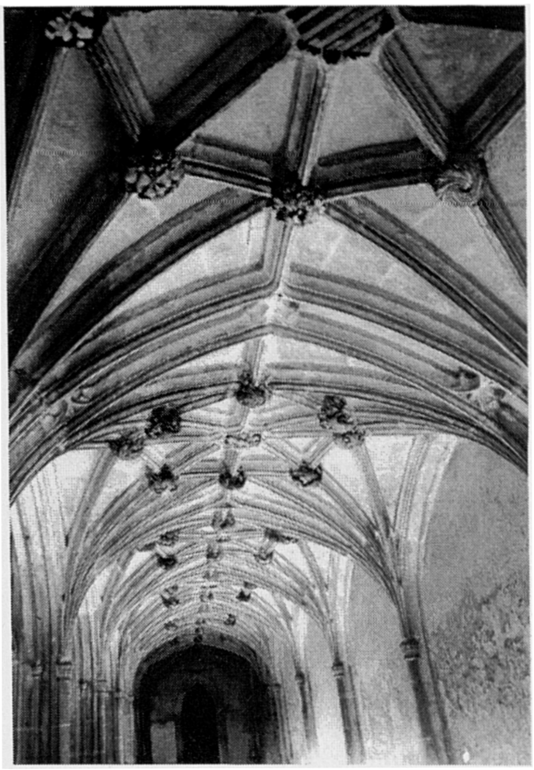
3.1A: Wells Cathedral cloister, junction of east range and south range

3.1B: Wells Cathedral cloister, detail of library on first floor from east side

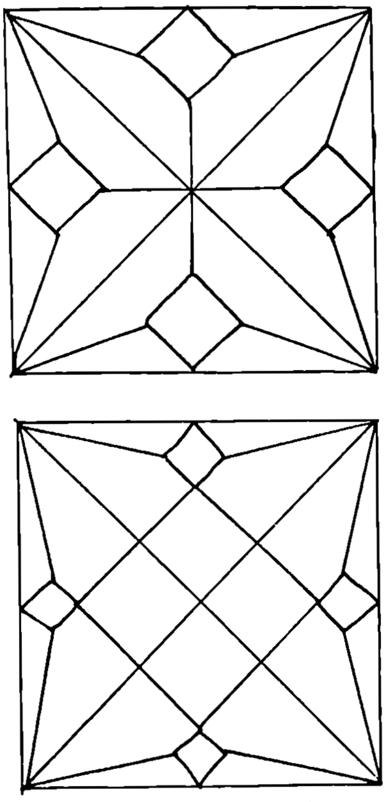
FIGURE 3.2



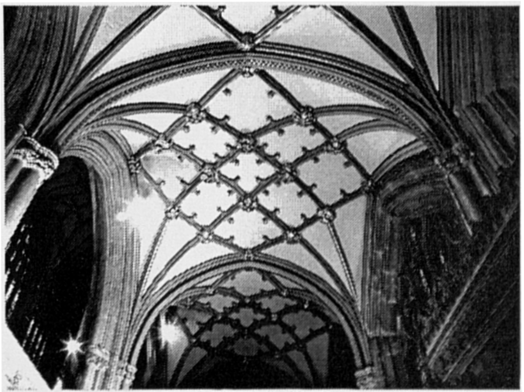
3.2A: Wells Cathedral, east cloister vault



3.2B: Lacock Abbey, cloister vault

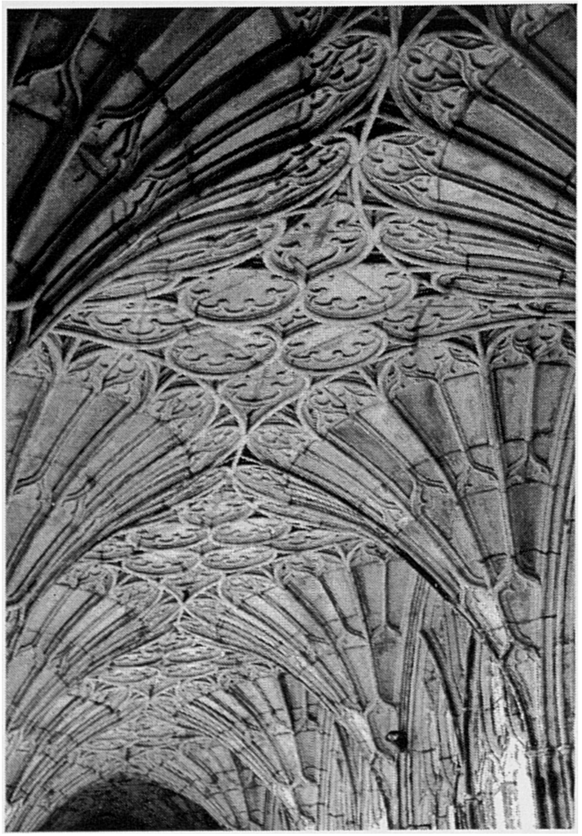


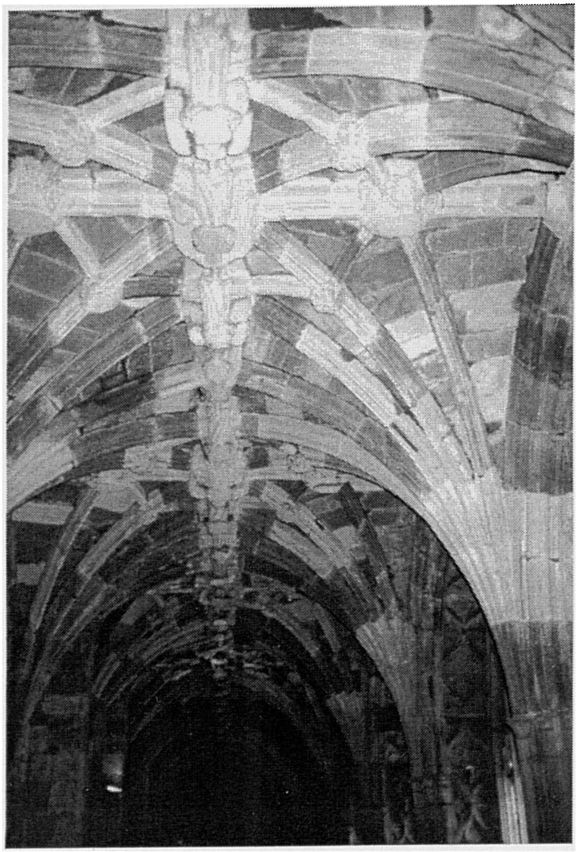
3.2C: Sherborne Abbey, cloister vault reconstruction



3.2D: St Mary Redcliffe, north choir aisle vault

FIGURE 3.3


3.3A: Gloucester Cathedral, cloister vault


3.3B: Worcester Cathedral, cloister vault

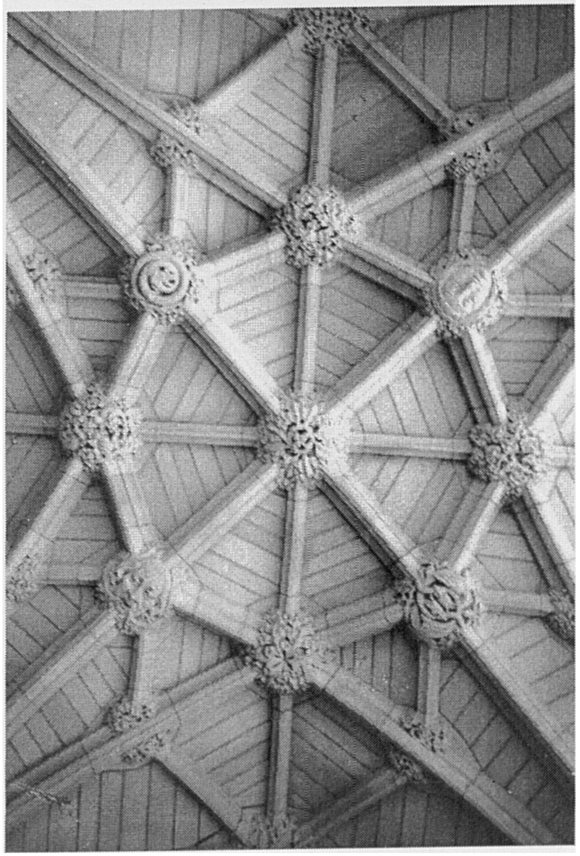
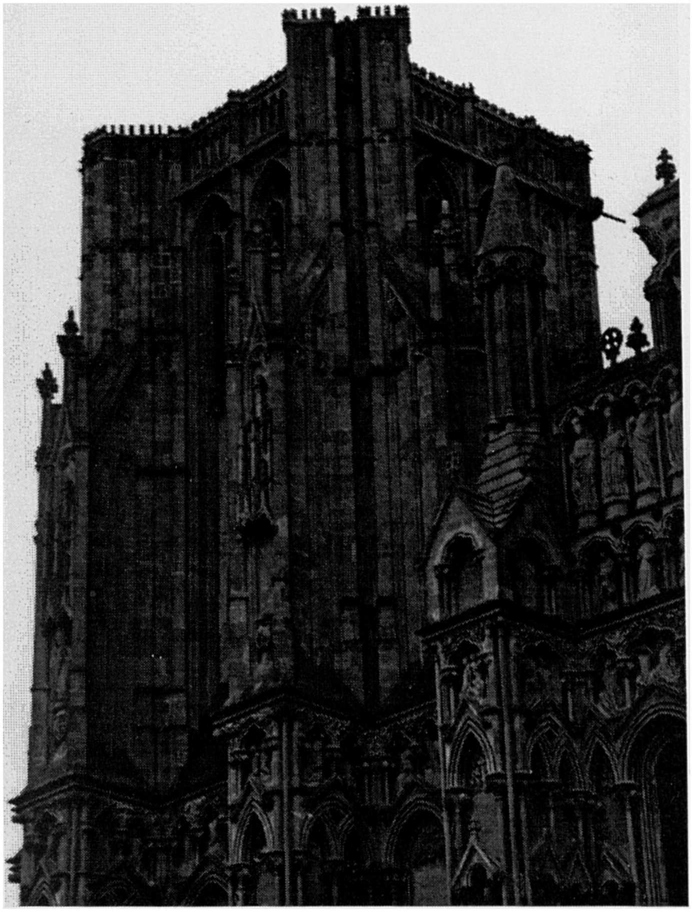
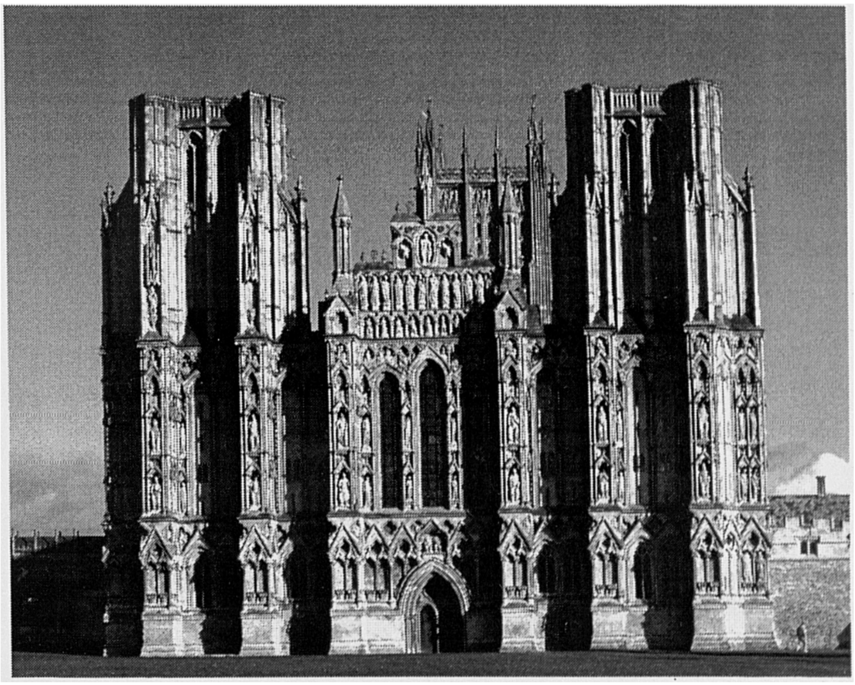

3.3C: Exeter Cathedral, cloister vault (reconstruction by Pearson)

FIGURE 3.4

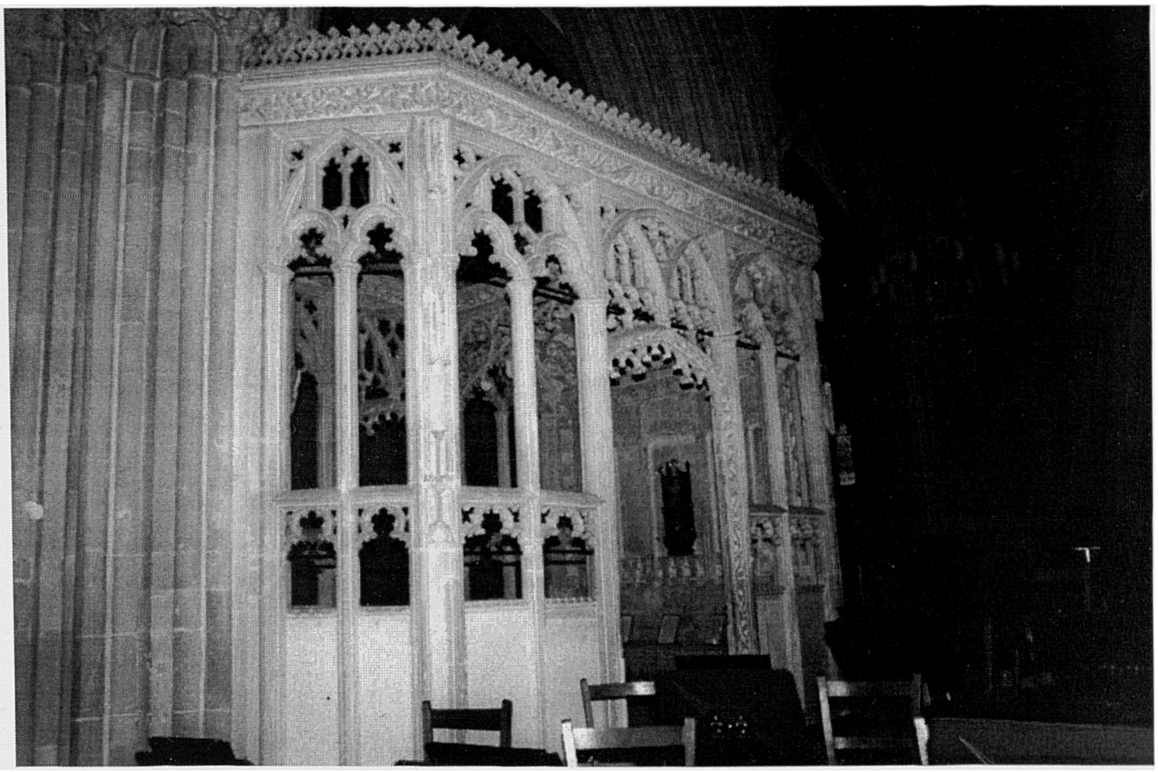


3.4A: Wells Cathedral, north-west tower

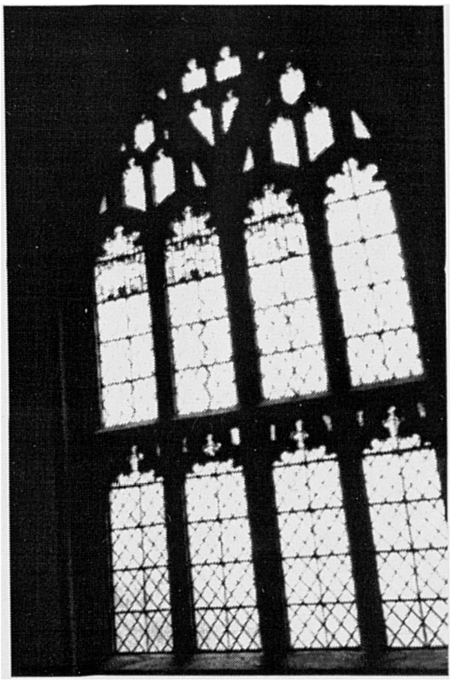


3.4B: Wells Cathedral, west front

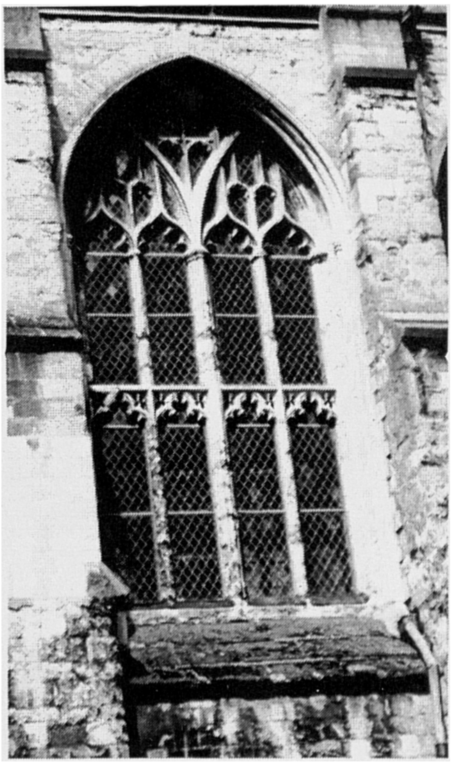
FIGURE 3.5



3.5A: Wells Cathedral, chantry chapel of Bishop Nicholas Bubwith

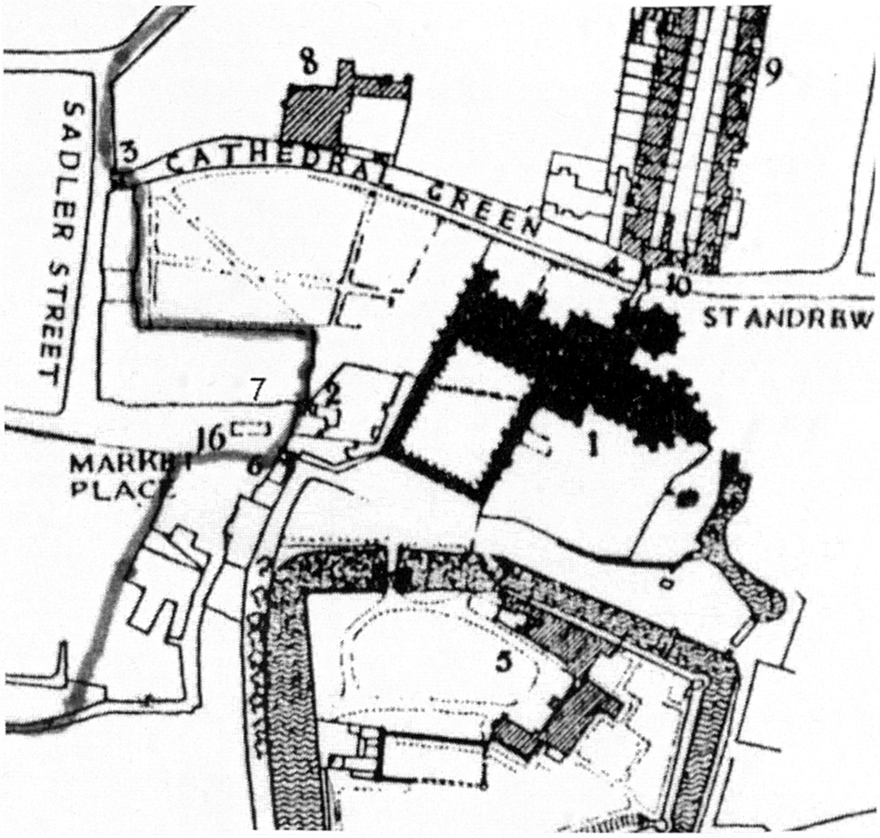


3.5B: Kingsbury Episcopi, north chapel



3.5C: Exeter Cathedral, chapter house

FIGURE 3.6



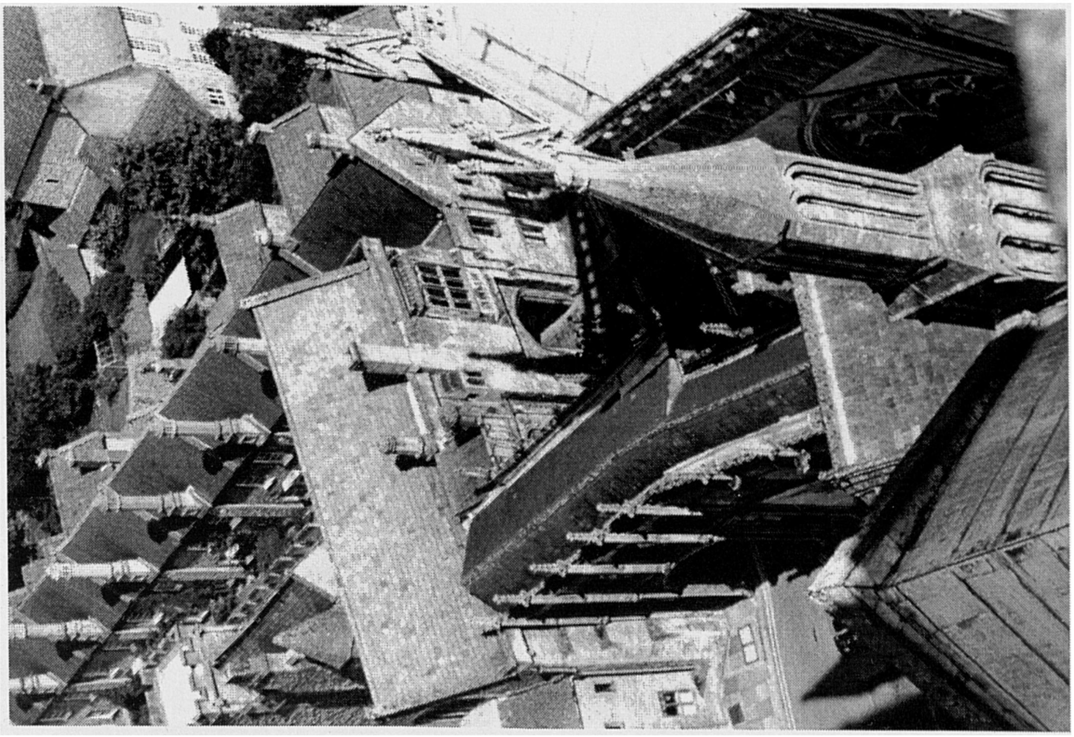
KEY TO PLAN

1: Cathedral
2: Penniless Porch
3: Brown's Gate
4: Chain Gate
5: Bishop's Palace
6: Bishop's Eye
7: Nova Opera
8: The Deanery
9: Vicars' Close
10: Vicars' Hall

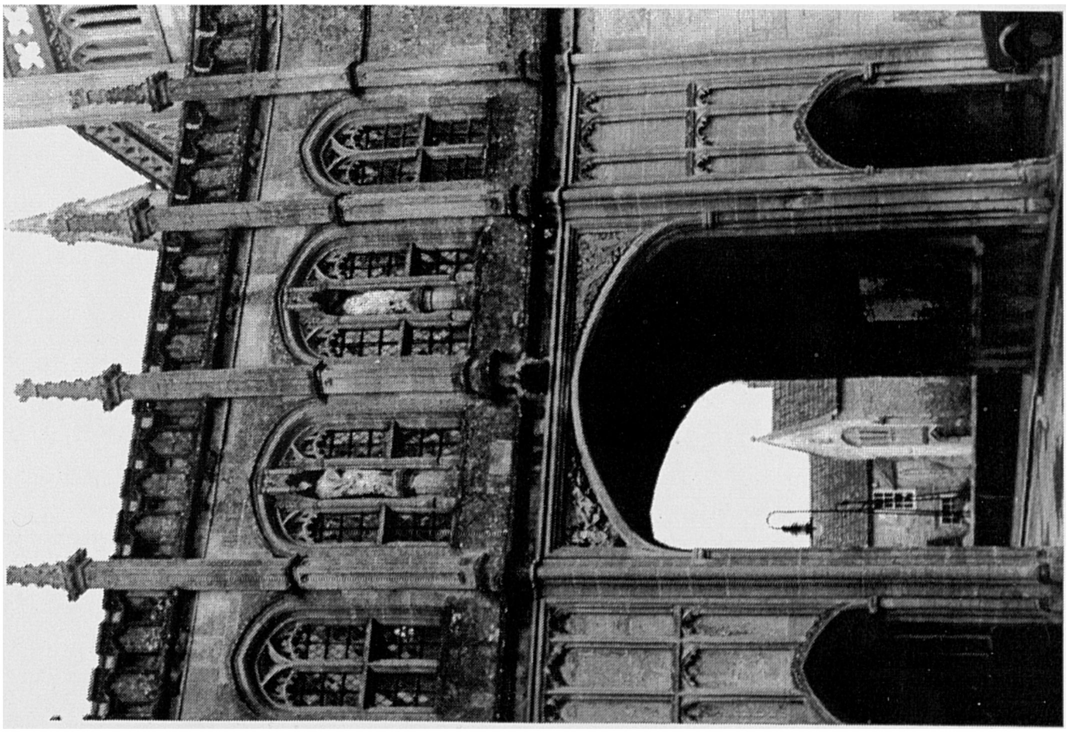
3.6A: Wells, plan of cathedral precinct

3.6B: Wells Cathedral precinct, view to Penniless Porch and Bishop's Eye

FIGURE 3.7

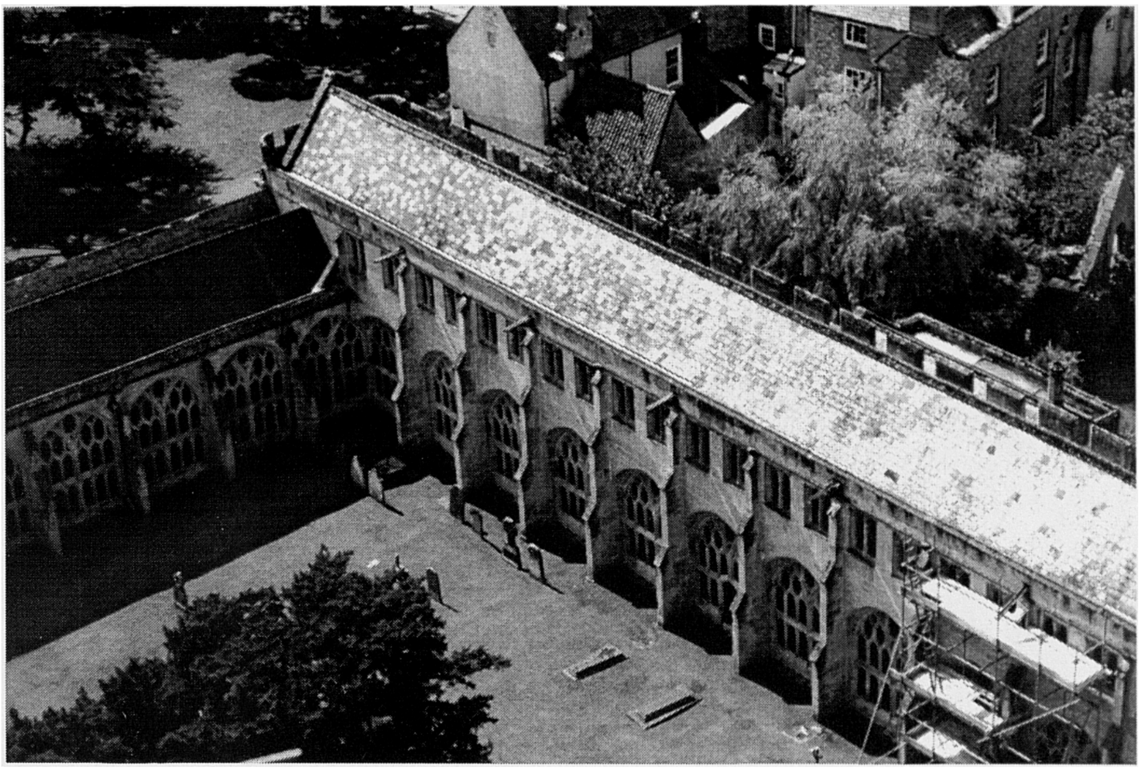


3.7B: Wells Cathedral, Chain Gate view from above

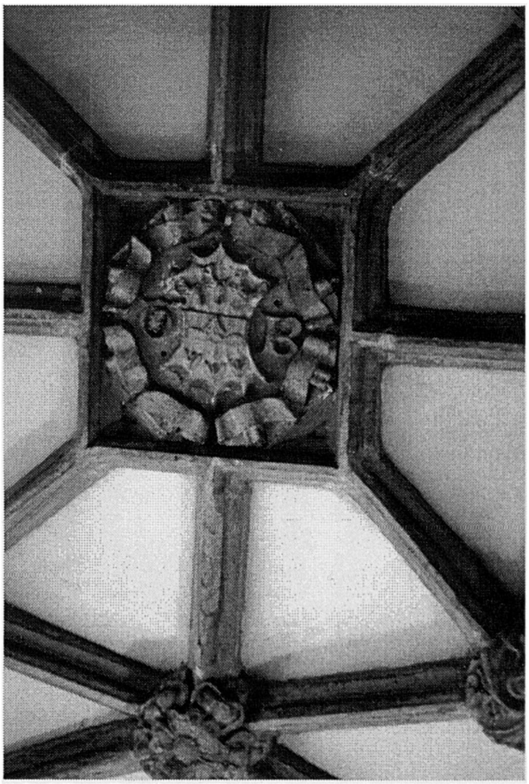


3.7A: Wells Cathedral, Chain Gate view from west

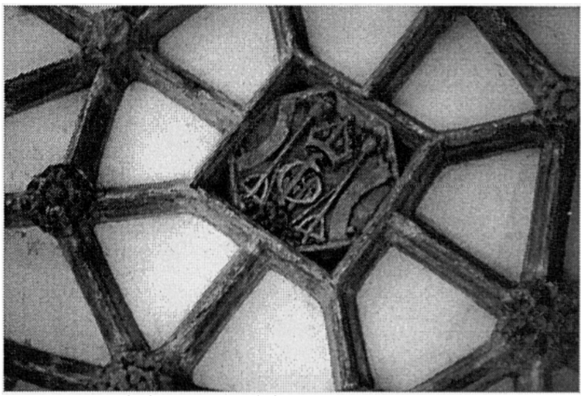
FIGURE 3.8



3.8A: Wells Cathedral, west range of cloister



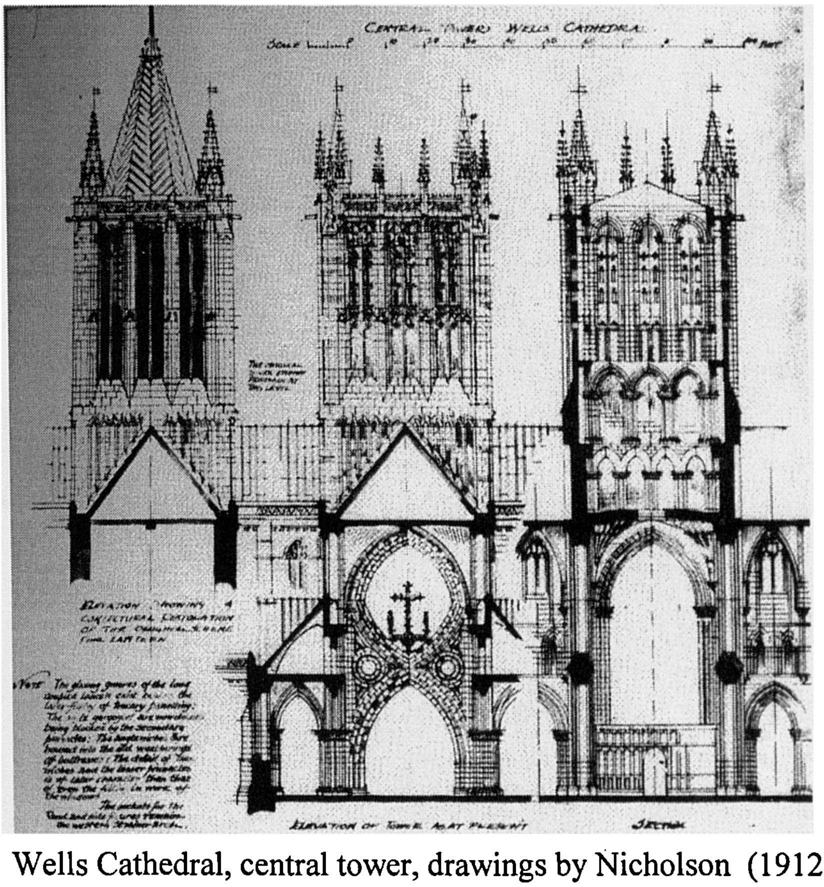
3.8B: Bishop Beckington's heraldry, cloister west range



3.8C: Bishop Beckington's rebus, cloister west range,

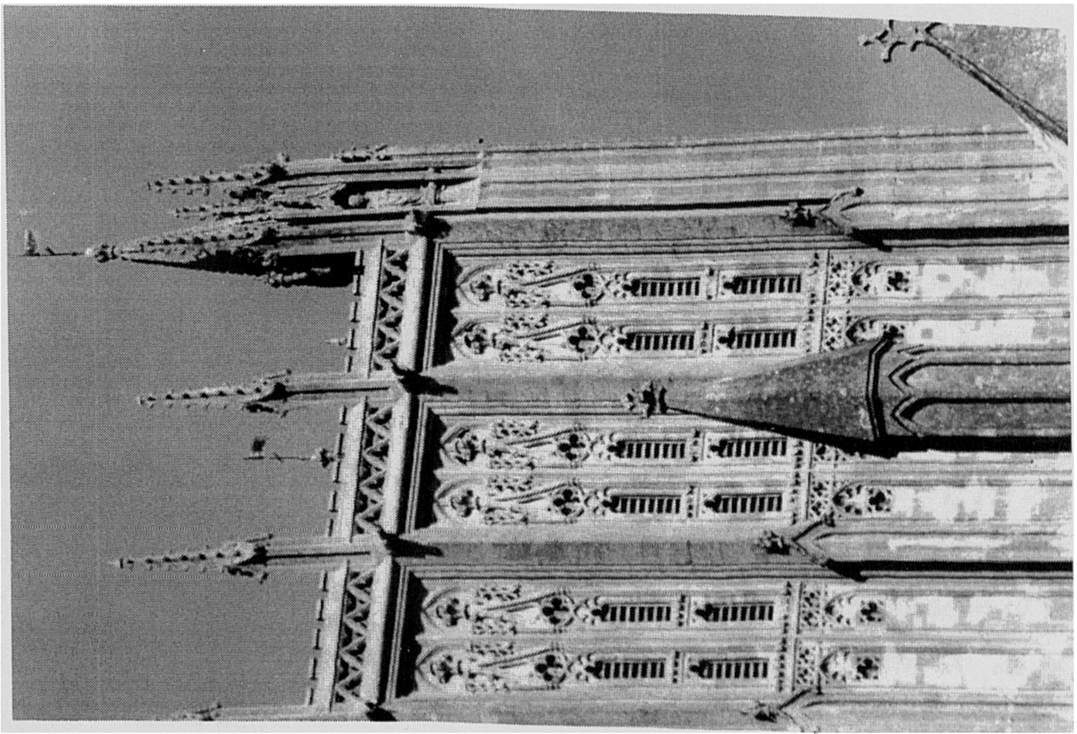
FIGURE 3.9

3.9A: Wells Cathedral, central tower view from north

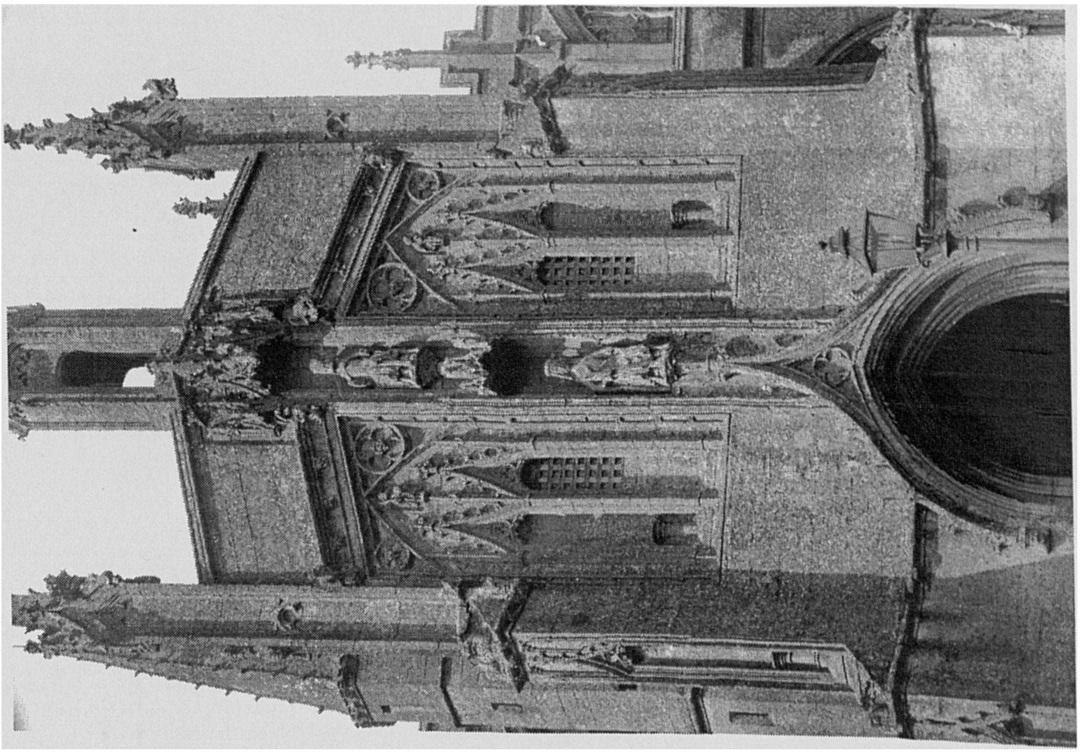


3.9B: Wells Cathedral, central tower, drawings by Nicholson (1912)

FIGURE 3.10

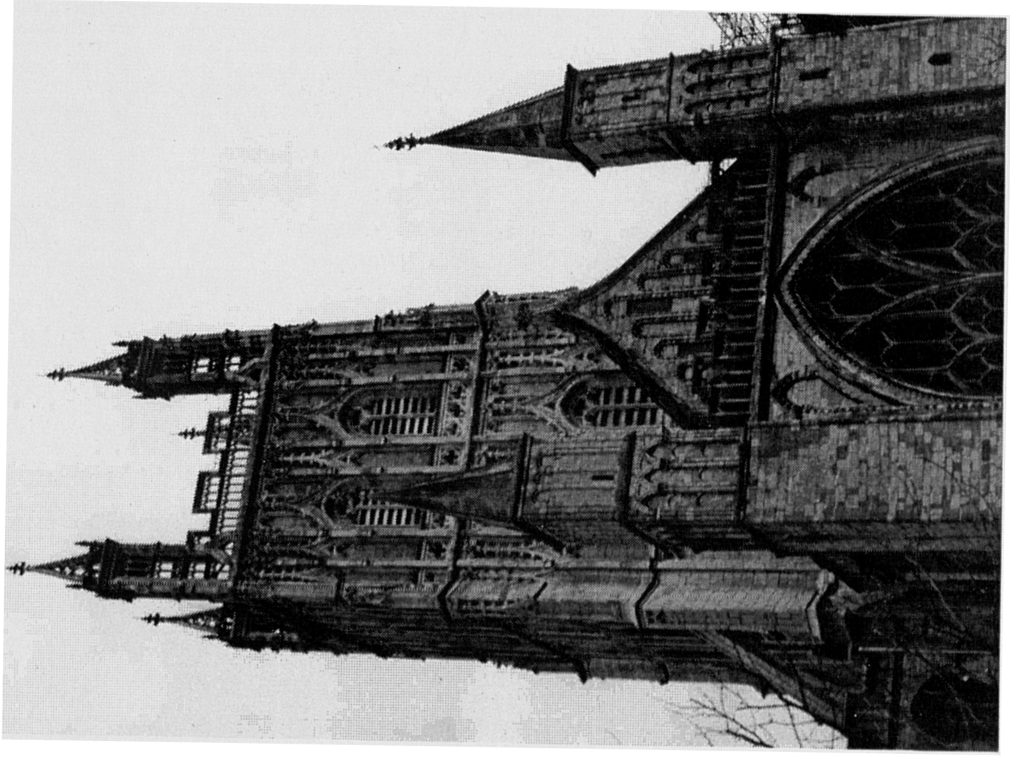


3.10A: Wells Cathedral, central tower detail

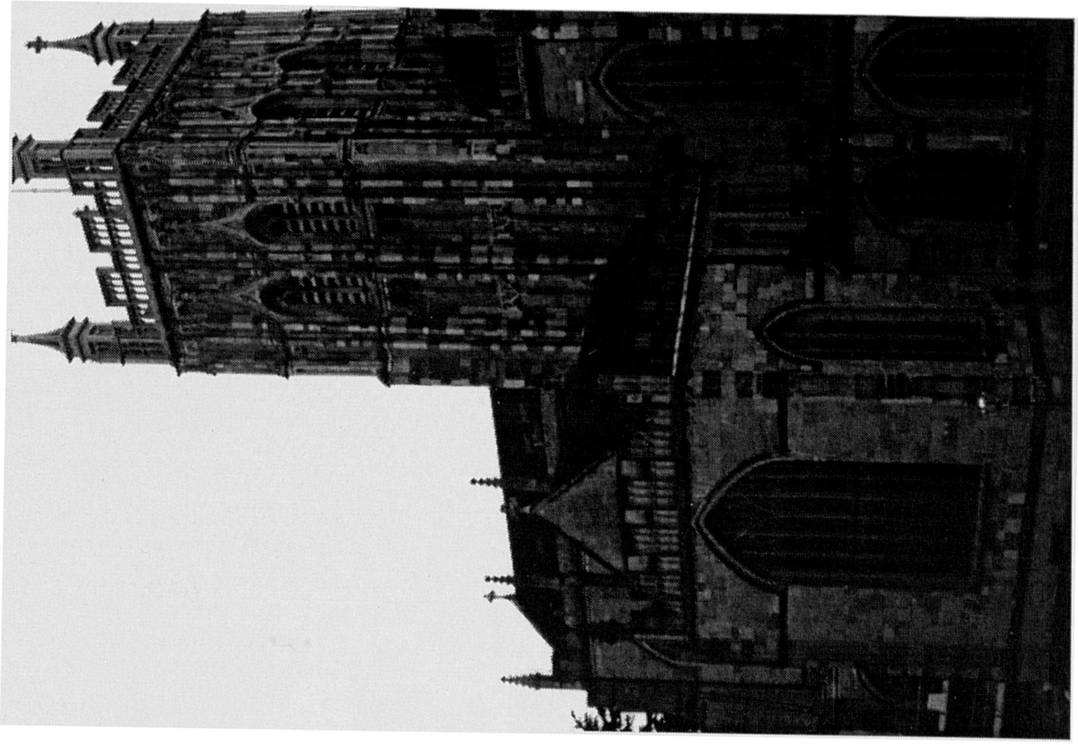


3.10B: Northleach parish church, south porch

FIGURE 3.11

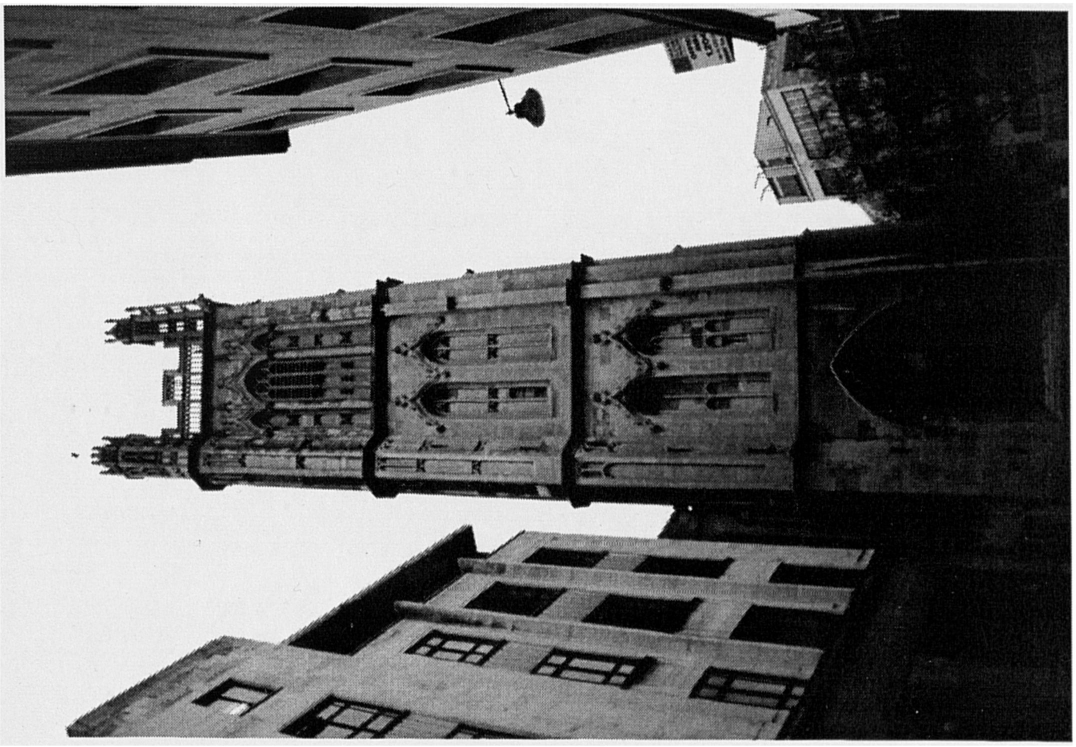


3.11A: Gloucester Cathedral, central tower

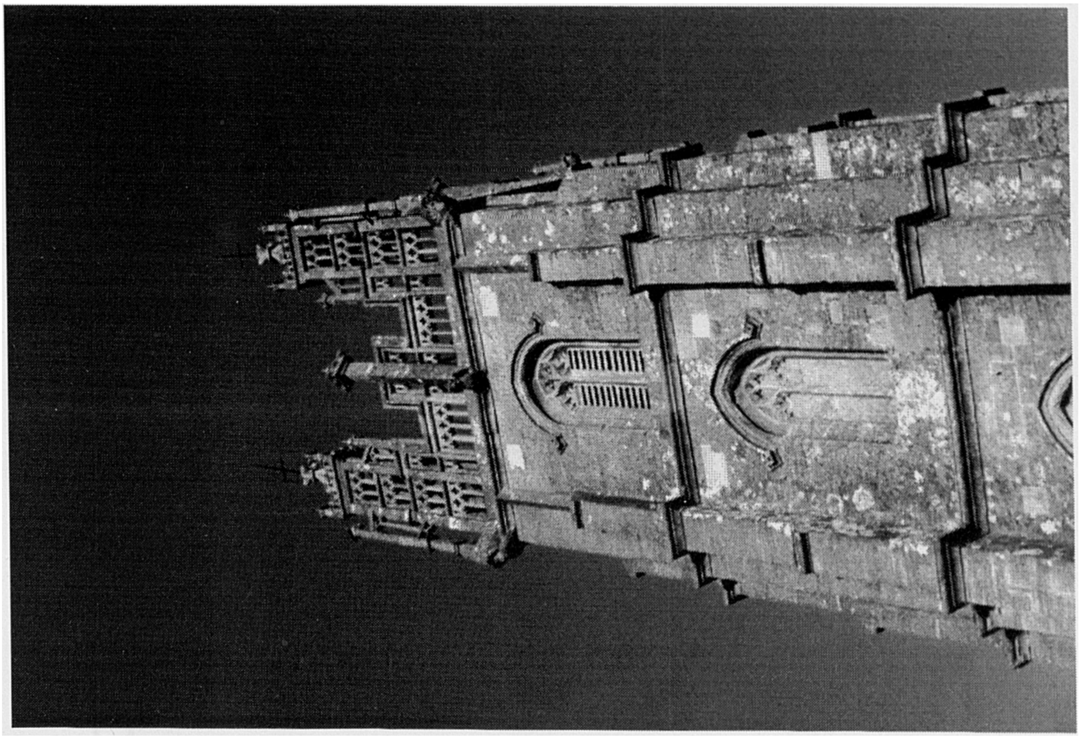


3.11B: Great Malvern Priory, central tower

FIGURE 3.12

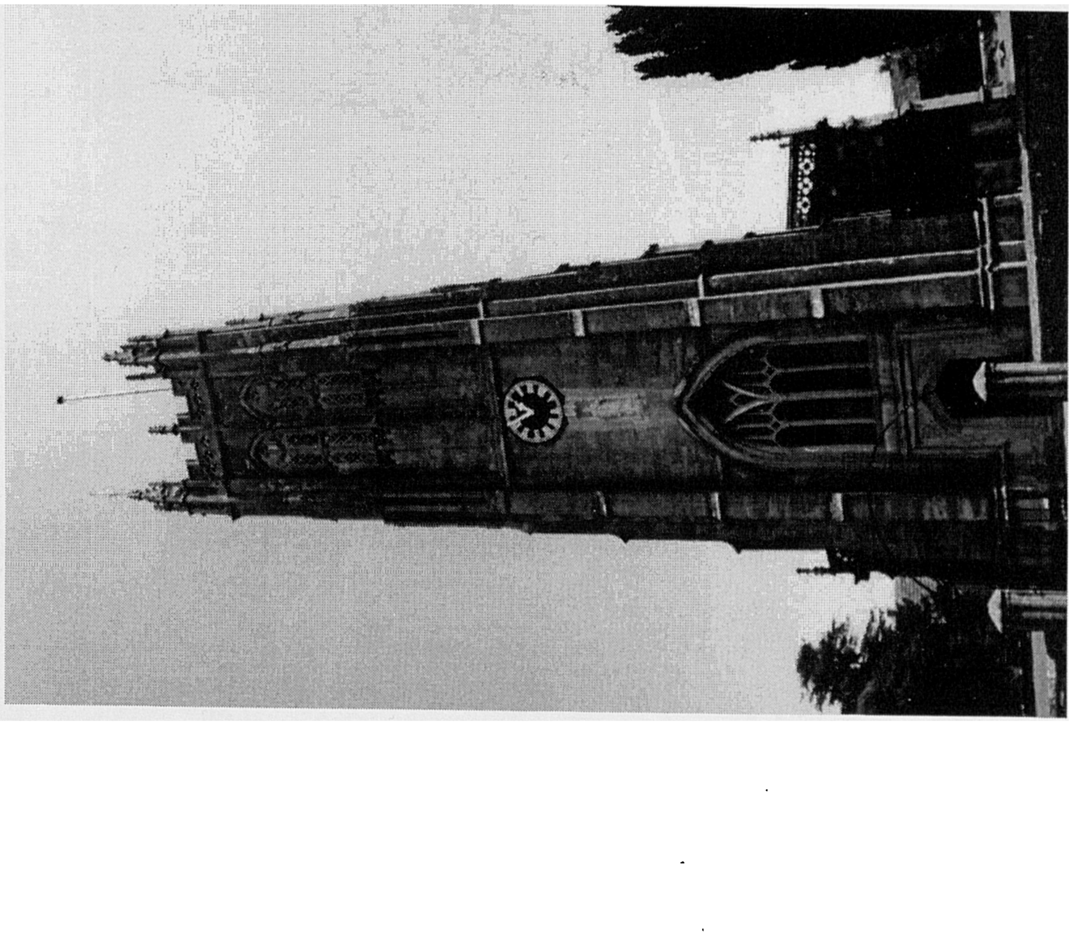


3.12A: St Stephen's church. Bristol, west tower

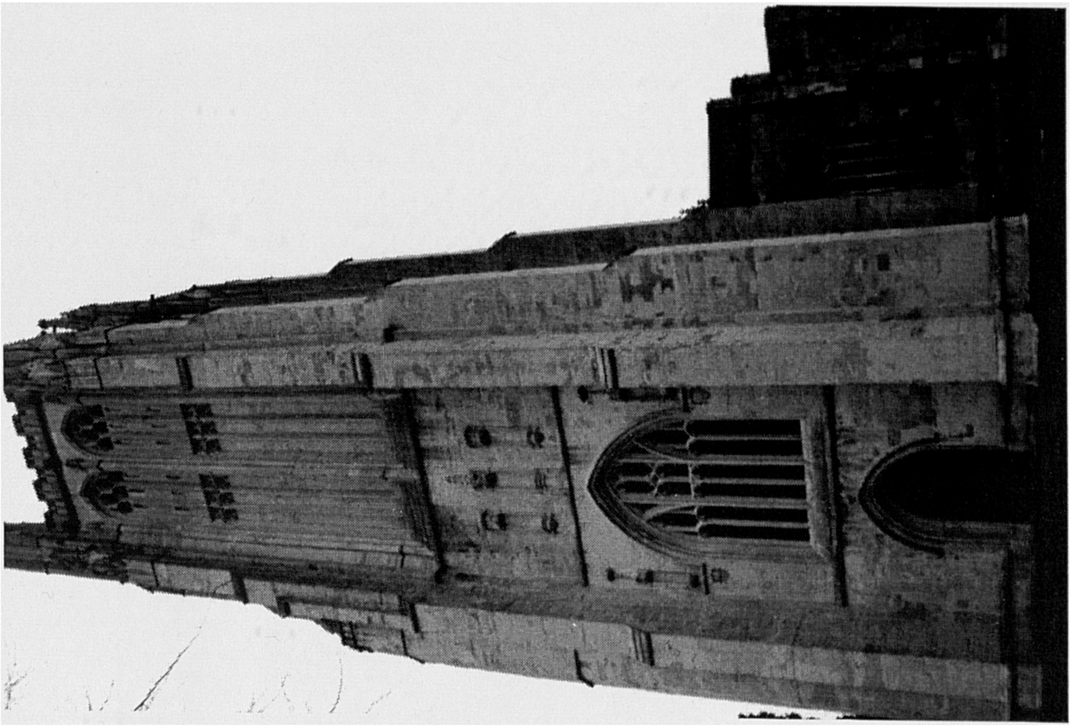


3.12B: Dundry parish church, west tower

FIGURE 3.13

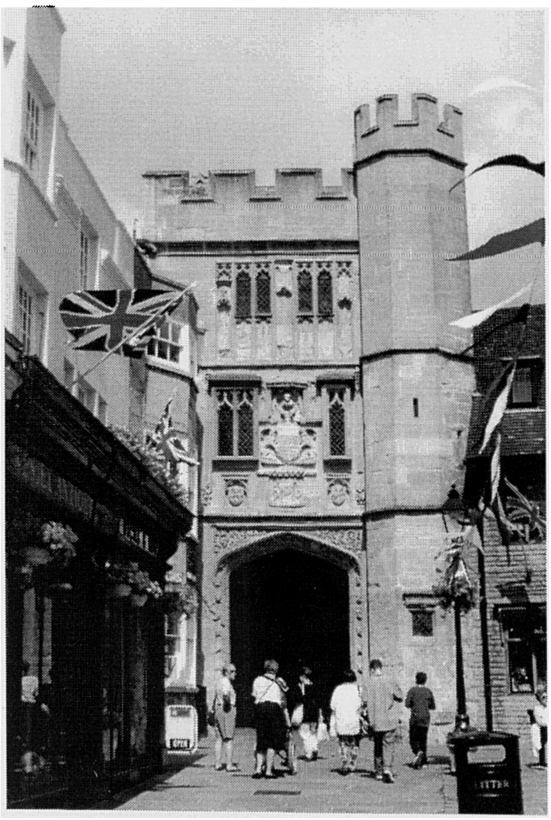


3.13A: Evercreech parish church, west tower

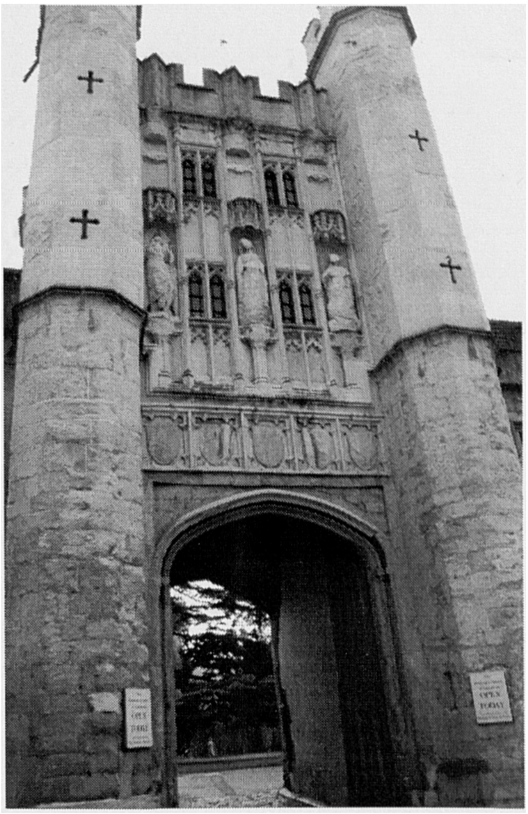


3.13B: St Cuthbert's, Wells, west tower

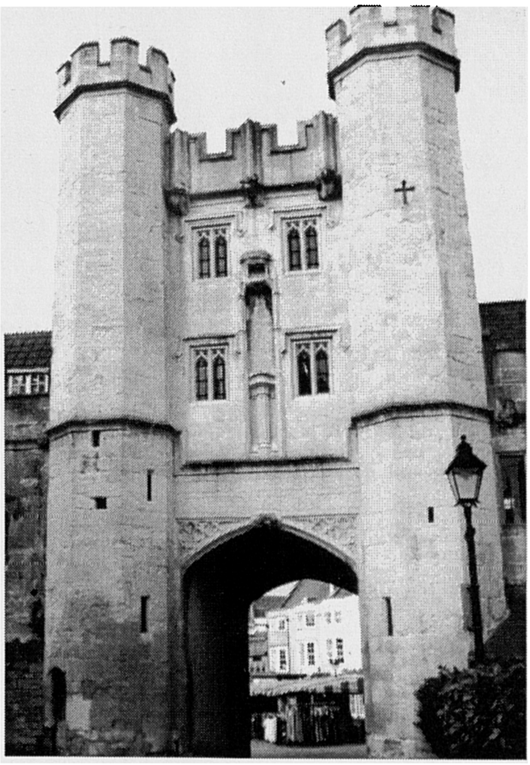
FIGURE 3.14



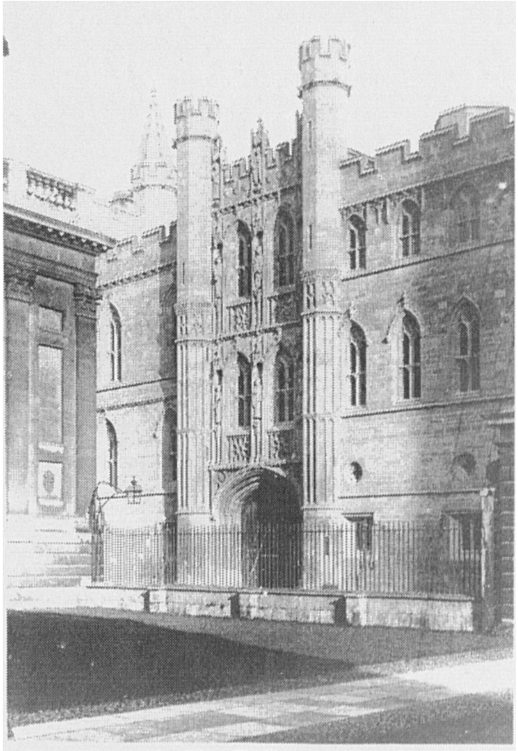
3.14A: Penniless Porch, west side



3.14B: Bishop's Eye, west side

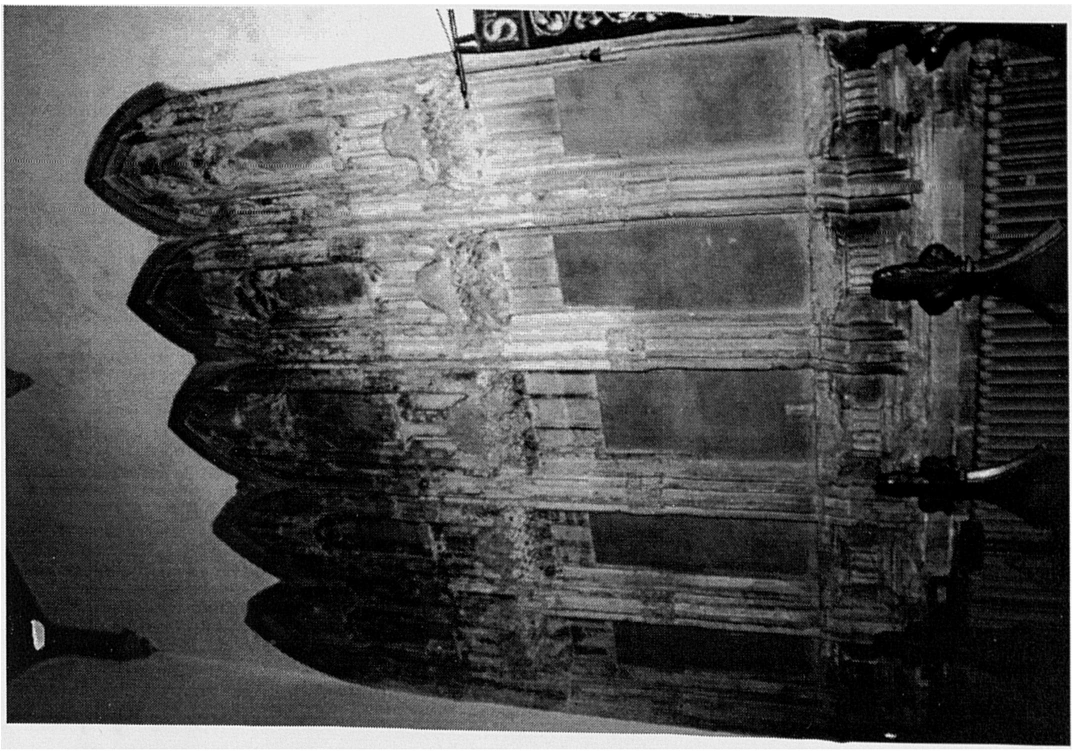


3.14C: Bishop's Eye, east side

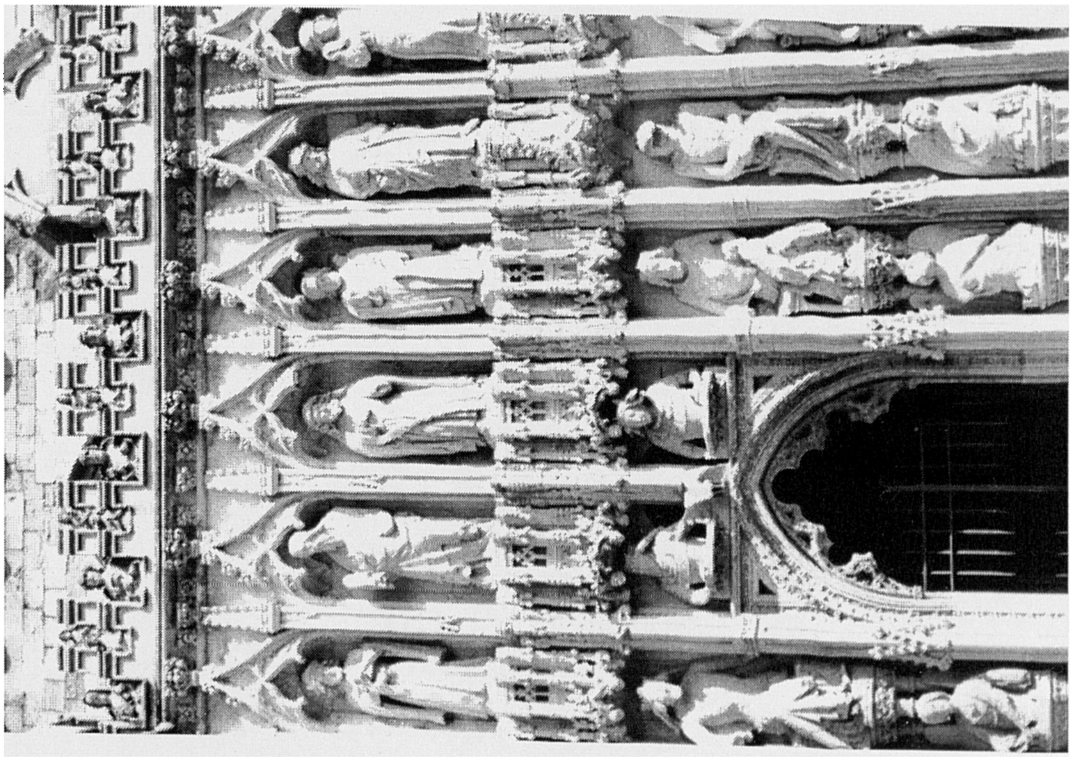


3.14D: King's College Cambridge, Outer Court gate

FIGURE 3.15

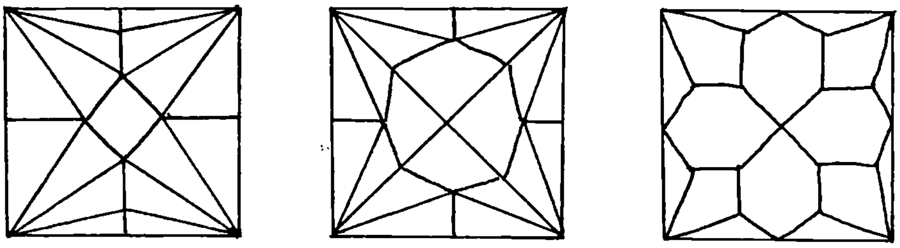


3.15B: St Cuthbert's Wells, north transept reredos



3.15A: Exeter Cathedral, west front detail of screem

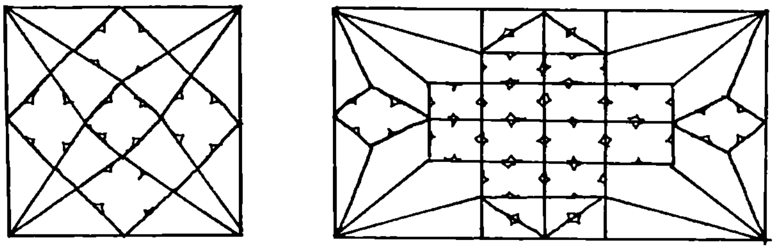
FIGURE 3.16



(i) Exeter Cathedral, St Edmund's Chapel

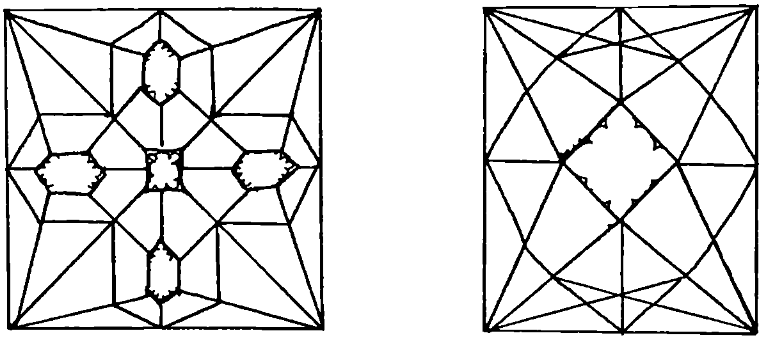
(ii) Winchester Cathedral, west front, porch

(iii) Wells Cathedral, choir aisles



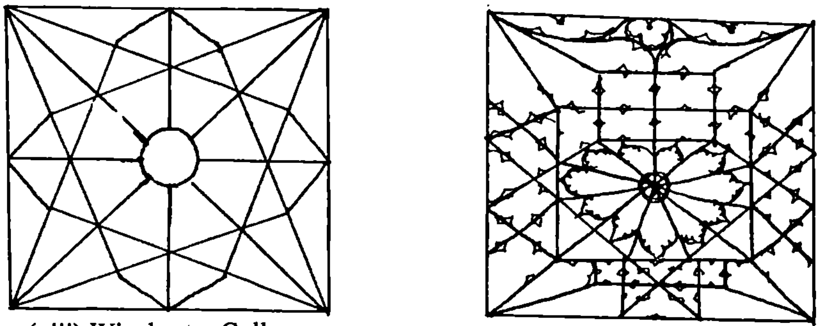
(iv) St. Mary Redcliffe, south nave aisle

(v) St. Mary Redcliffe, chancel vault



(vi) Wells Cathedral, Penniless Porch vault

(vii) Wells Cathedral, Bishop's Eye vault

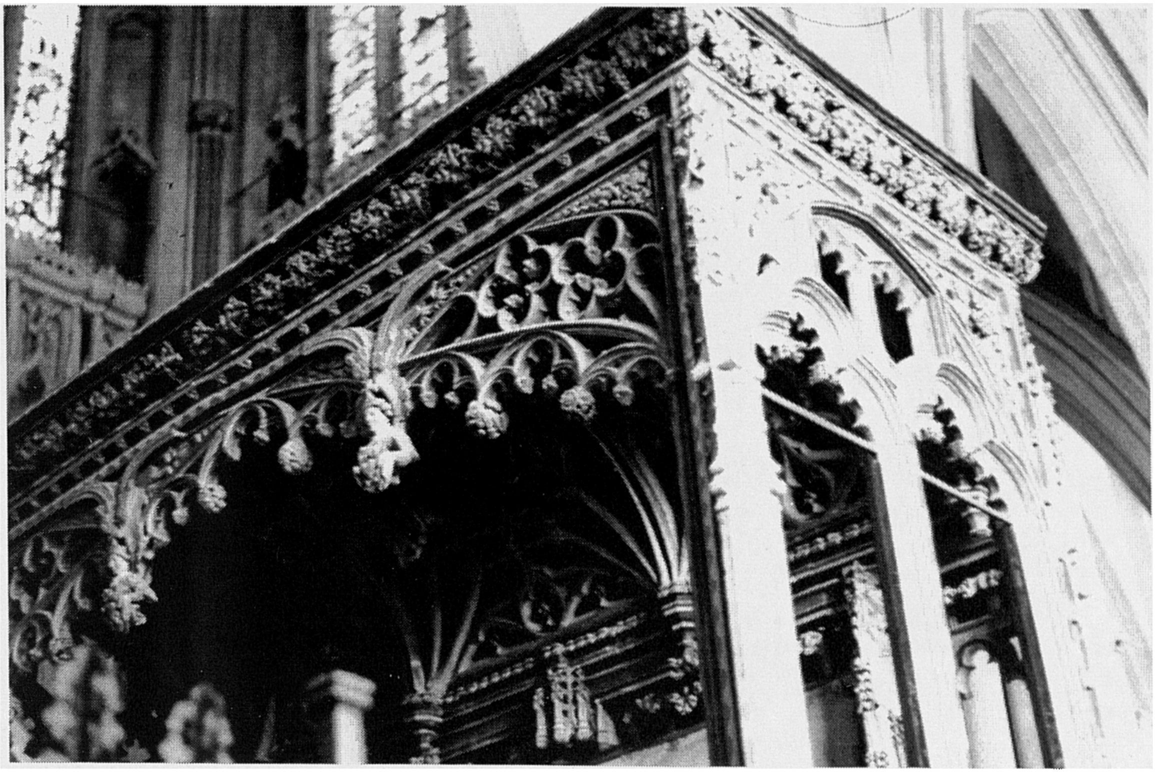


(viii) Winchester College, Thurbern's Chantry vault

(ix) Wells Cathedral, Bishop Beckington's Chantry Chapel, canopy vault

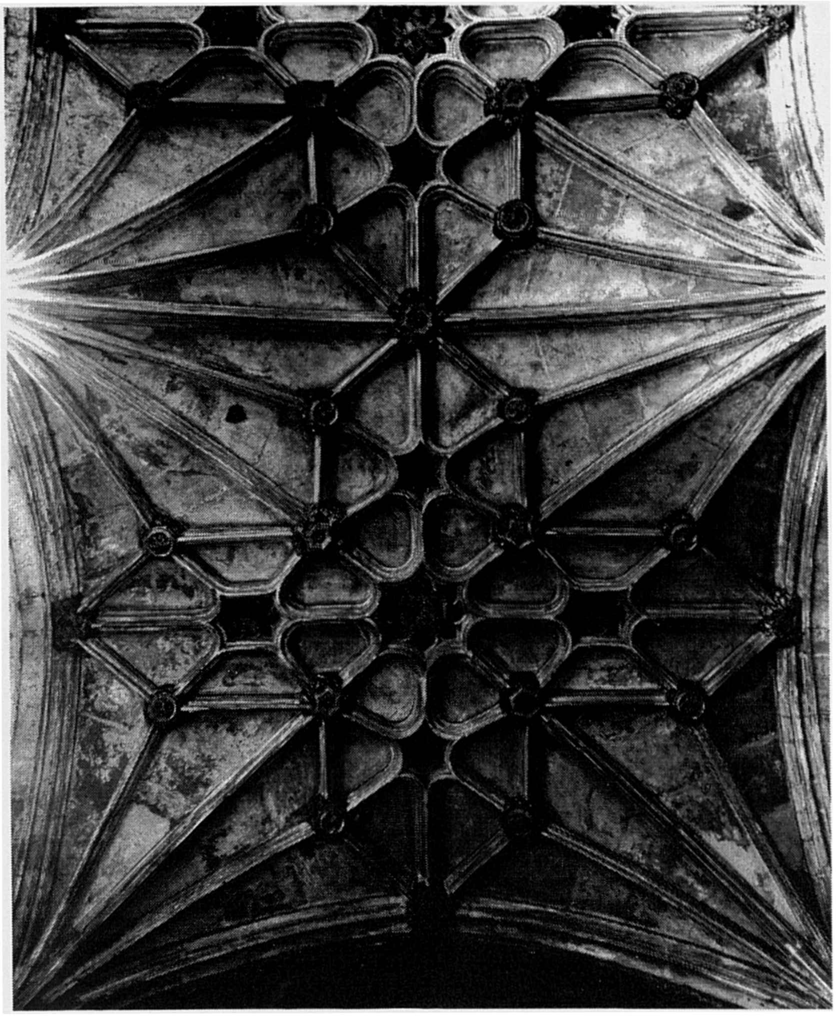
3.16: Vaults at Wells Cathedral and related designs

FIGURE 3.17

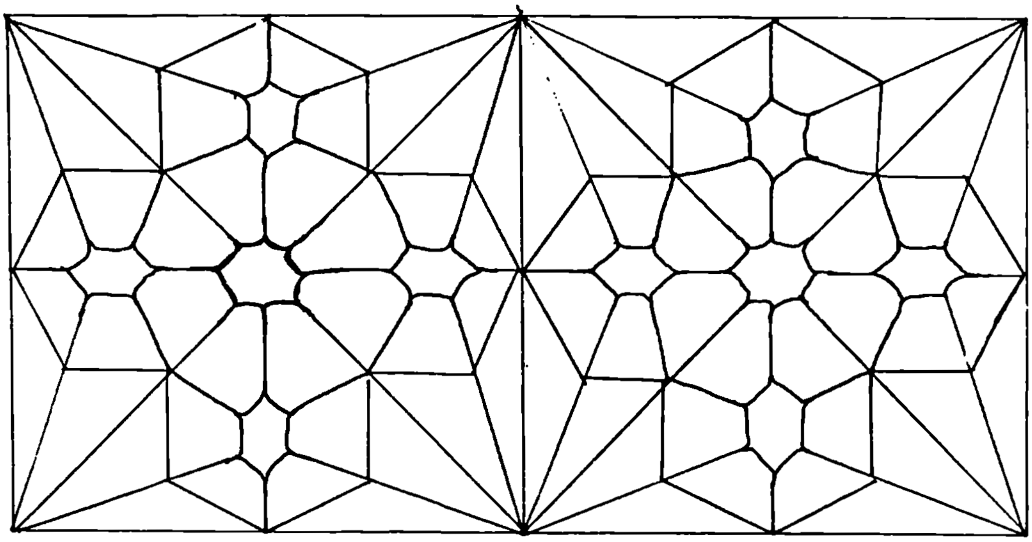


3.17: Wells Cathedral, chantry chapel of Bishop Beckington, canopy

FIGURE 3.18

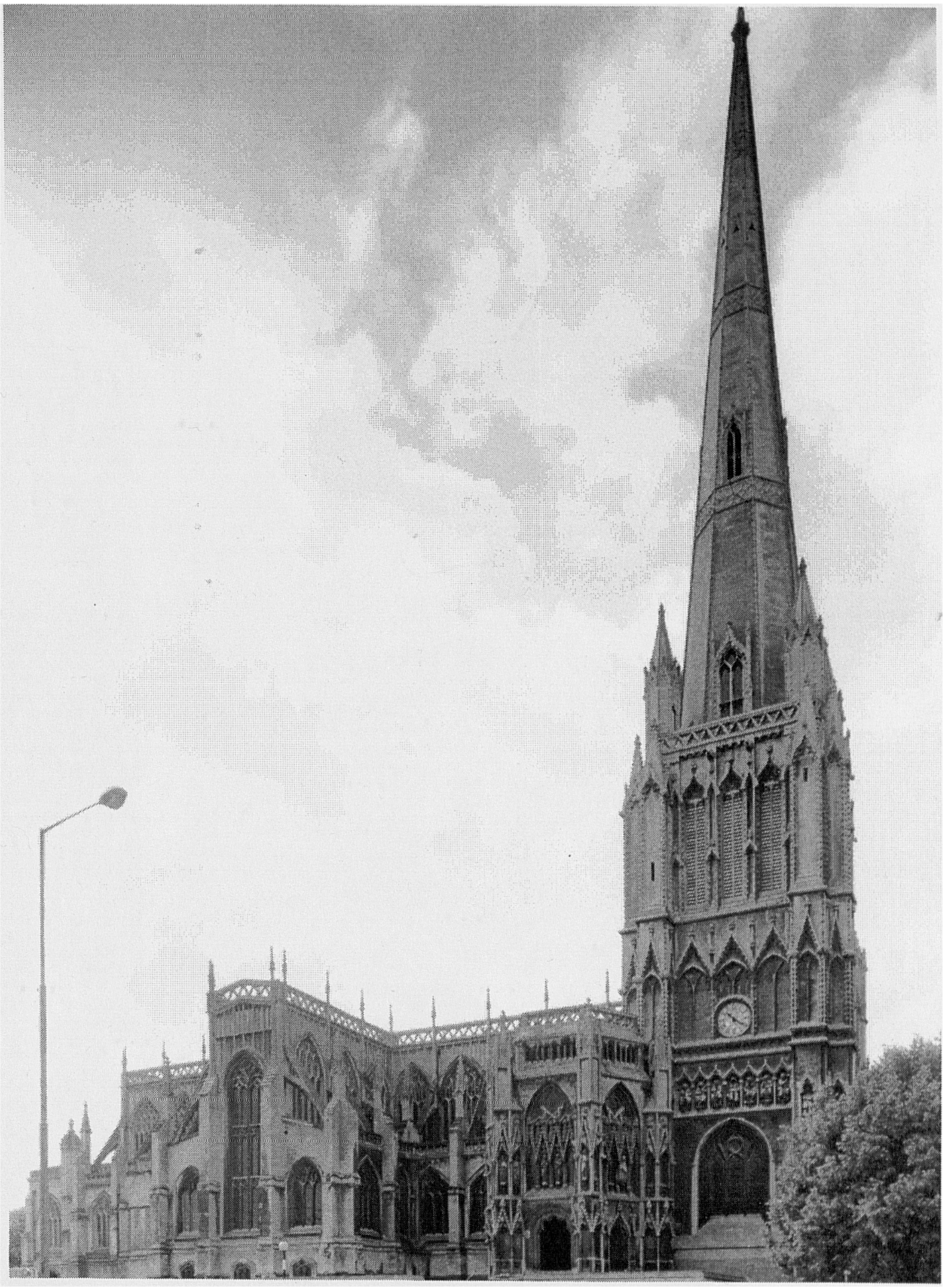


3.18A: St Mary's Warwick, Beauchamp Chapel vault



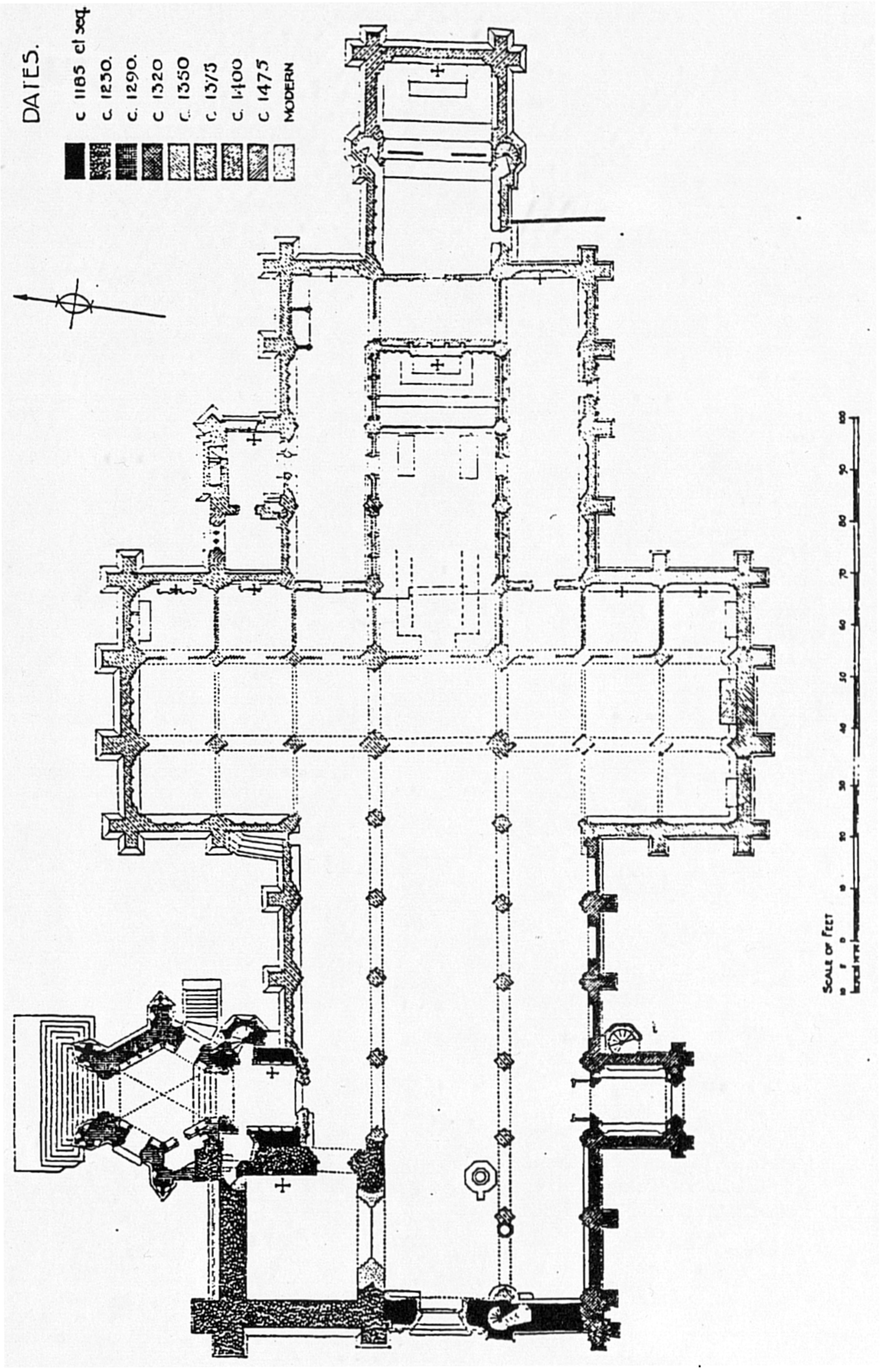
3.18B: St Mary's Warwick, Beauchamp Chapel vault

FIGURE 4.1



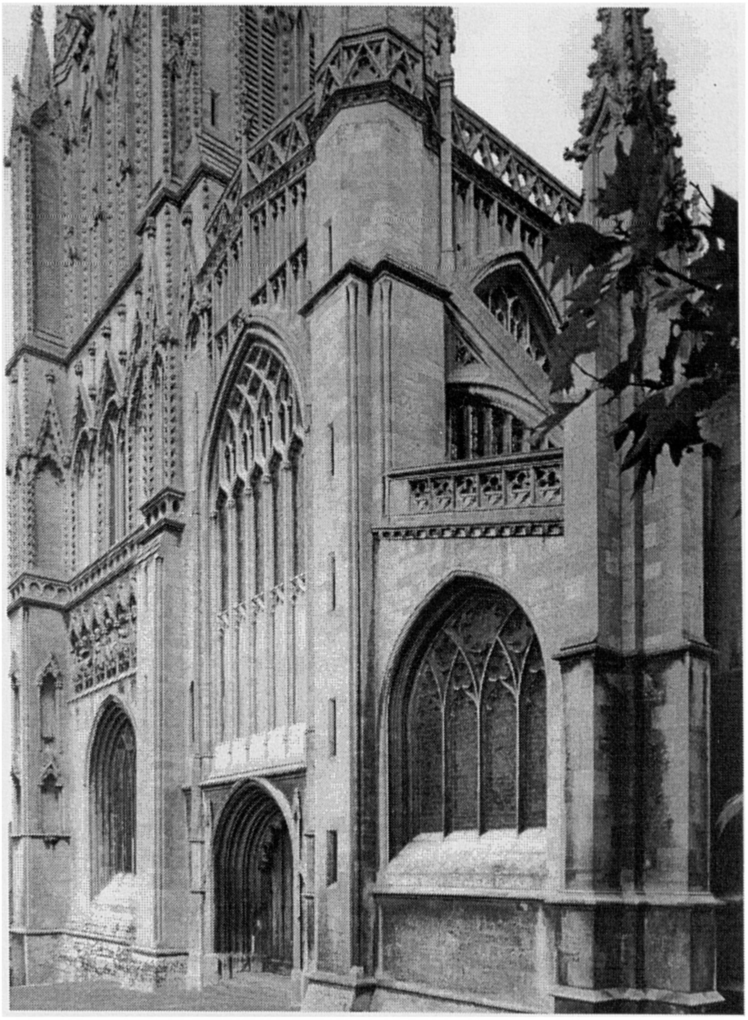
4.1: St Mary Redcliffe, view from north west

FIGURE 4.2

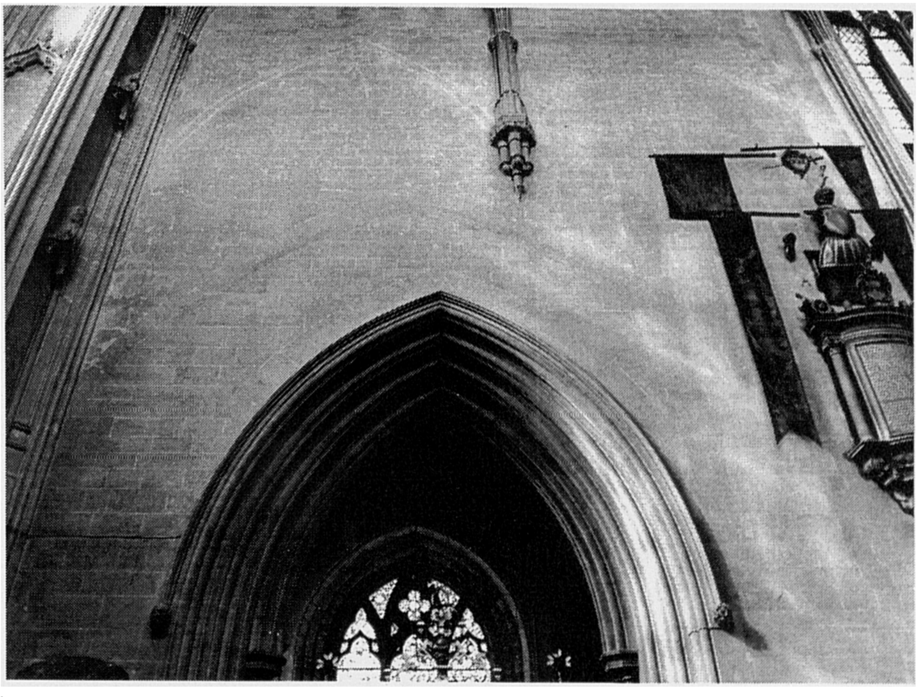


4.2: St Mary Redcliffe, plan – Brakspear (1922)

FIGURE 4.3

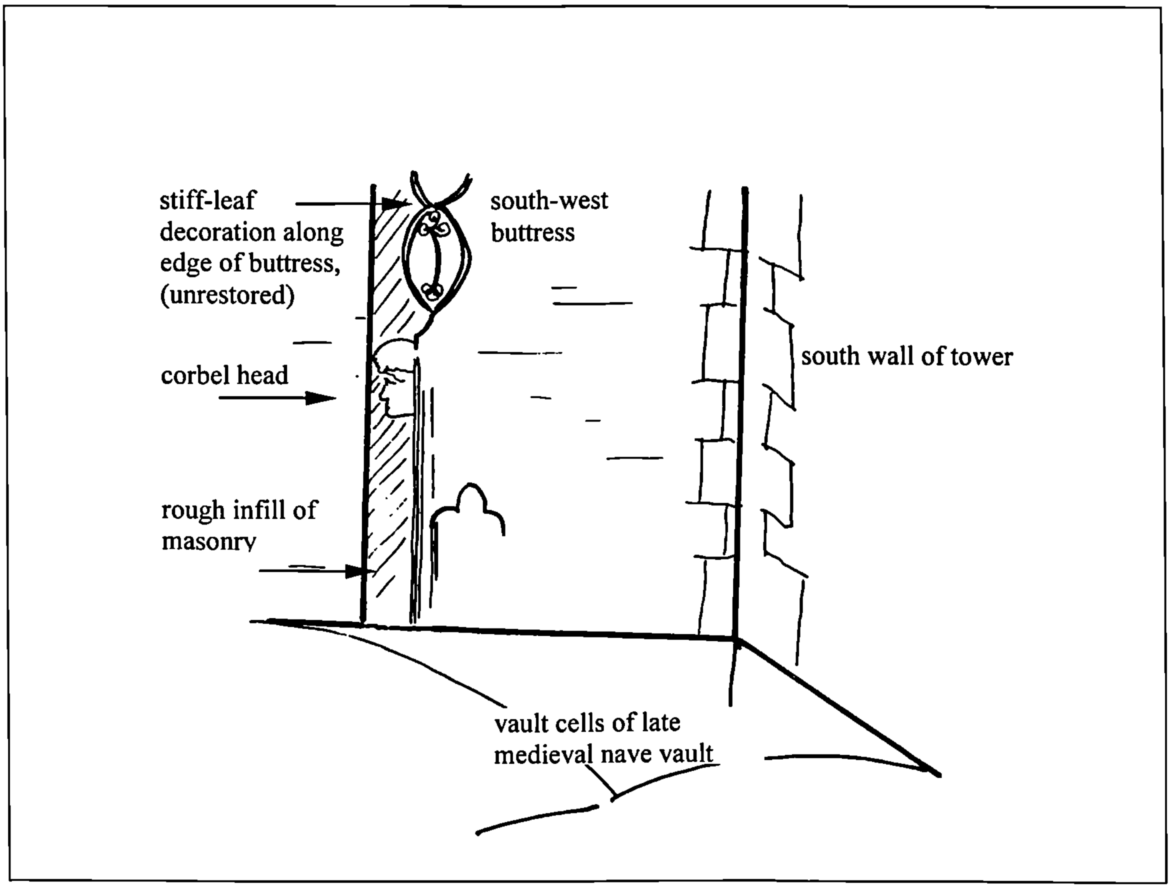


4.3A: St Mary Redcliffe, west front



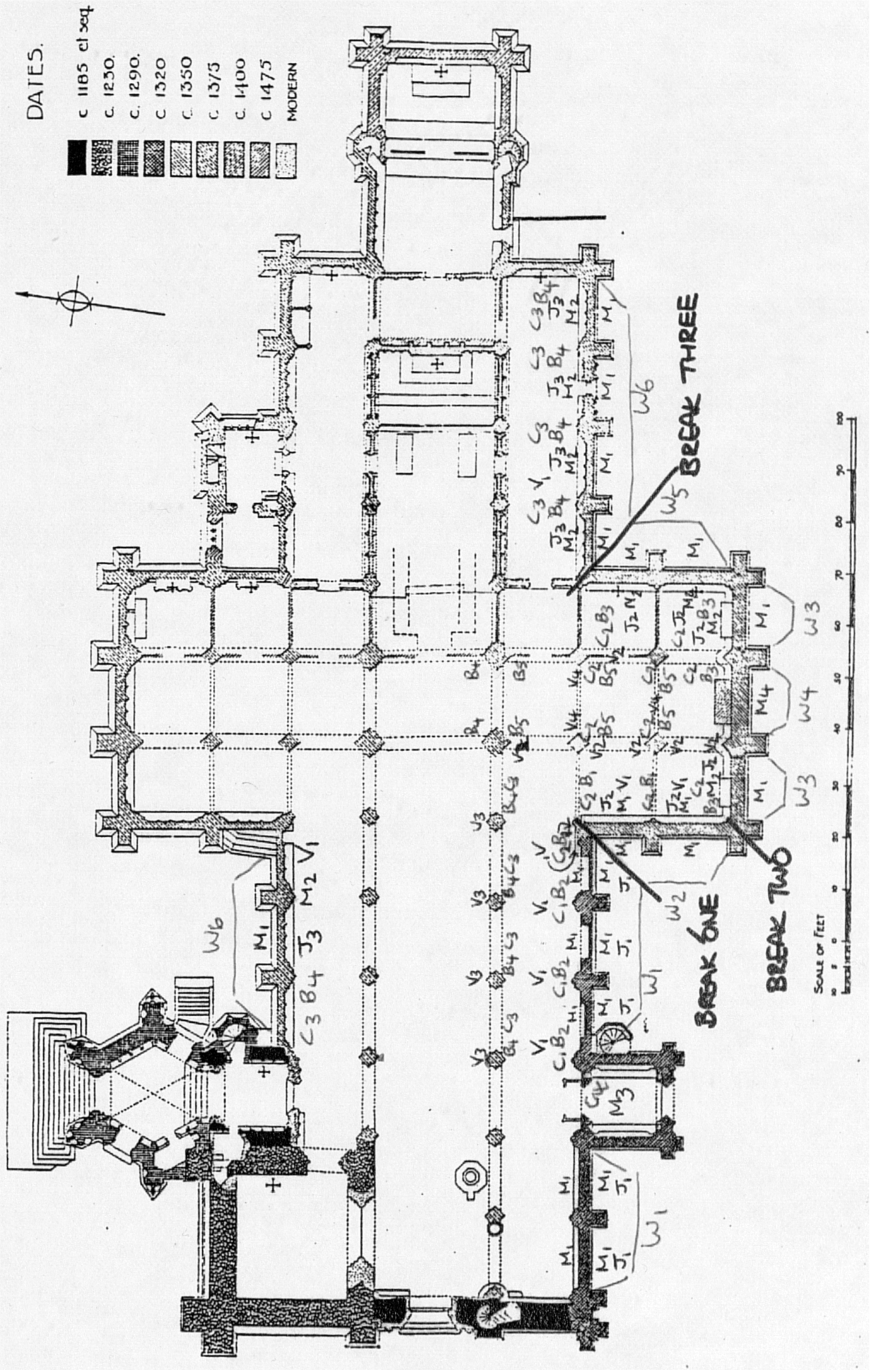
4.3B: St Mary Redcliffe, south side of tower showing nave vault scars

FIGURE 4.4



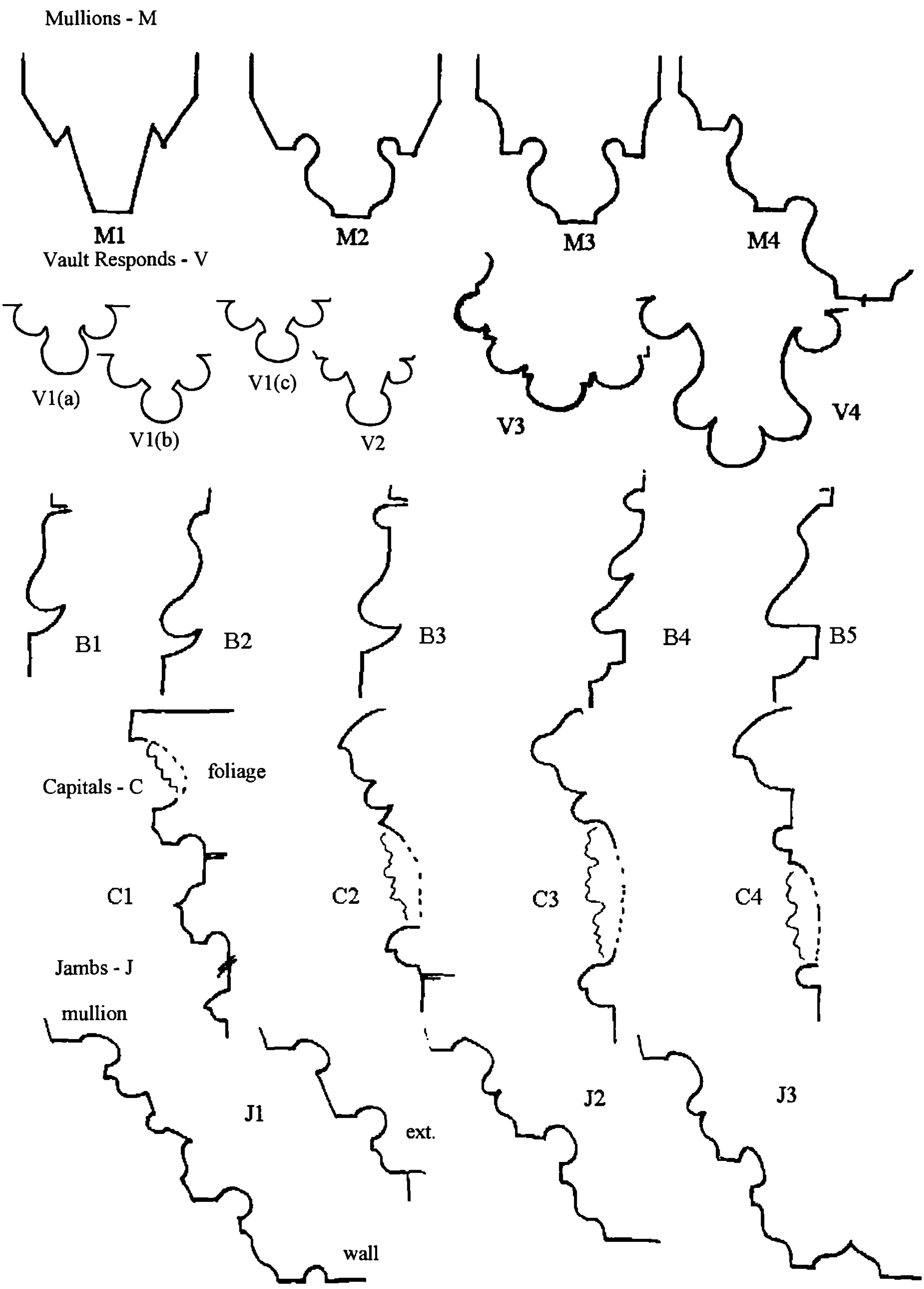
4.4: St Mary Redcliffe, sketch drawing of inside of west bay of nave roof, showing late medieval vault height and evidence of 13th-century roof height and tower decoration

FIGURE 4.5



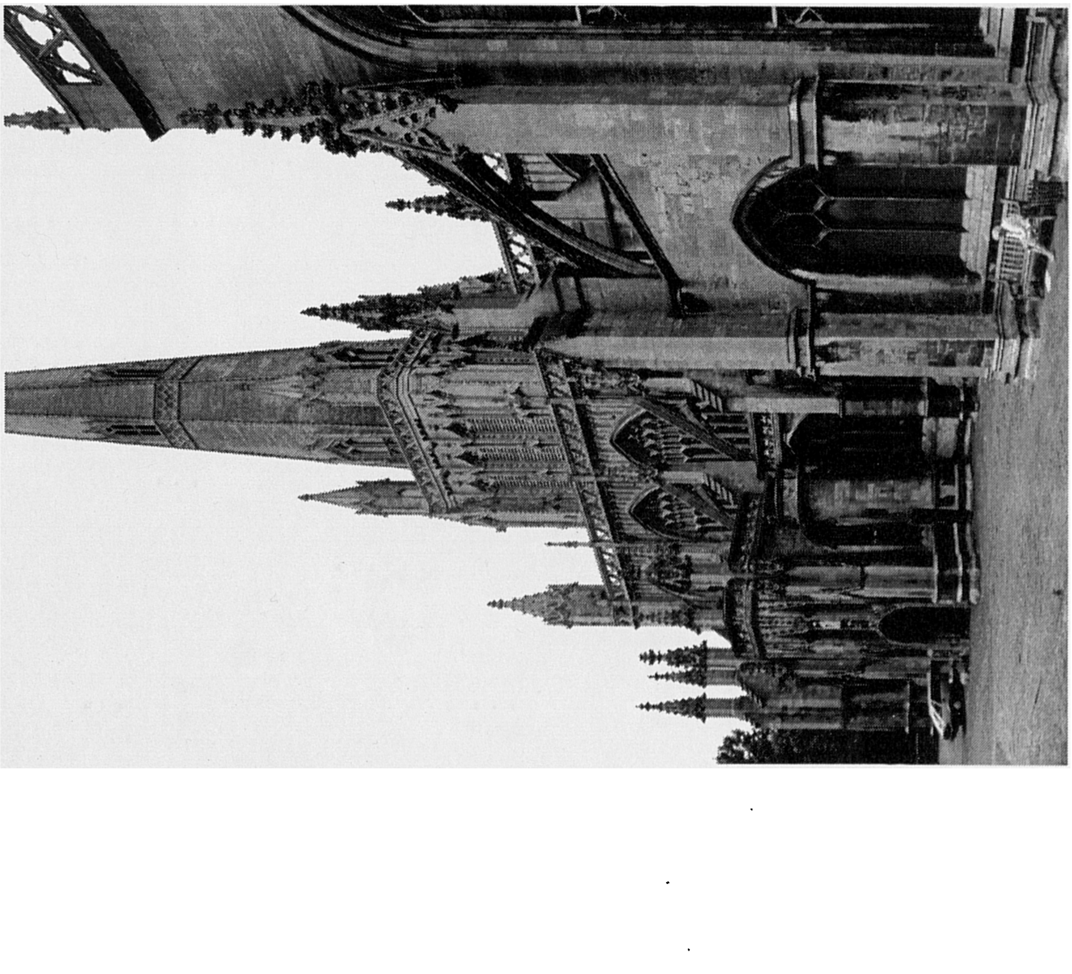
4.5: St Mary Redcliffe, plan of changes in architectural details on south side [for key see figure 4.6]

FIGURE 4.6

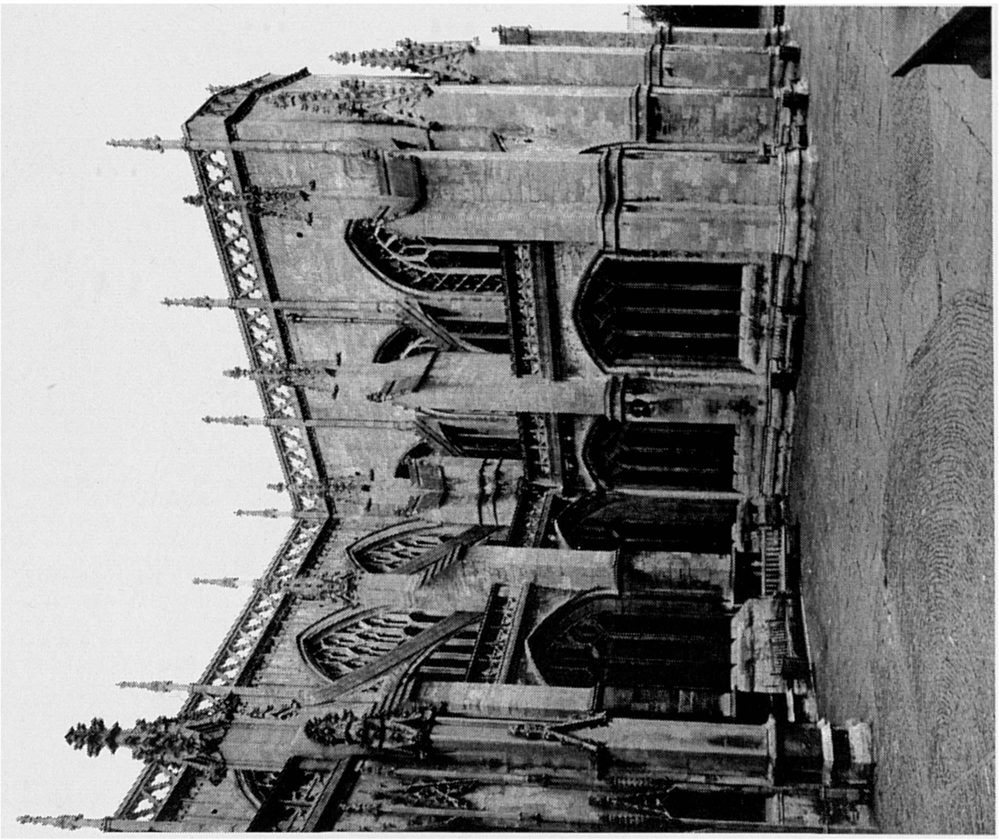


4.6: St Mary Redcliffe, Key (by colour and number) to mouldings located in figure 4.5

FIGURE 4.7

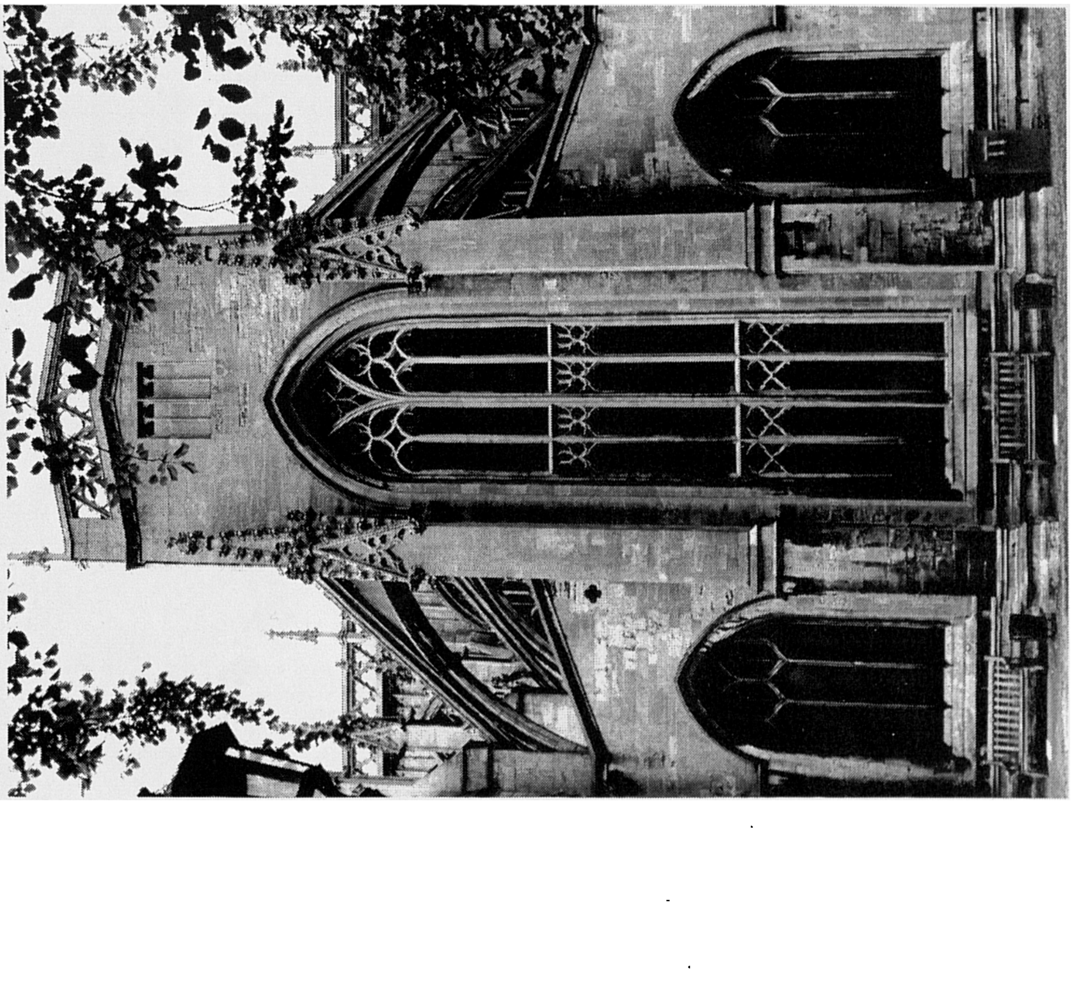


4.7A: St Mary Redcliffe, view of nave and south porch



4.7B: St Mary Redcliffe, west aisle of south transept

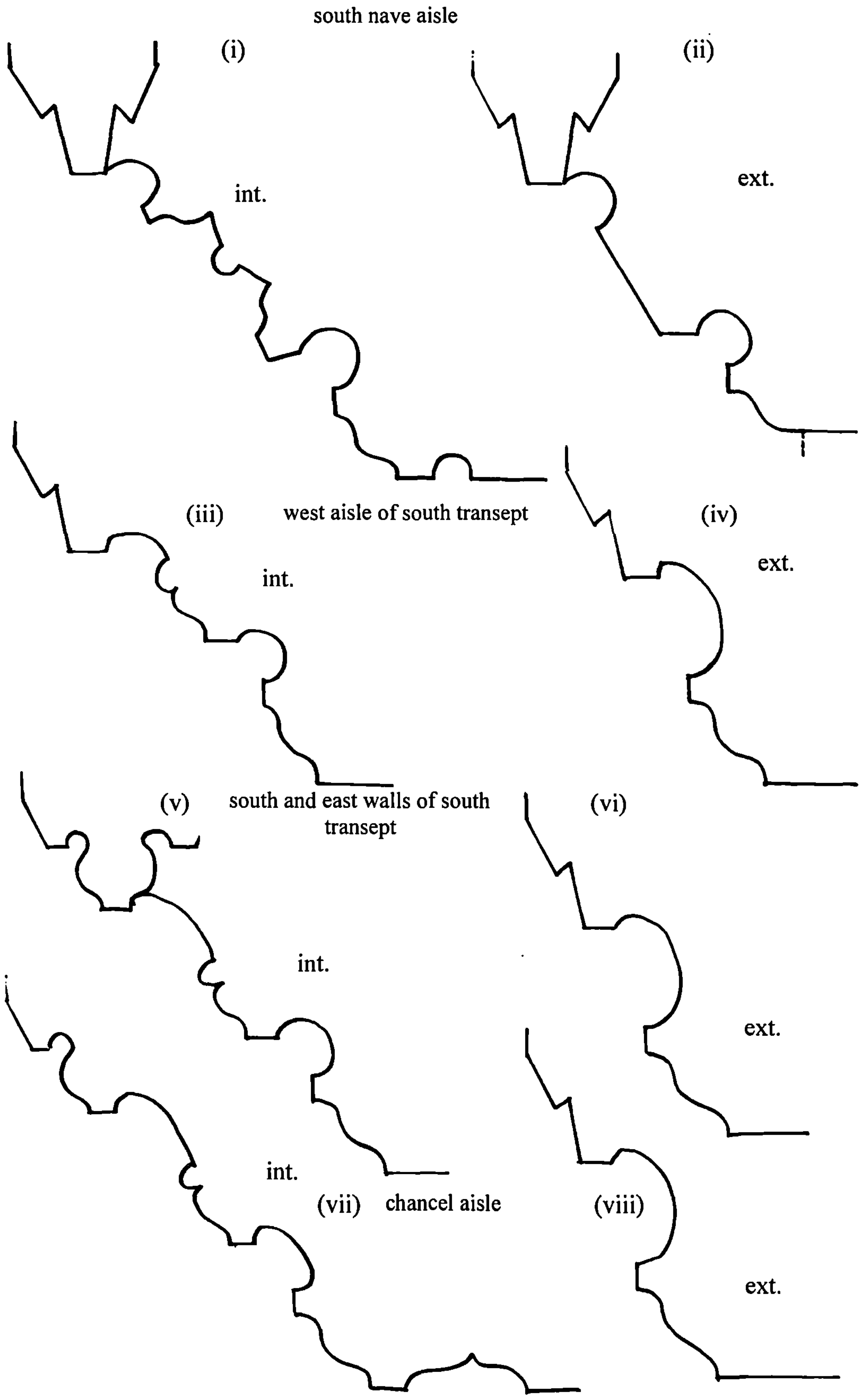
FIGURE 4.8



4.8A: St Mary Redcliffe, south transept south wall

4.8B: St Mary Redcliffe, south transept and chancel aisle

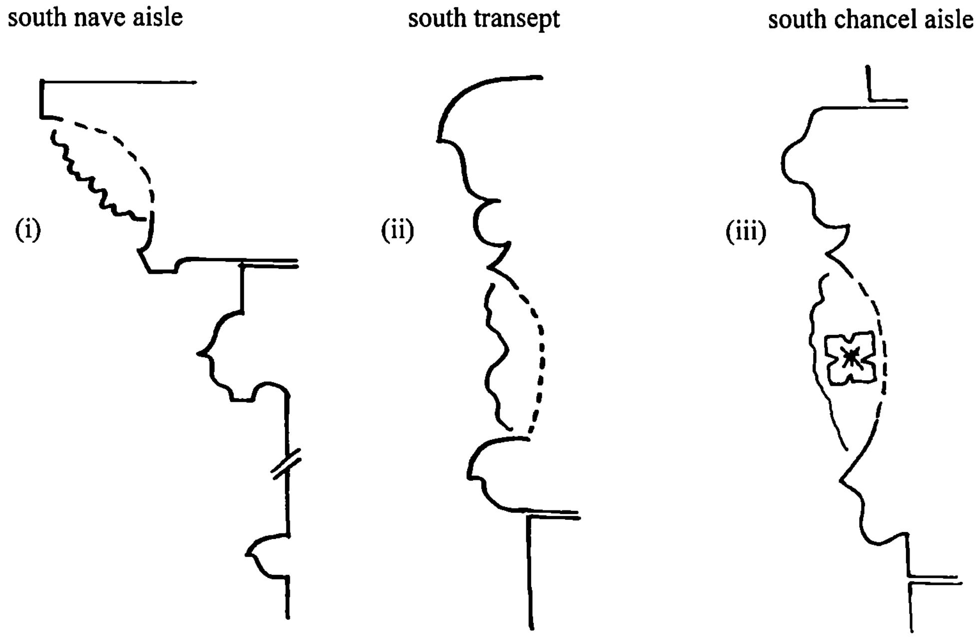
FIGURE 4.9



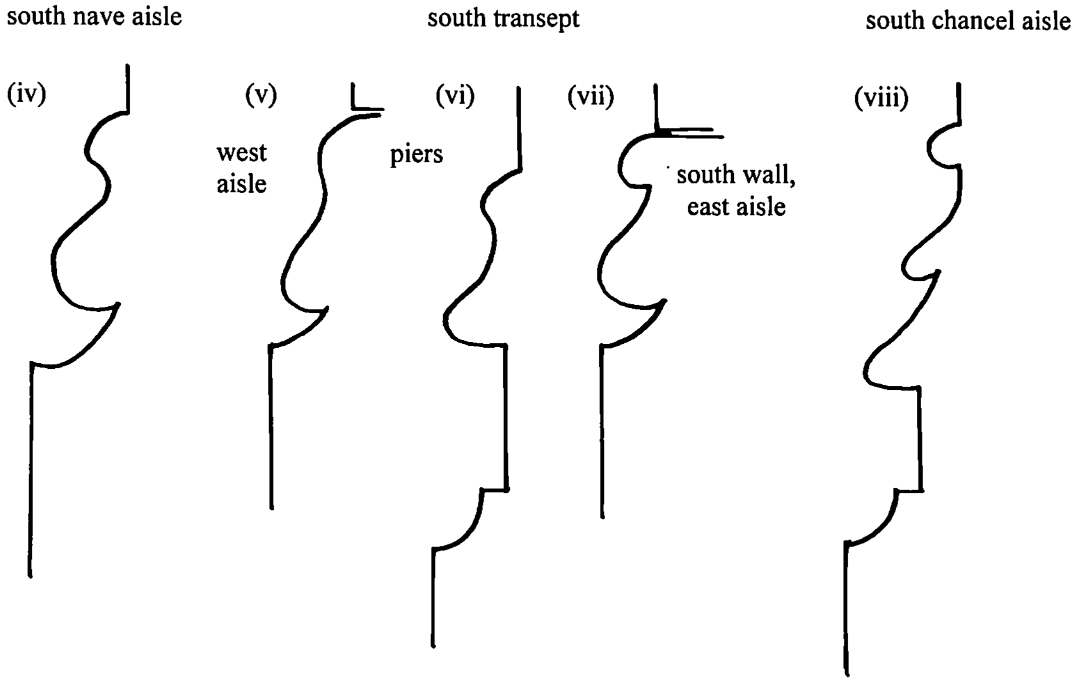
4.9: St Mary Redcliffe, mullions and jambs, south side of church

FIGURE 4.10

CAPITALS

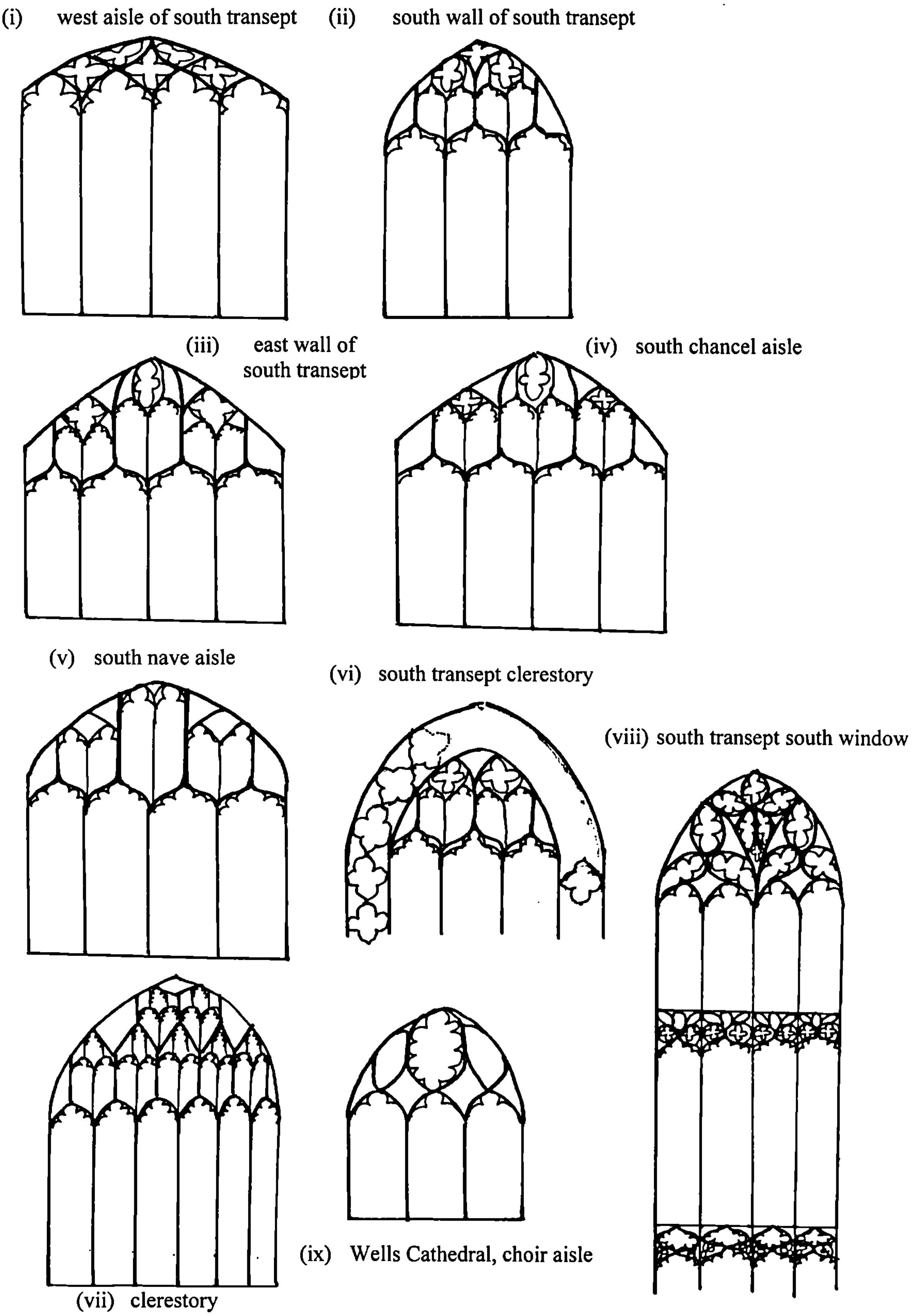


BASES



4.10: St Mary Redcliffe, capitals and bases, south side of church

FIGURE 4.11



(i) west aisle of south transept

(ii) south wall of south transept

(iii) east wall of south transept

(iv) south chancel aisle

(v) south nave aisle

(vi) south transept clerestory

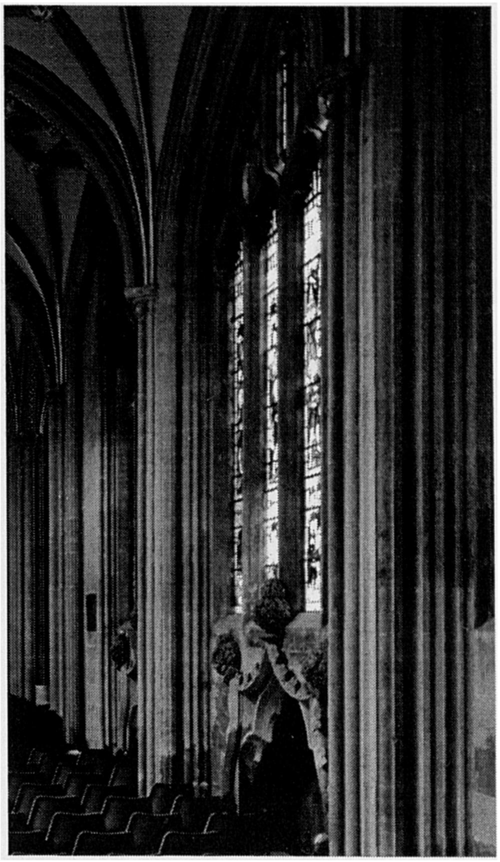
(vii) clerestory

(viii) south transept south window

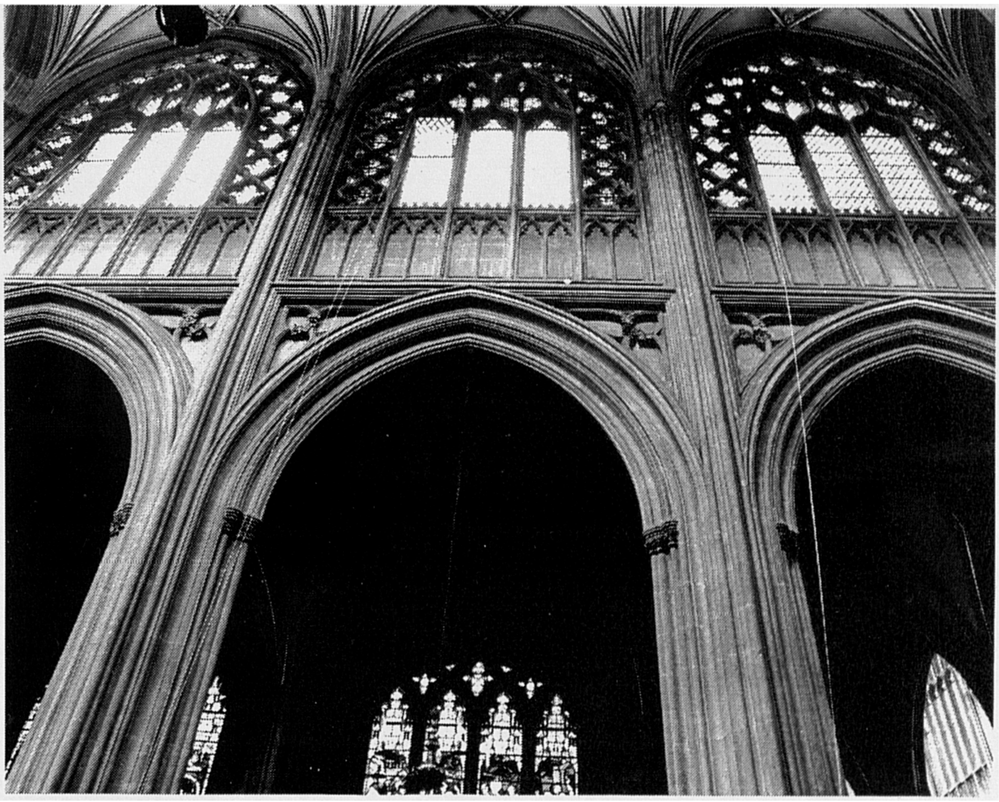
(ix) Wells Cathedral, choir aisle

4.11: St Mary Redcliffe, tracery designs

FIGURE 4.12

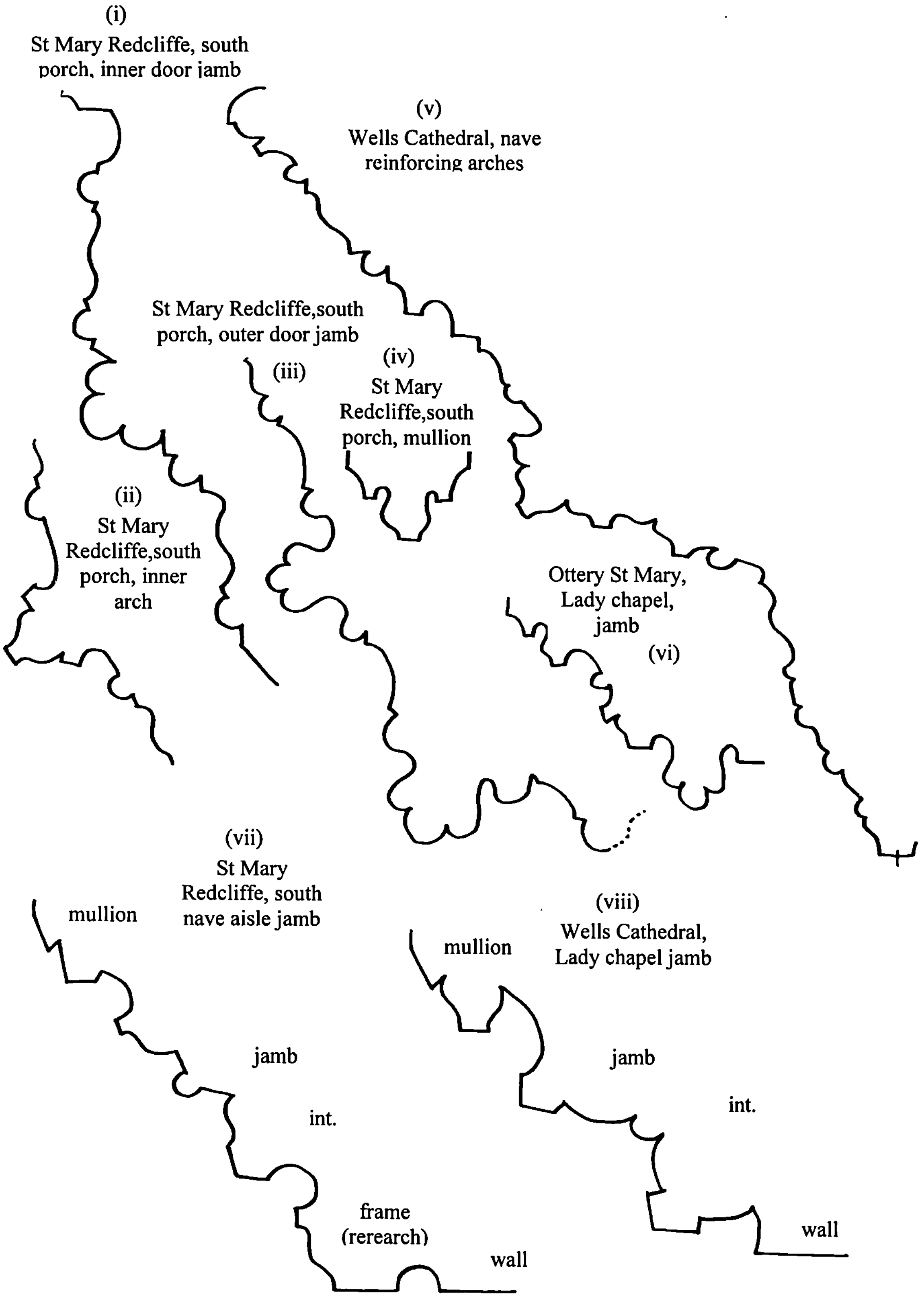


4.12A: St Mary Redcliffe, south nave wall, interior looking east



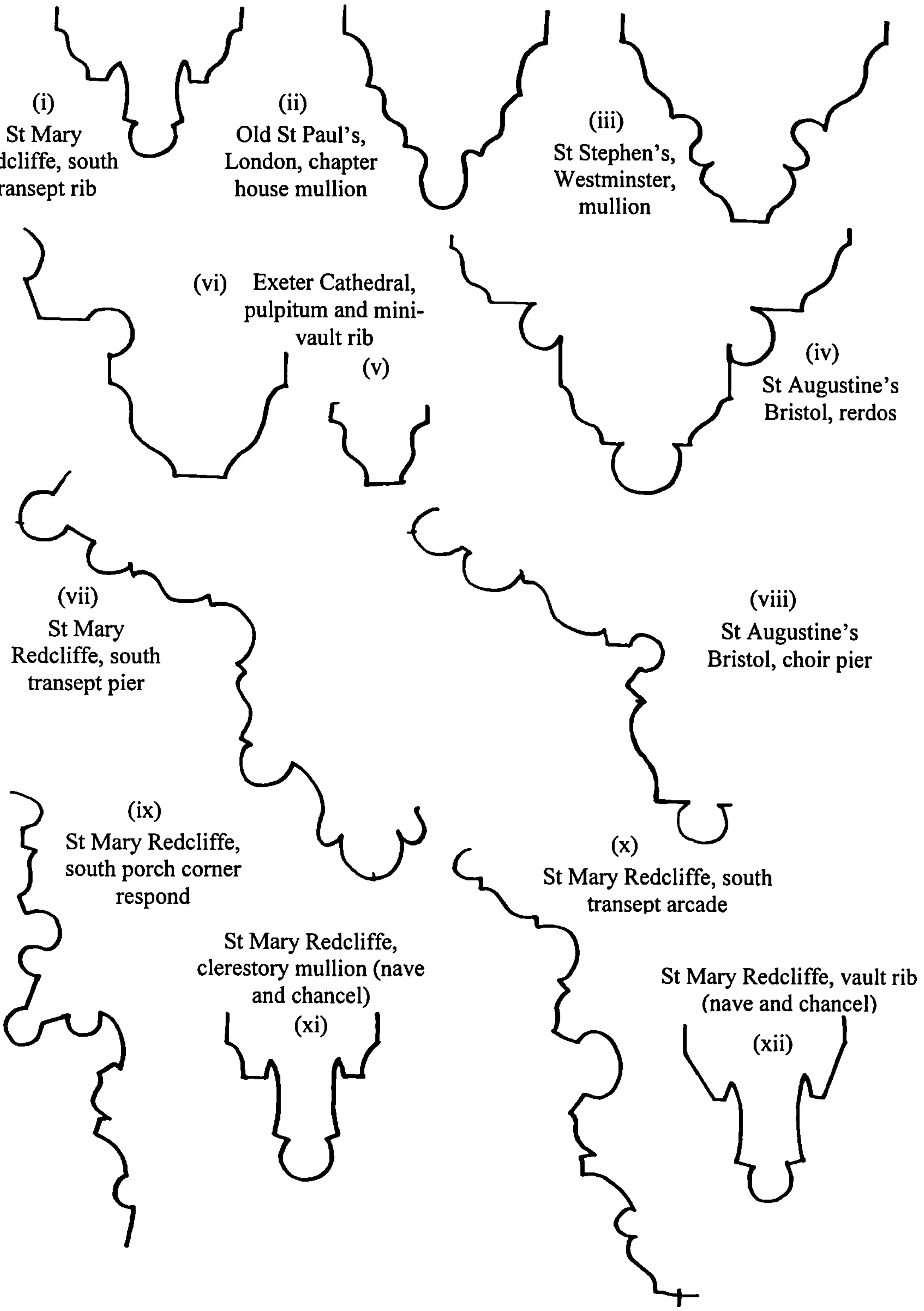
4.12B: St Mary Redcliffe, south transept interior, west elevation

FIGURE 4.13



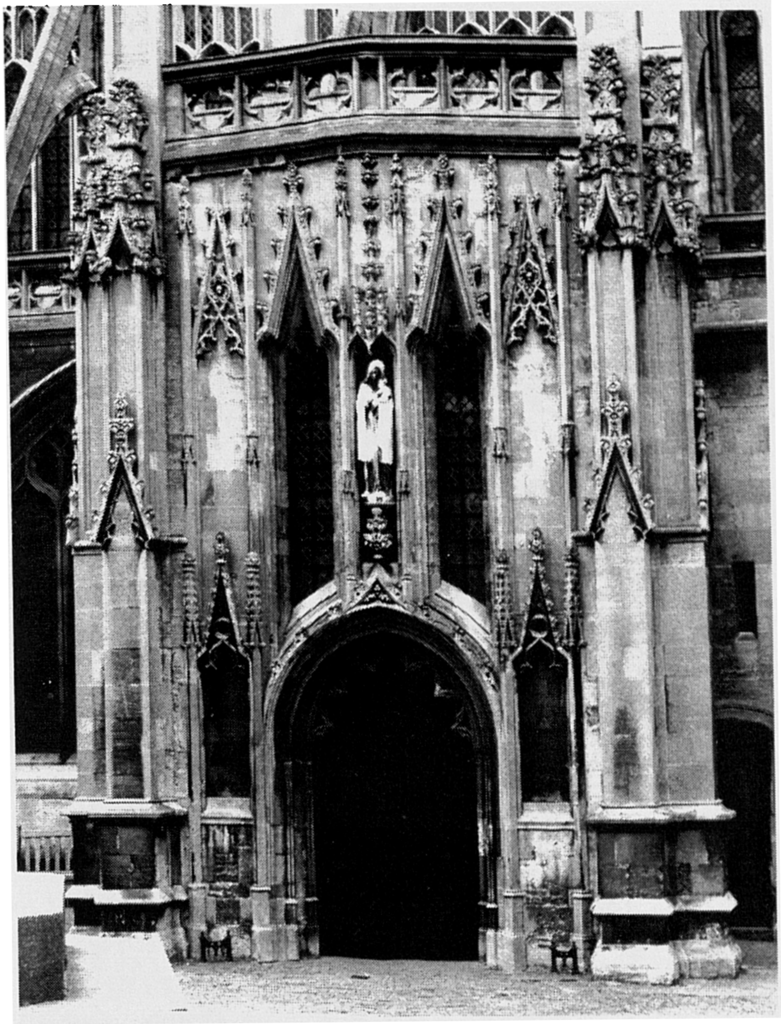
4.13: St Mary Redcliffe, south porch and comparative mouldings

FIGURE 4.14

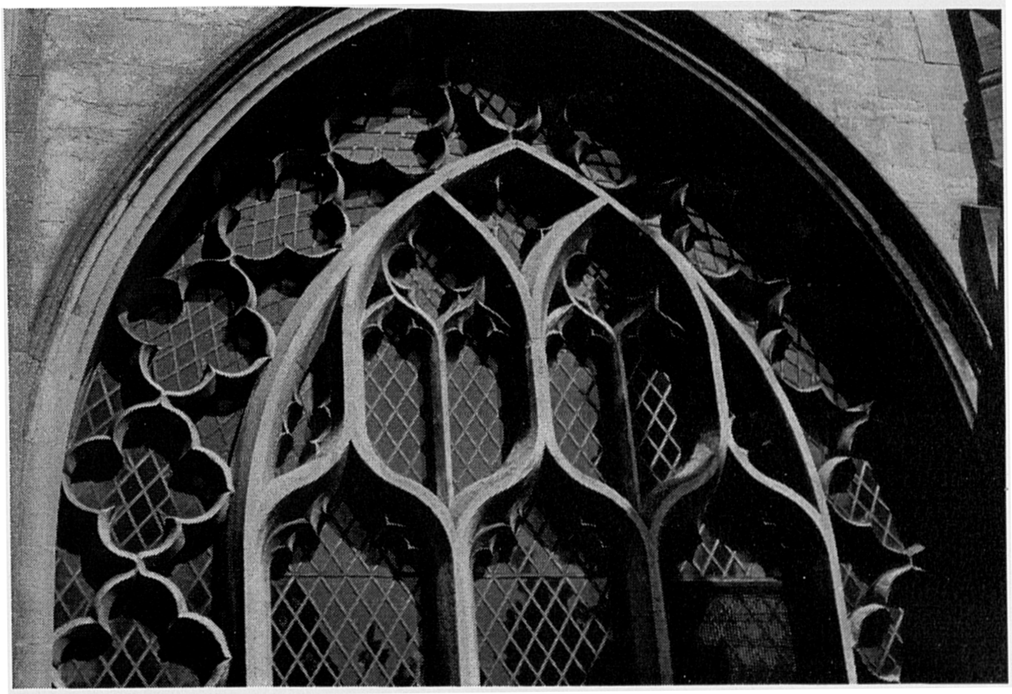


4.14: St Mary Redcliffe, mullions and piers and comparative material

FIGURE 4.15

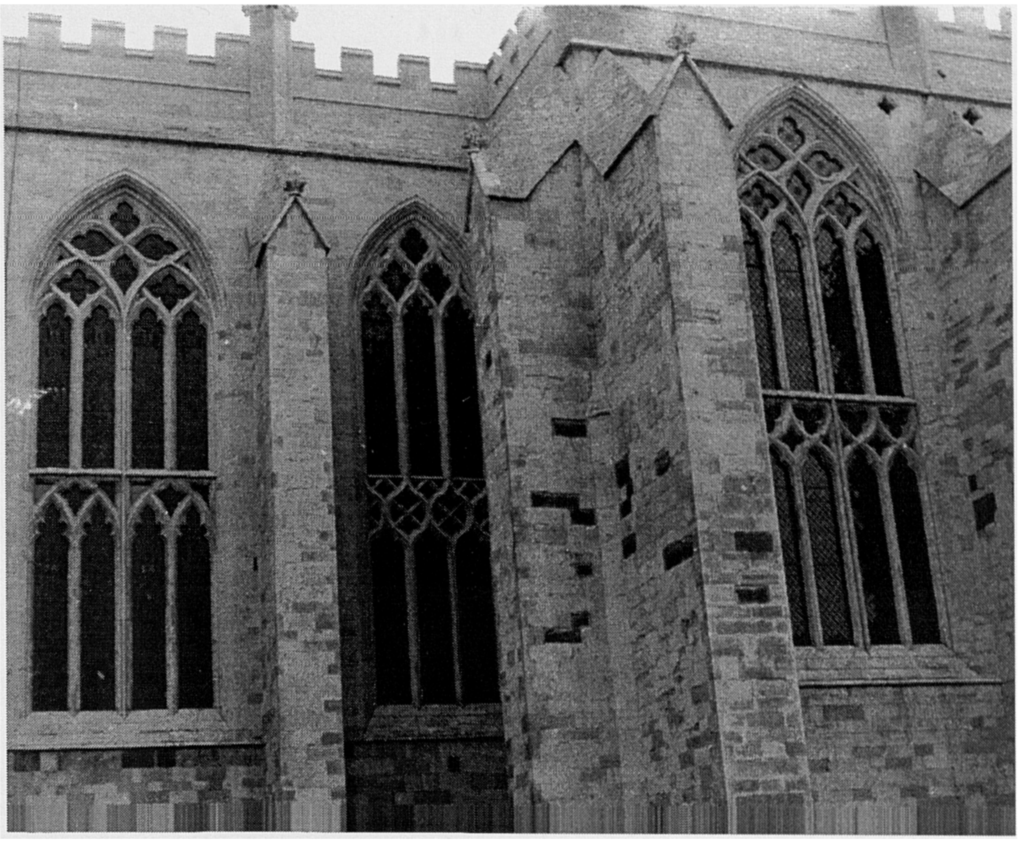


4.15A: St Mary Redcliffe, south porch, niche detail



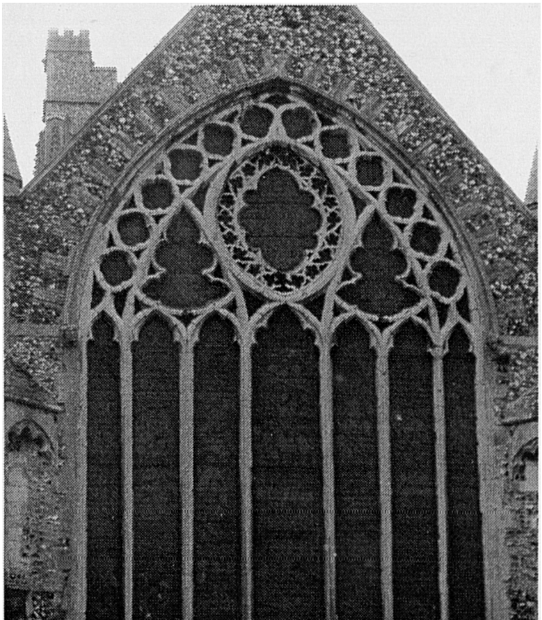
4.15B: St Mary Redcliffe, sout transept clerestory tracery detail

FIGURE 4.16

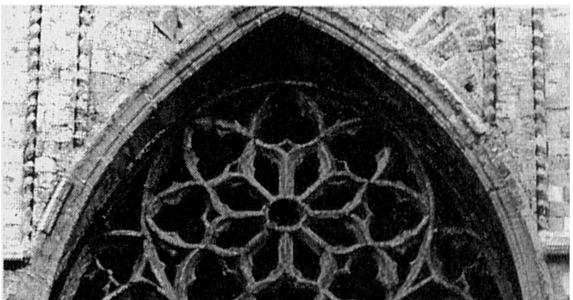


4.16A: St Augustine’s, Bristol, chancel aisle exterior from south

0

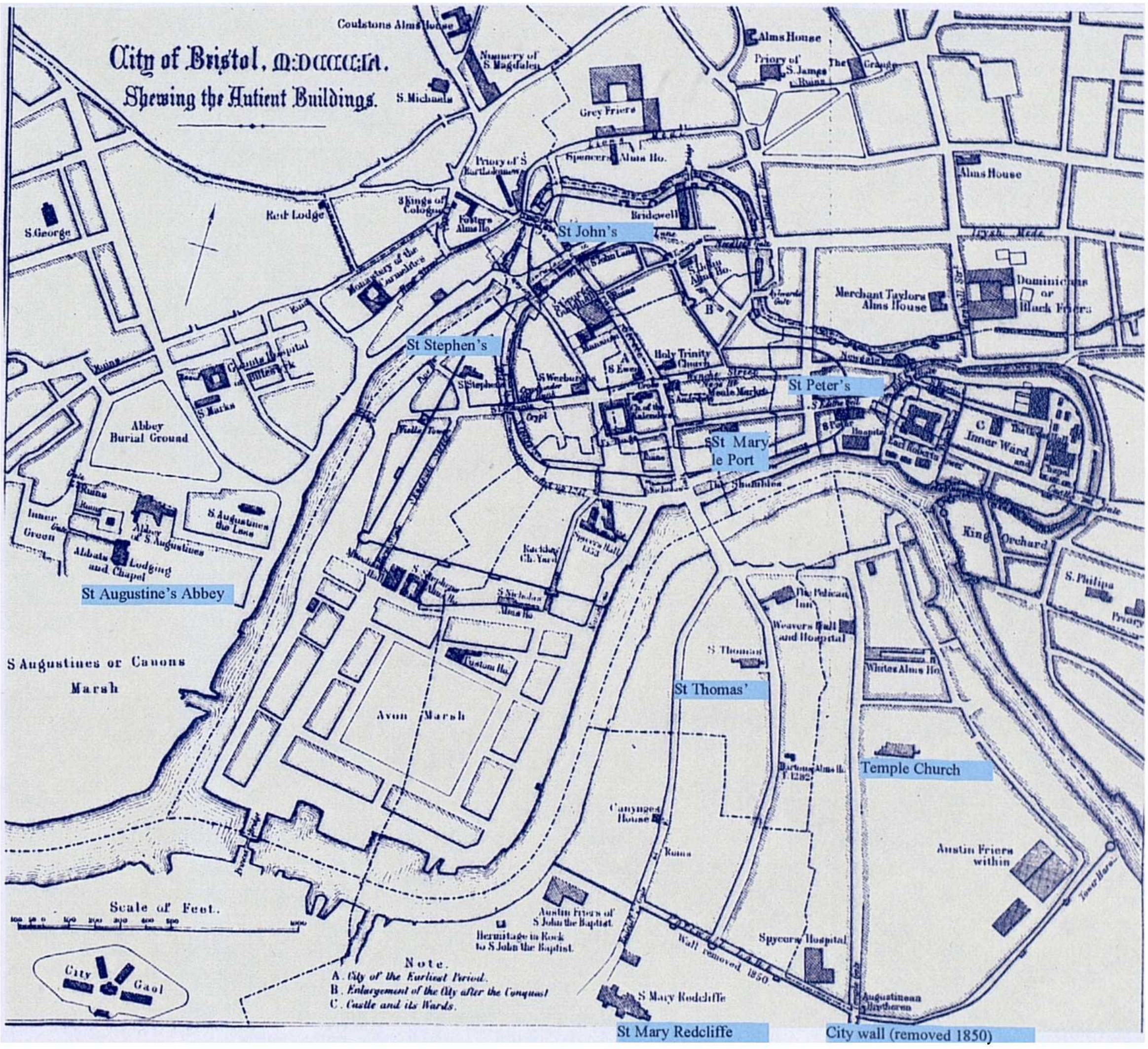


4.16B: Mildenhall parish church, east window



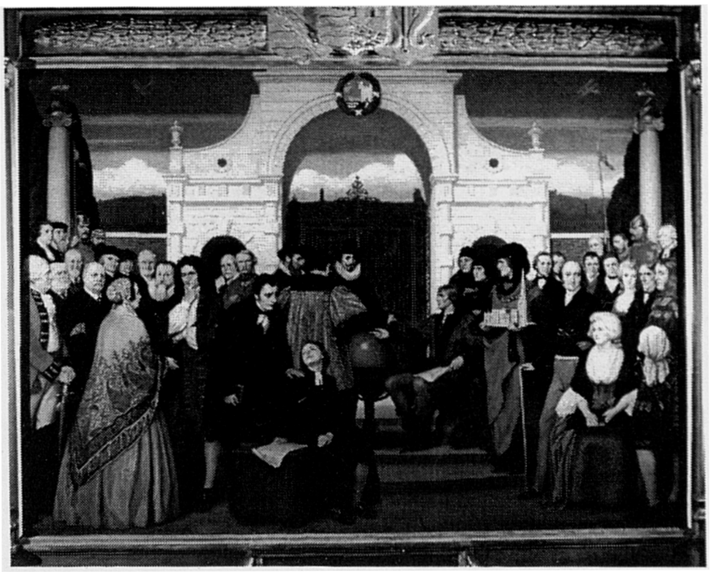
4.16C: Exeter Cathedral, transept

FIGURE 4.17

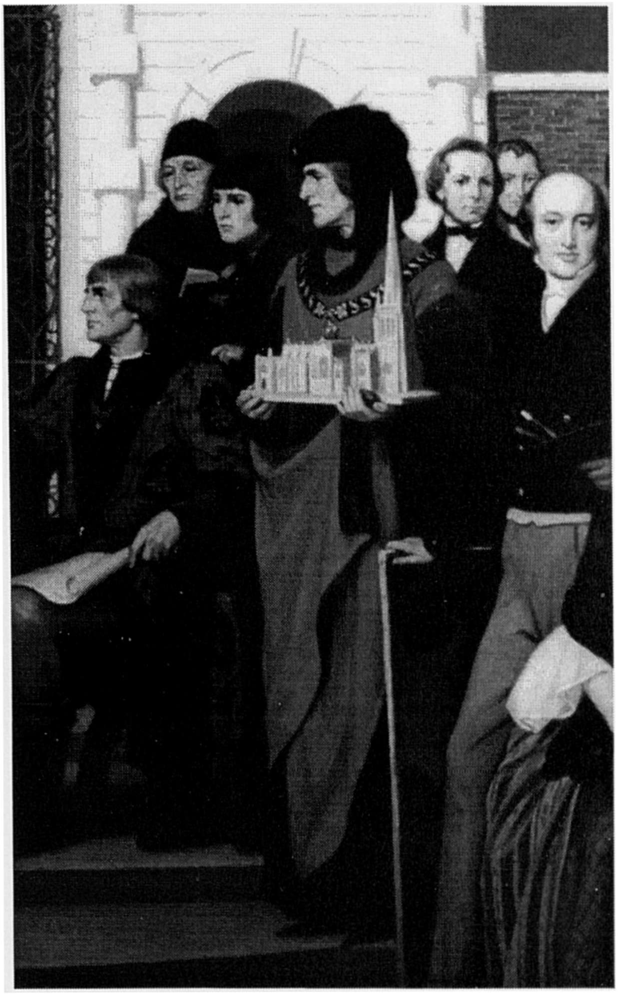


4.17: Plan of the city of Bristol showing city wall, and city churches (1851) - annotated

FIGURE 4.18

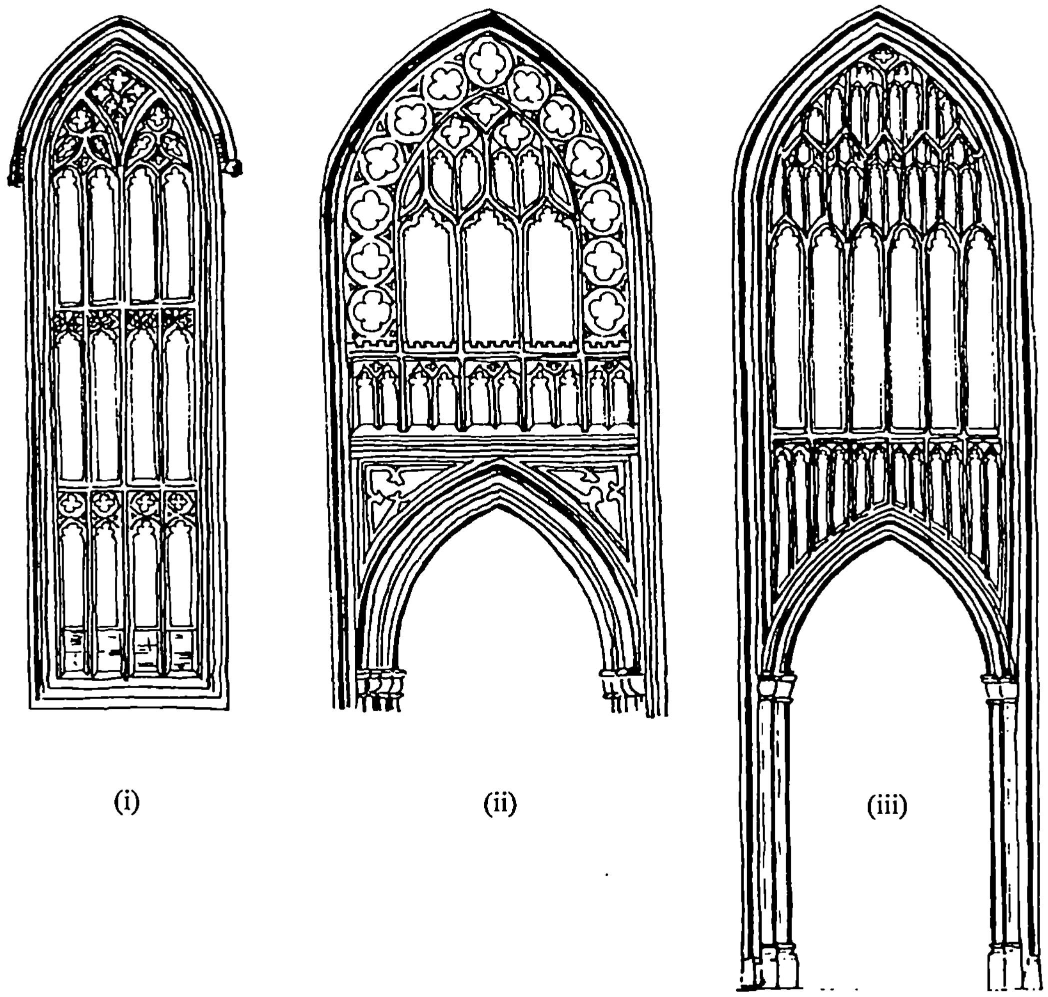


4.18A: Eric Board, painting of ‘People Who made Bristol Famous’



4.18B: Eric Board, ‘People Who made Bristol Famous’, detail of Canynges

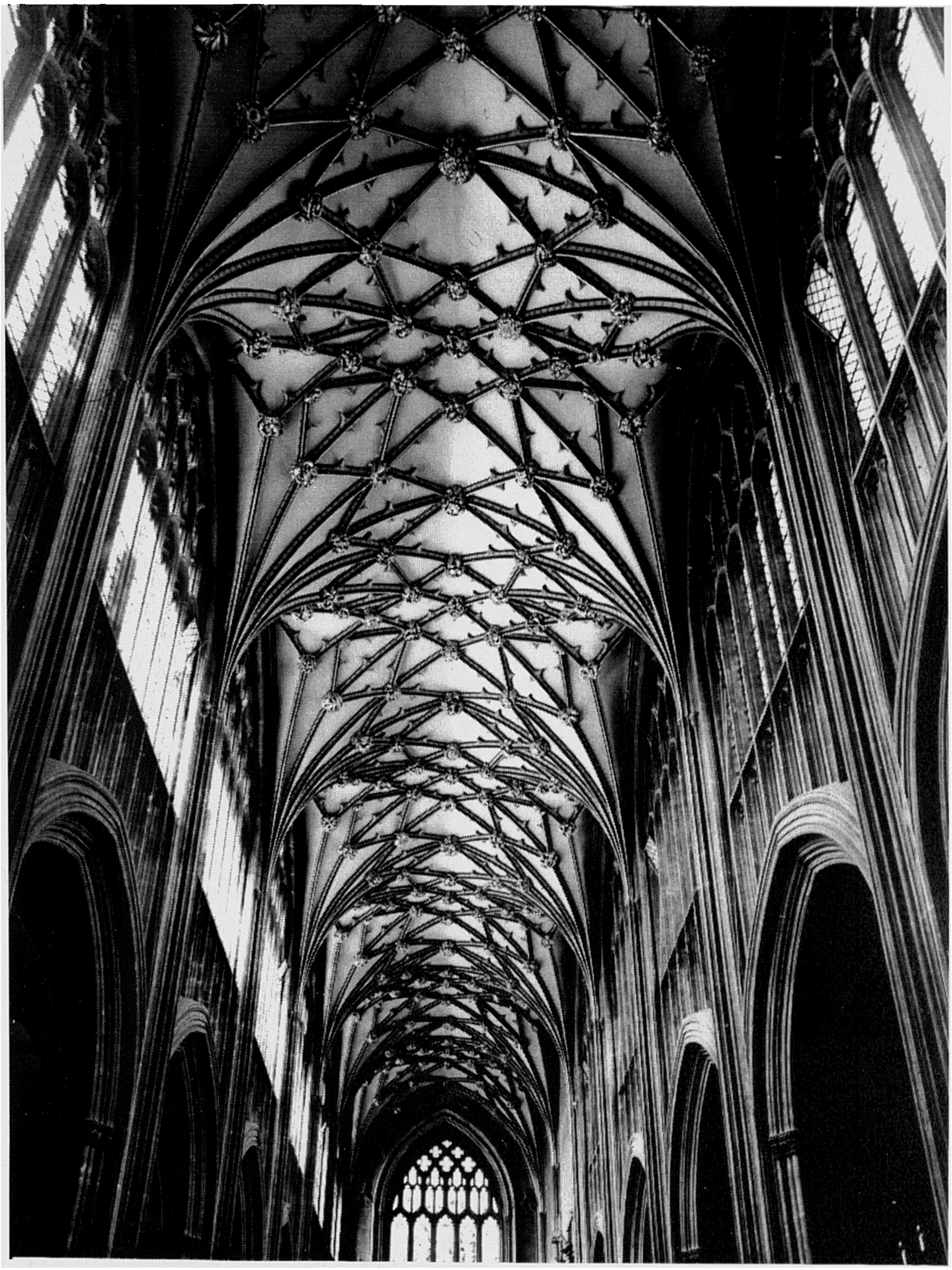
FIGURE 4.19



(i) (ii) (iii)

4.19: Tracery designs at St Mary Redcliffe, after Britton (1813).

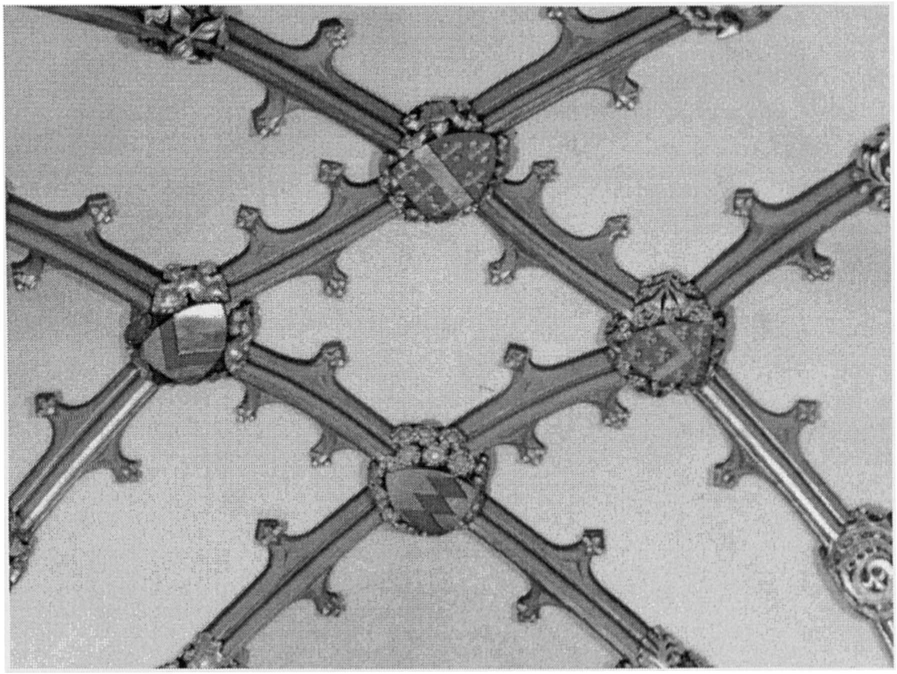
FIGURE 4.20



4.20: St Mary Redcliffe, nave vault (looking west)

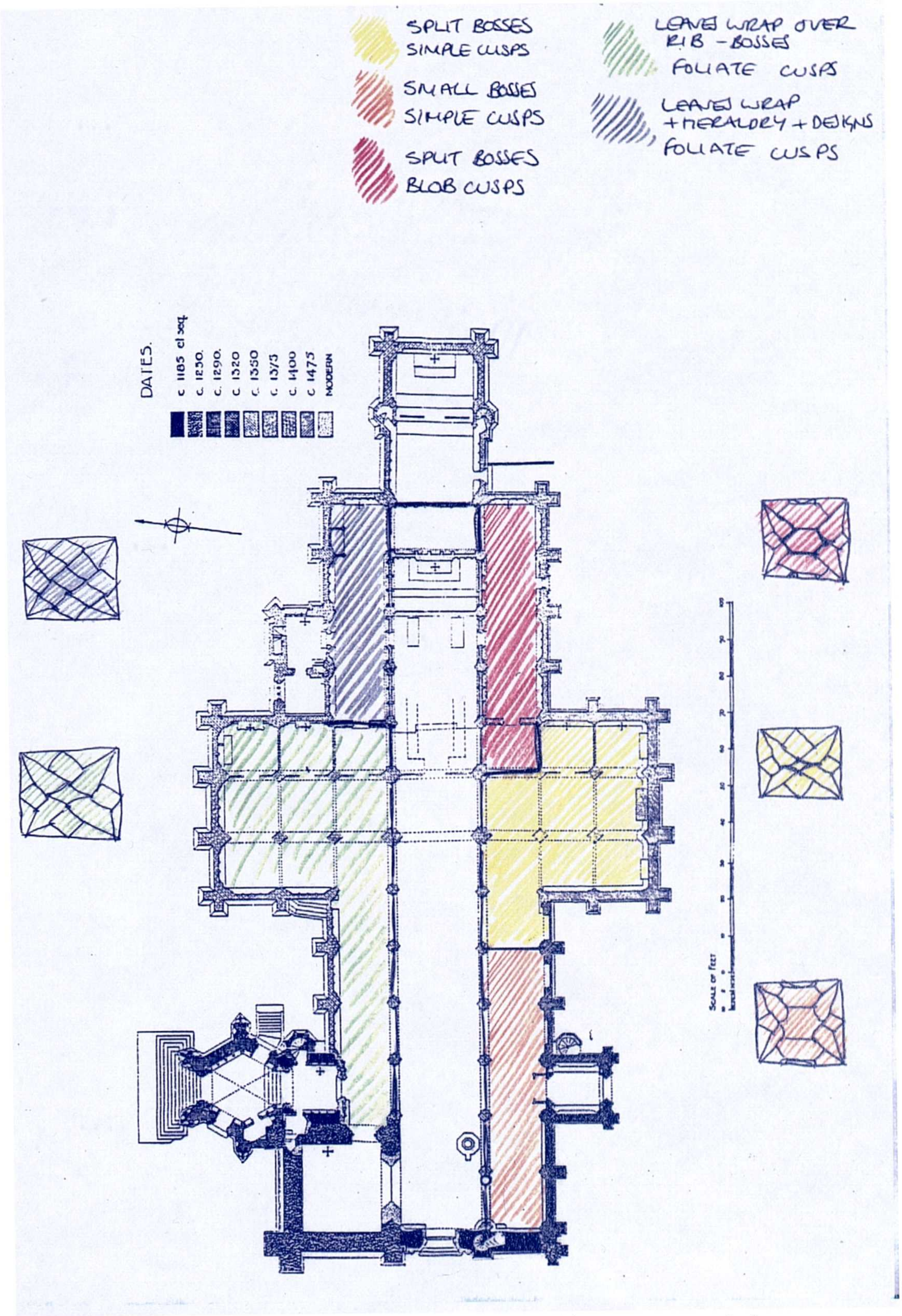
FIGURE 4.21

4.21A: St Mary Redcliffe, north nave aisle vault (SW vault of north transept)



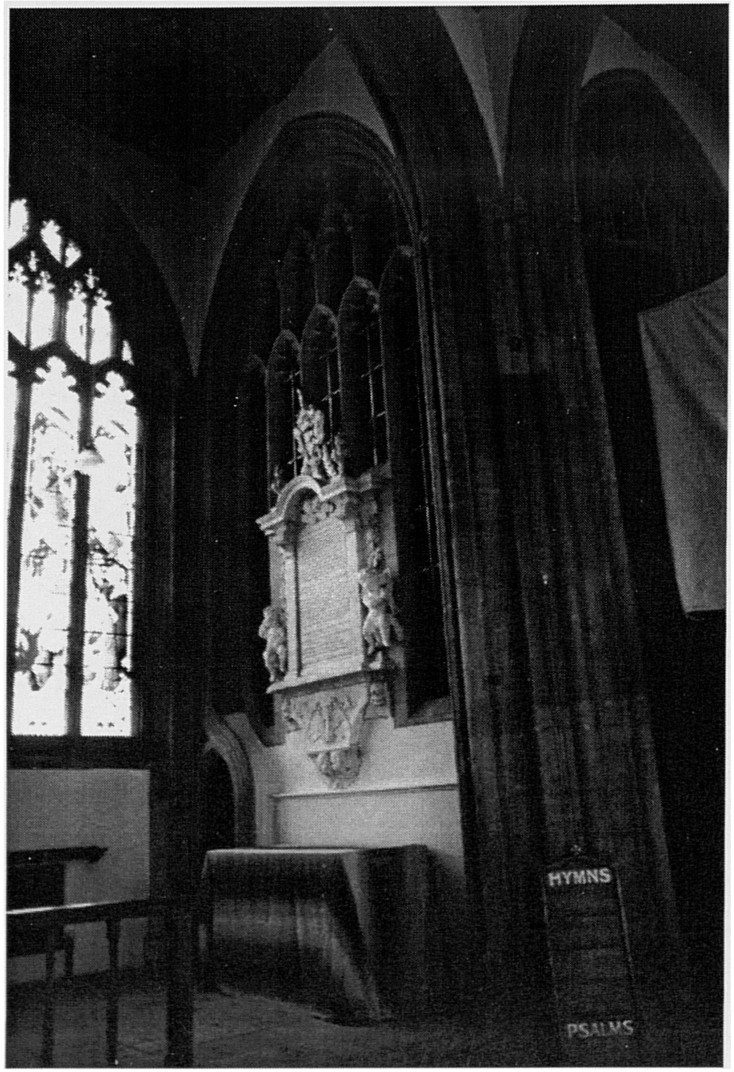
4.21B: St Mary Redcliffe, north nave aisle vault detail (SW vault of north transept)

FIGURE 4.22

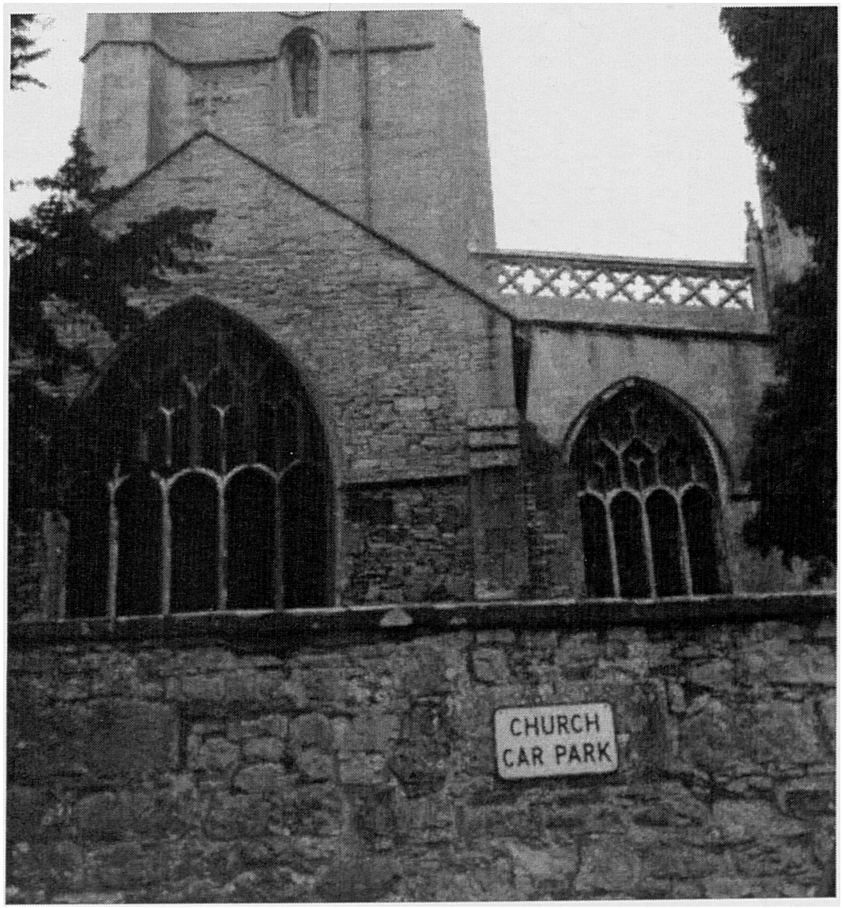


4.22: St Mary Redcliffe, plan showing vaulting pattern variations

FIGURE 4.23



4.23A: St John's, Yeovil, tracery in north transept



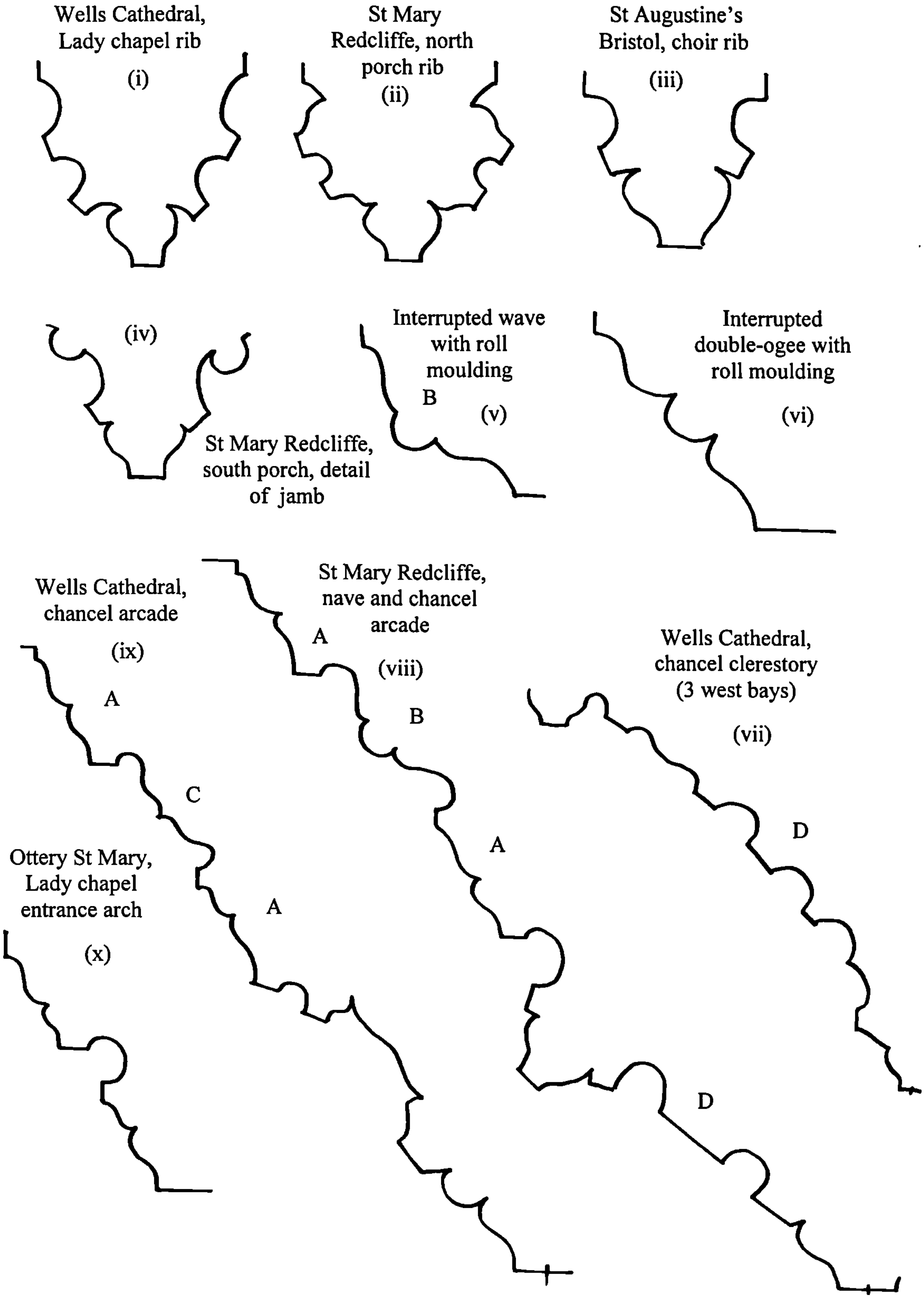
4.23B: Yatton parish church, view from east

FIGURE 4.24

4.24B: St Mary Redcliffe, view into north transept

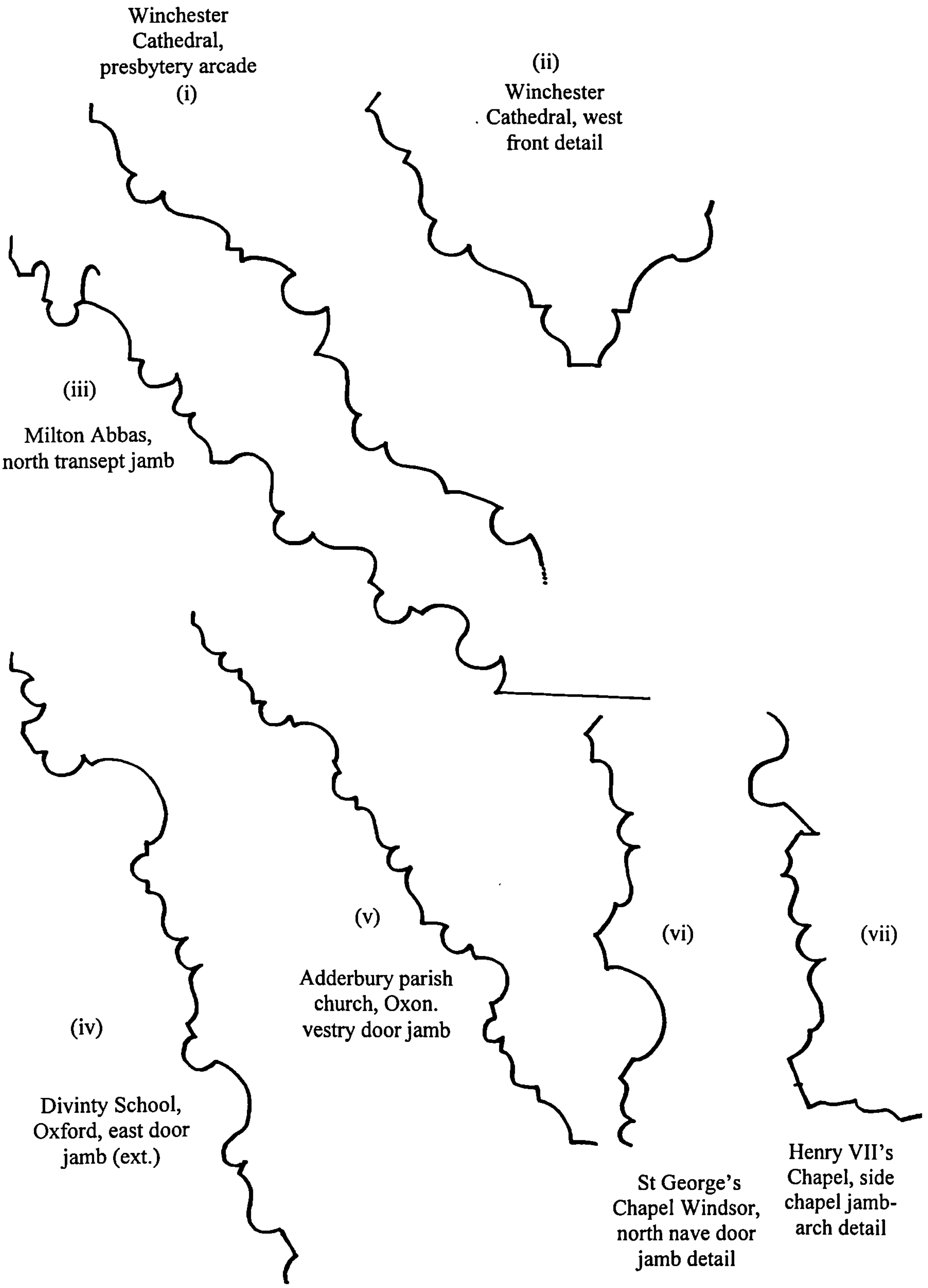
4.24A: St Mary Redcliffe, view into south transept

FIGURE 4.25



4.25: Mullions and arcades, comparative mouldings

FIGURE 4.26



(i) Winchester Cathedral, presbytery arcade

(ii) Winchester Cathedral, west front detail

(iii) Milton Abbas, north transept jamb

(iv) Divinty School, Oxford, east door jamb (ext.)

(v) Adderbury parish church, Oxon. vestry door jamb

(vi) St George's Chapel Windsor, north nave door jamb detail

(vii) Henry VII's Chapel, side chapel jamb-arch detail

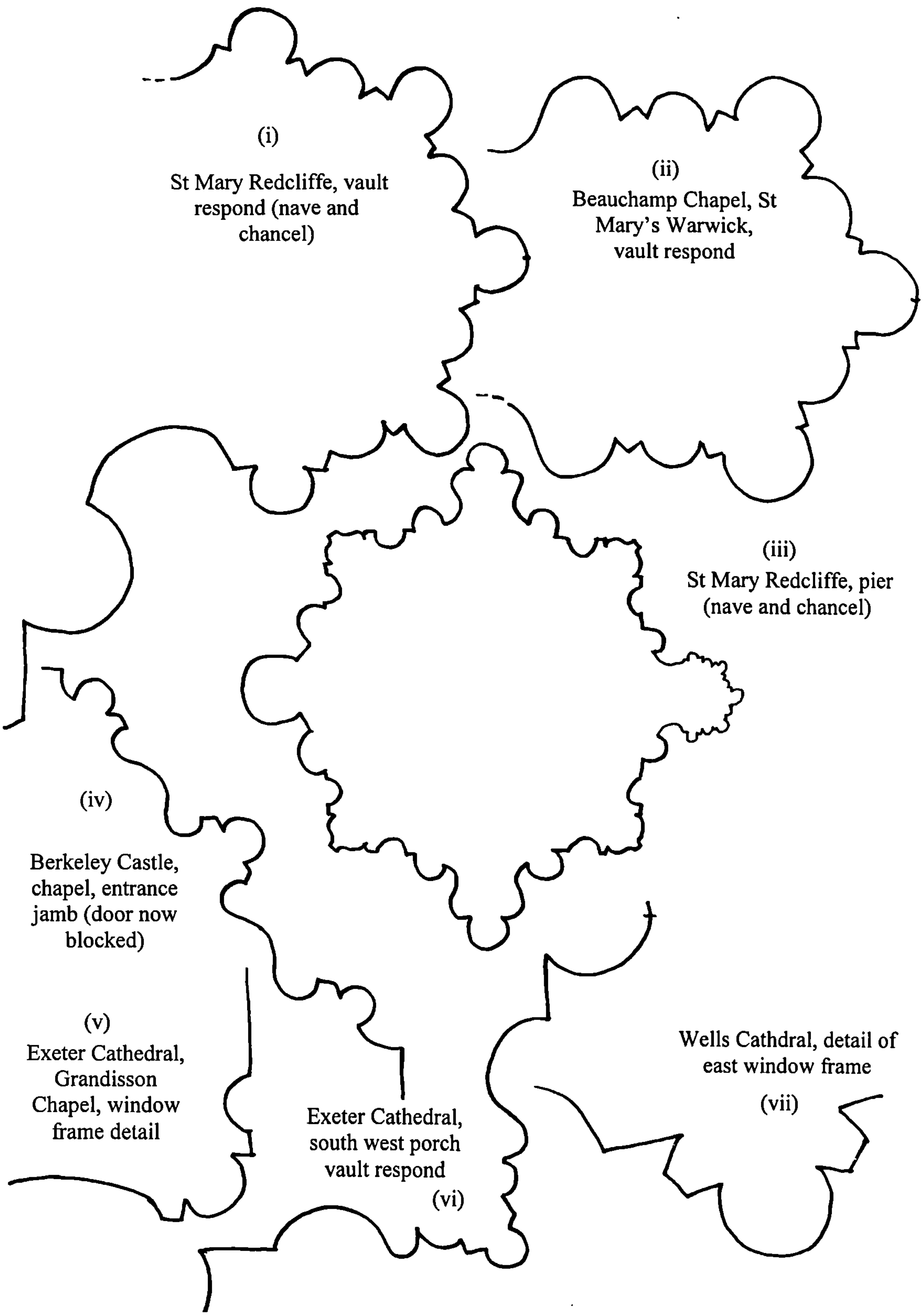
4.26: Development of the interrupted wave and double ogee mouldings

FIGURE 4.27

4.27A: Wells Cathedral, chancel elevation

4.27B: Wells Cathedral, chancel elevation, extrados detail

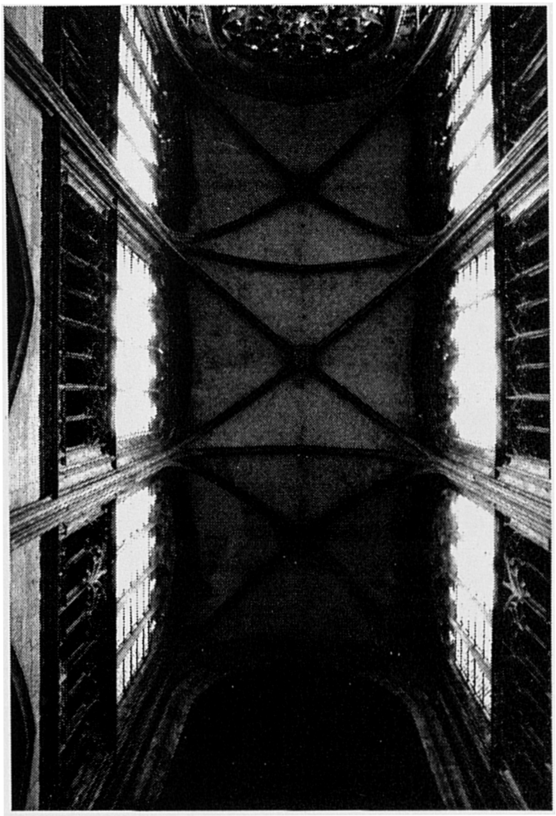
FIGURE 4.28



4.28: Vault Responds, and comparative mouldings

FIGURE 4.29


4.29A: Exeter Cathedral, south west porch vault respond


4.29B: Saint Maclou, Rouen, transept

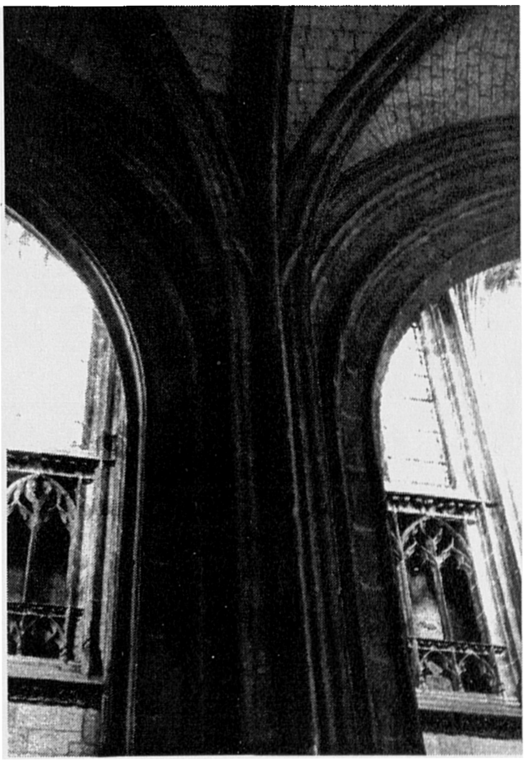
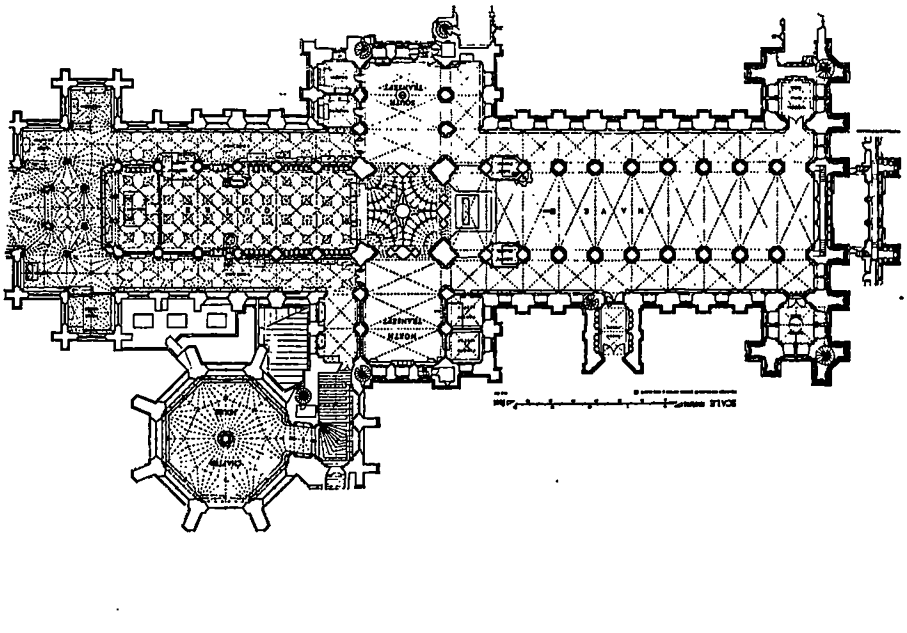

4.29C: Saint Maclou, Rouen, aisle vault respond detail

FIGURE 4.30

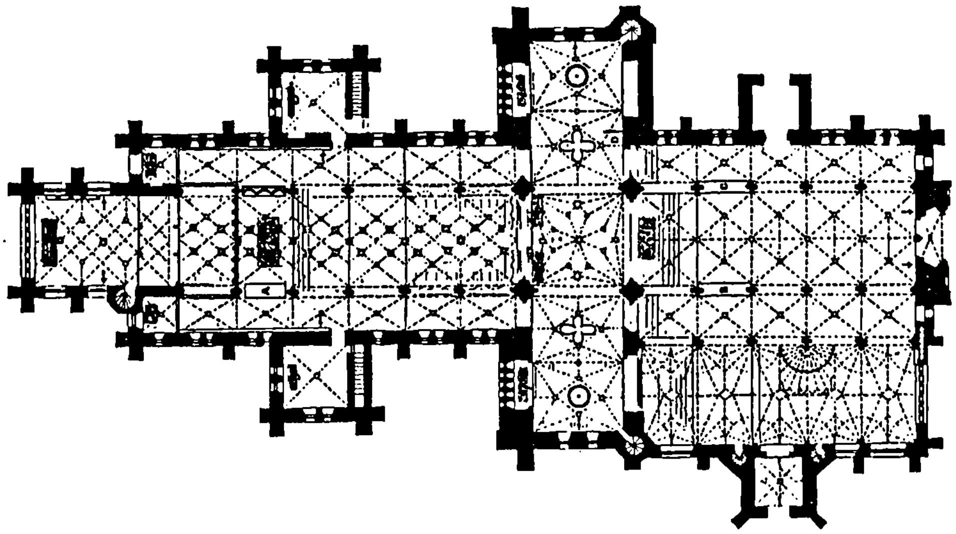
4.30B: St Mary Redcliffe, elevation detail

4.30A: St Augustine's, Bristol, chancel high vault

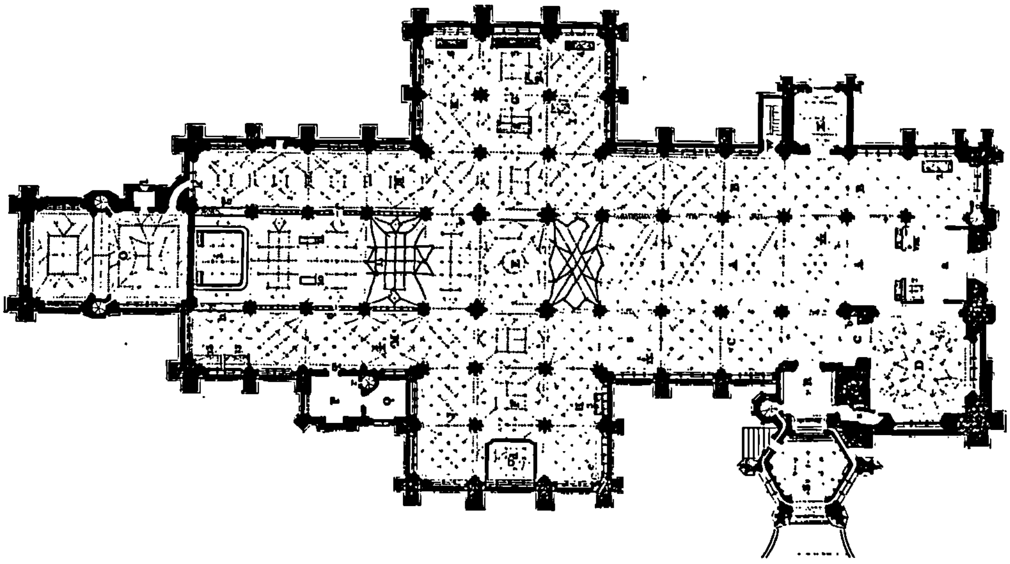
FIGURE 4.31



4.31A: Wells Cathedral, plan

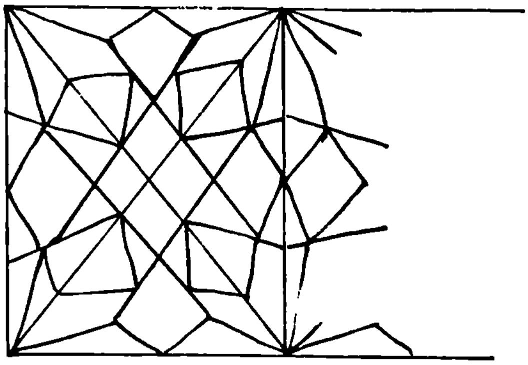


4.31B: Ottery St Mary, plan

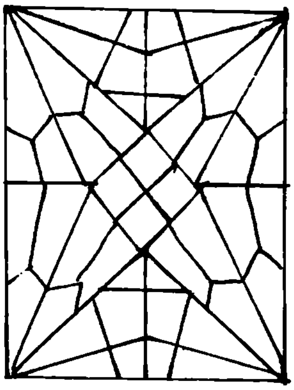


4.31C: St Mary Redcliffe, plan

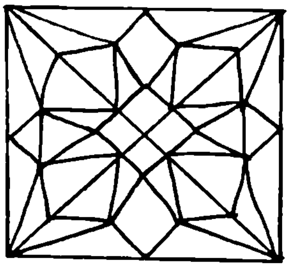
FIGURE 4.32



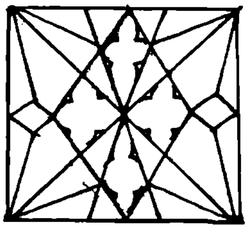
(i)
St Mary Redcliffe,
nave vault



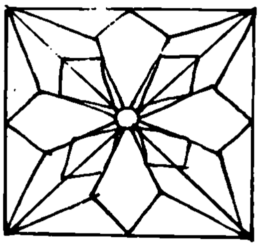
(ii)
Winchester
Cathedral,
nave vault



(iii)
St Augustine's
Bristol, south
transept

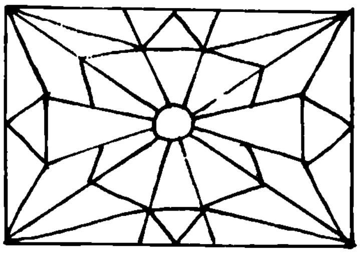


(iv)
St Augustine's
Bristol, north transept



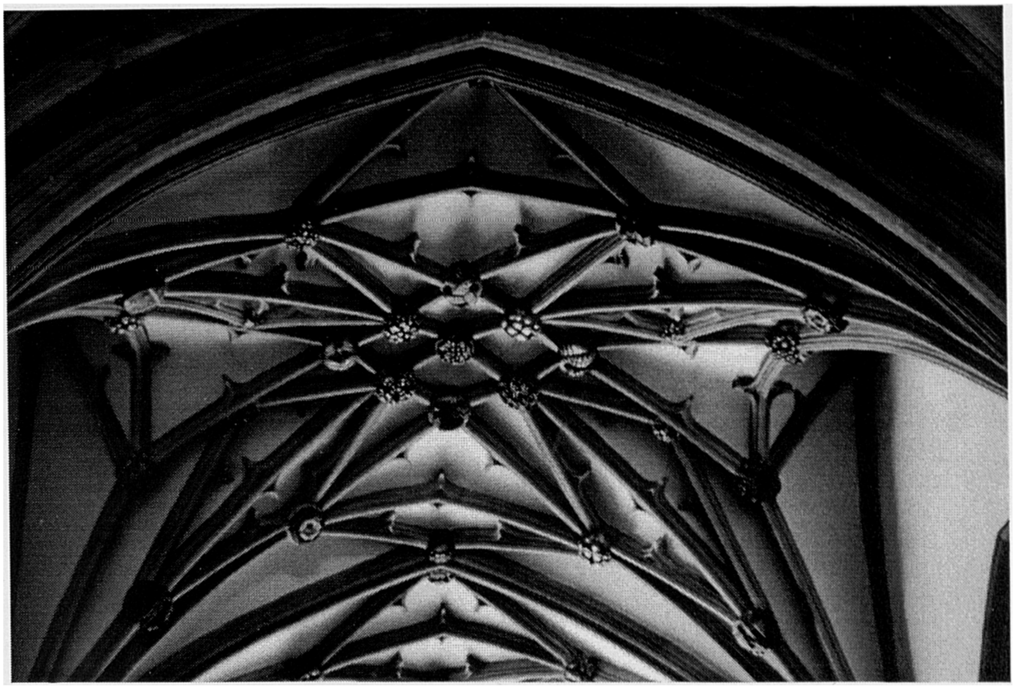
(v)
St Augustine's Bristol,
crossing

(vi)
St Mary Redcliffe,
crossing

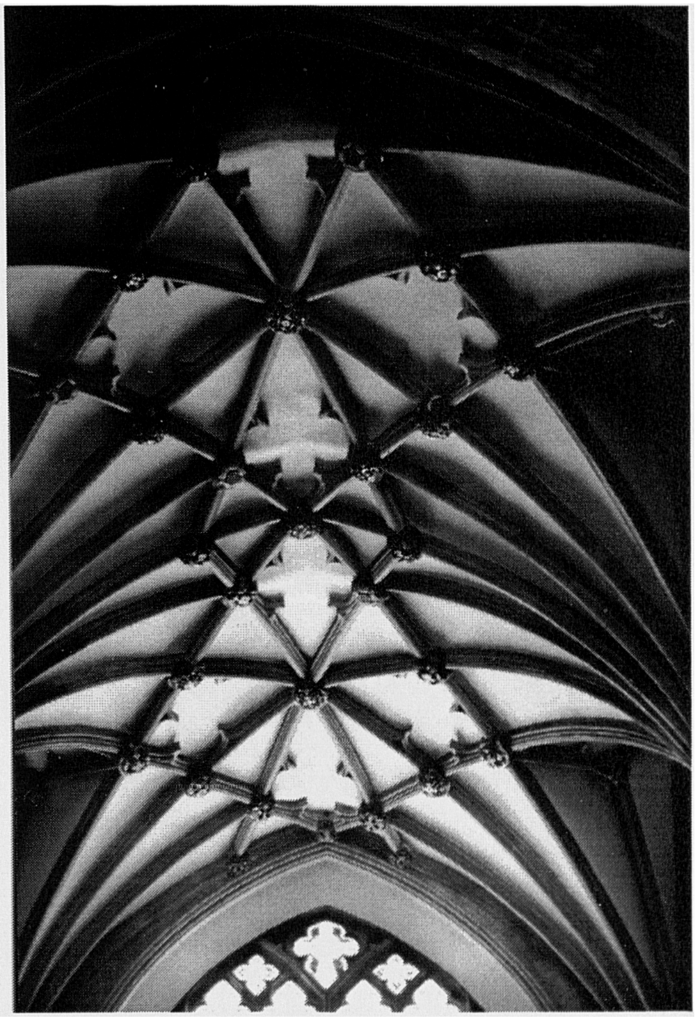


4.32: Vaults at St Mary Redcliffe, St Augustine's, Bristol and Winchester Cathedral

FIGURE 4.33

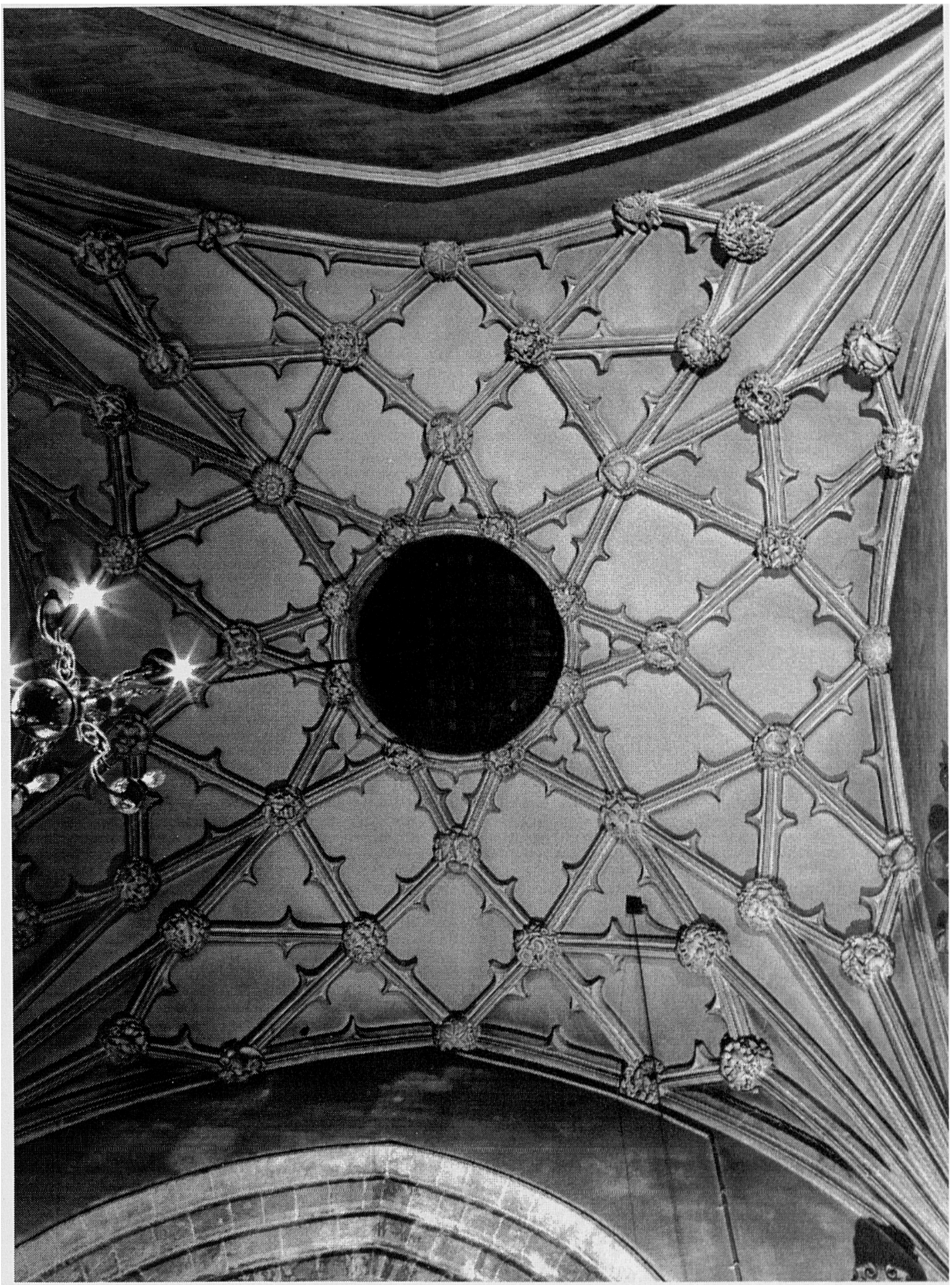


4.33A: St Augustine's, Bristol, south transept vault



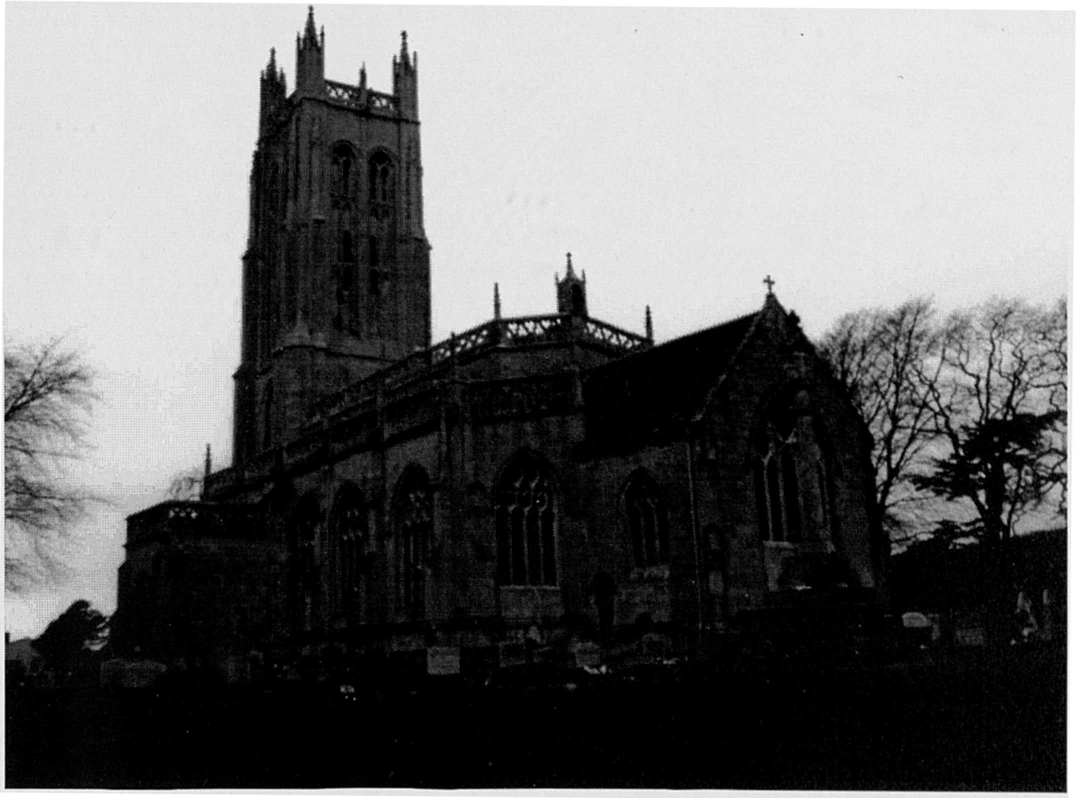
4.33B: St Augustine's, Bristol, north transept vault

FIGURE 4.34

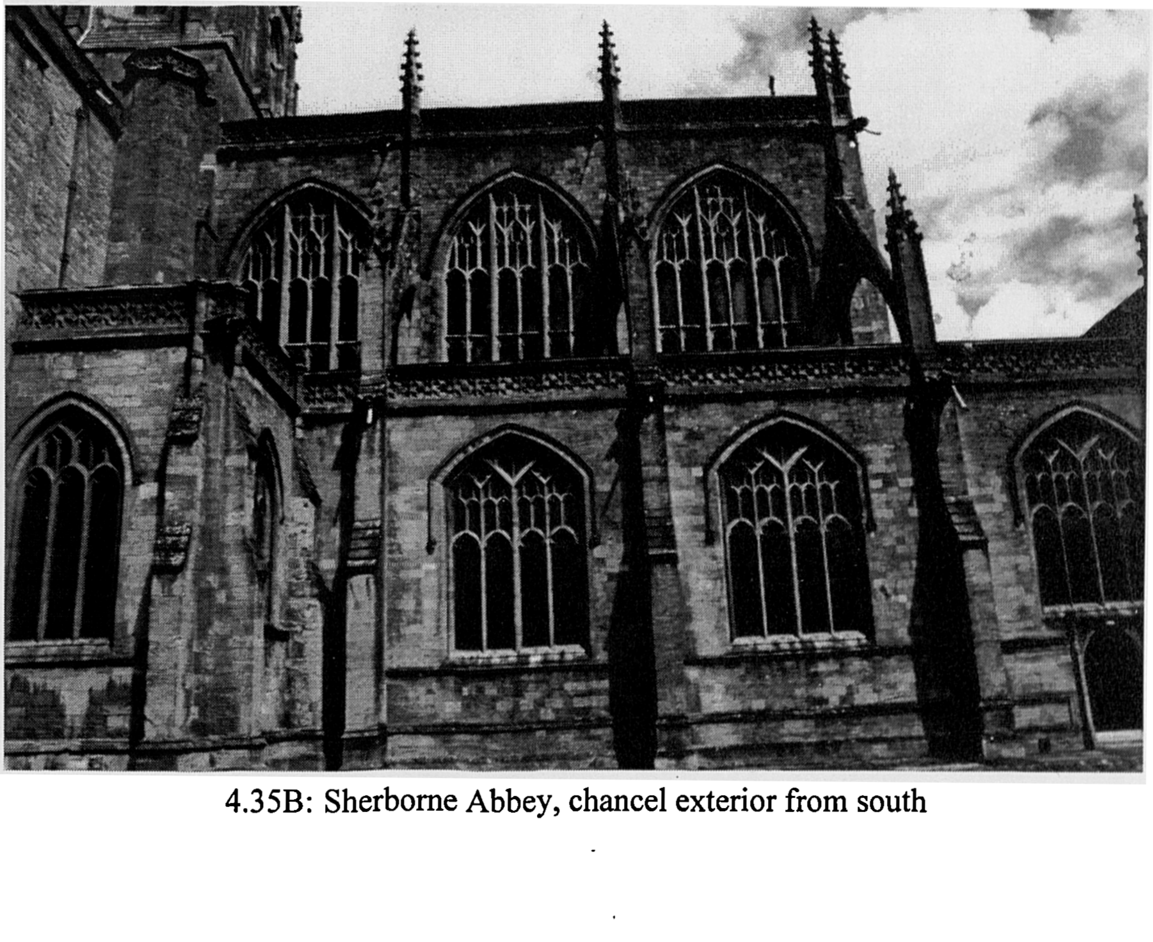


4.34: St Mary Redcliffe, tower vault

FIGURE 4.35

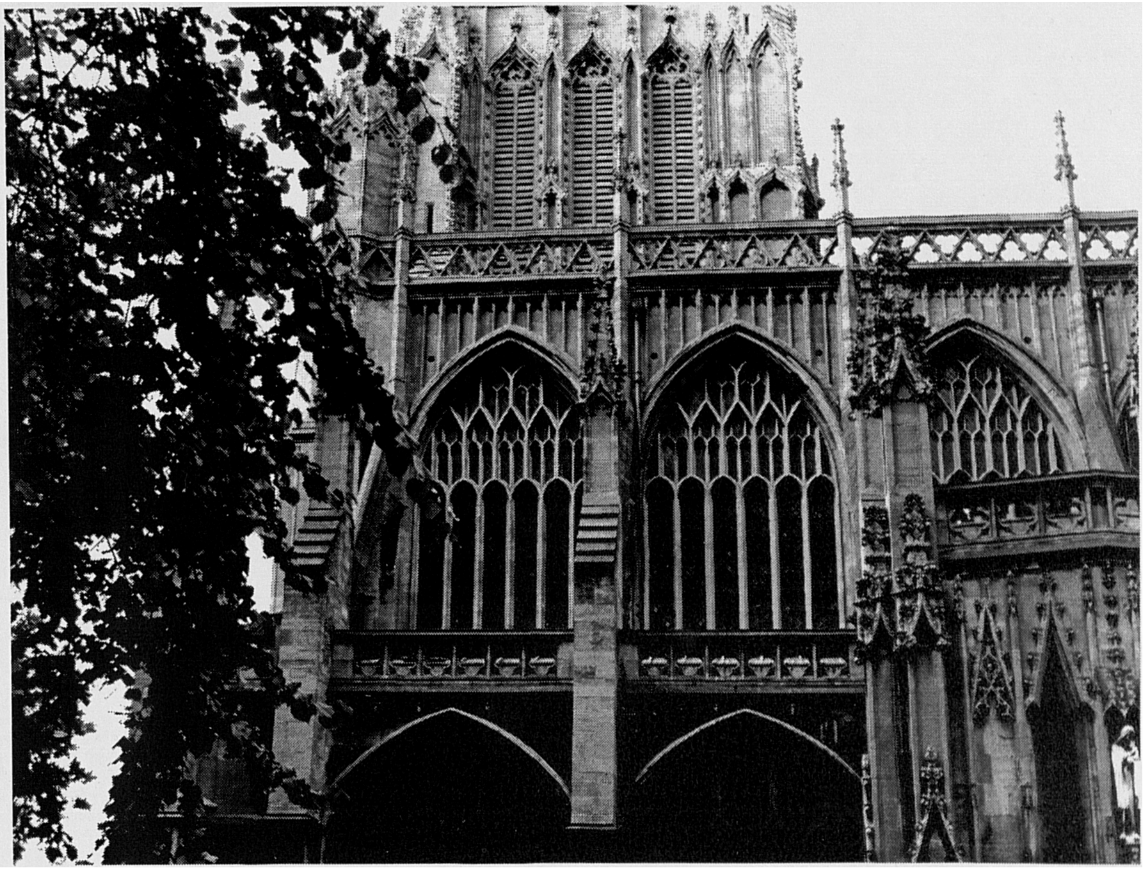


4.35A: Wrington parish church, view from south east



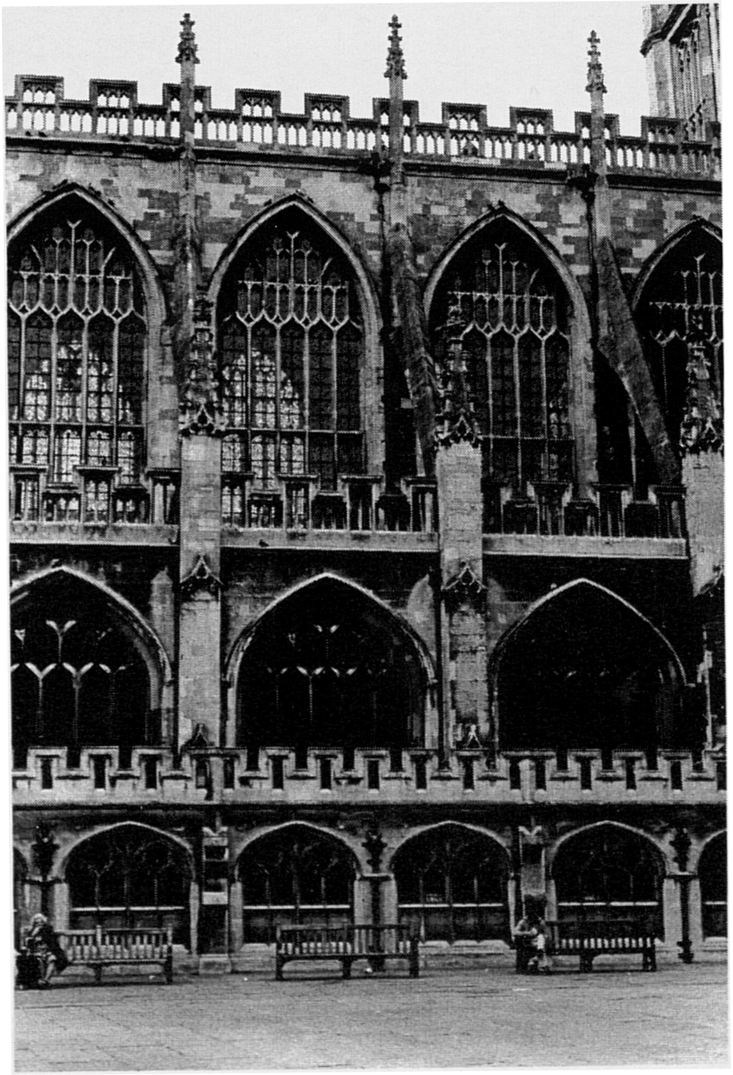
4.35B: Sherborne Abbey, chancel exterior from south

FIGURE 4.36



4.36: St Mary Redcliffe, nave exterior from south side

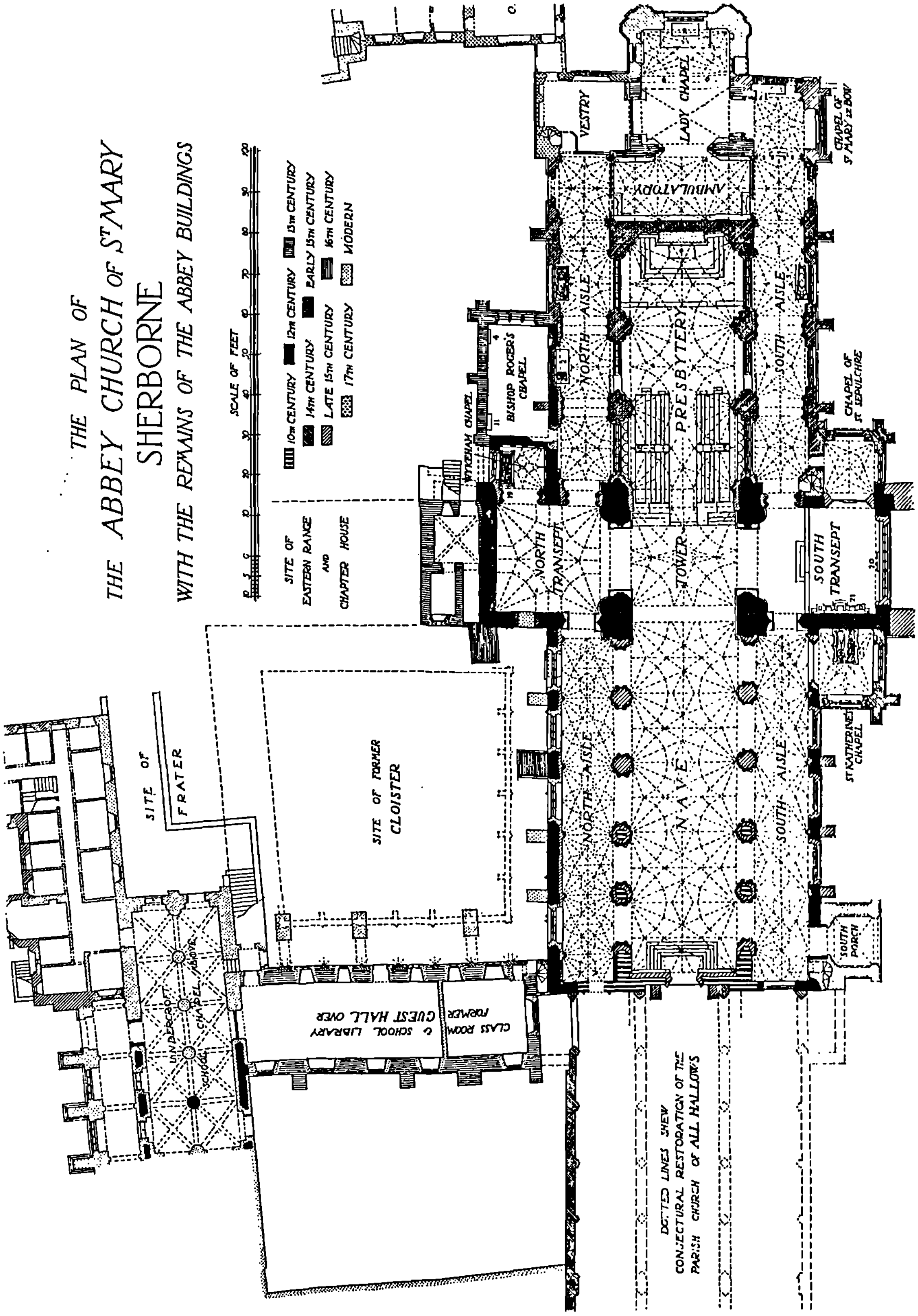
FIGURE 4.37



4.37A: Bath Abbey, nave exterior from south

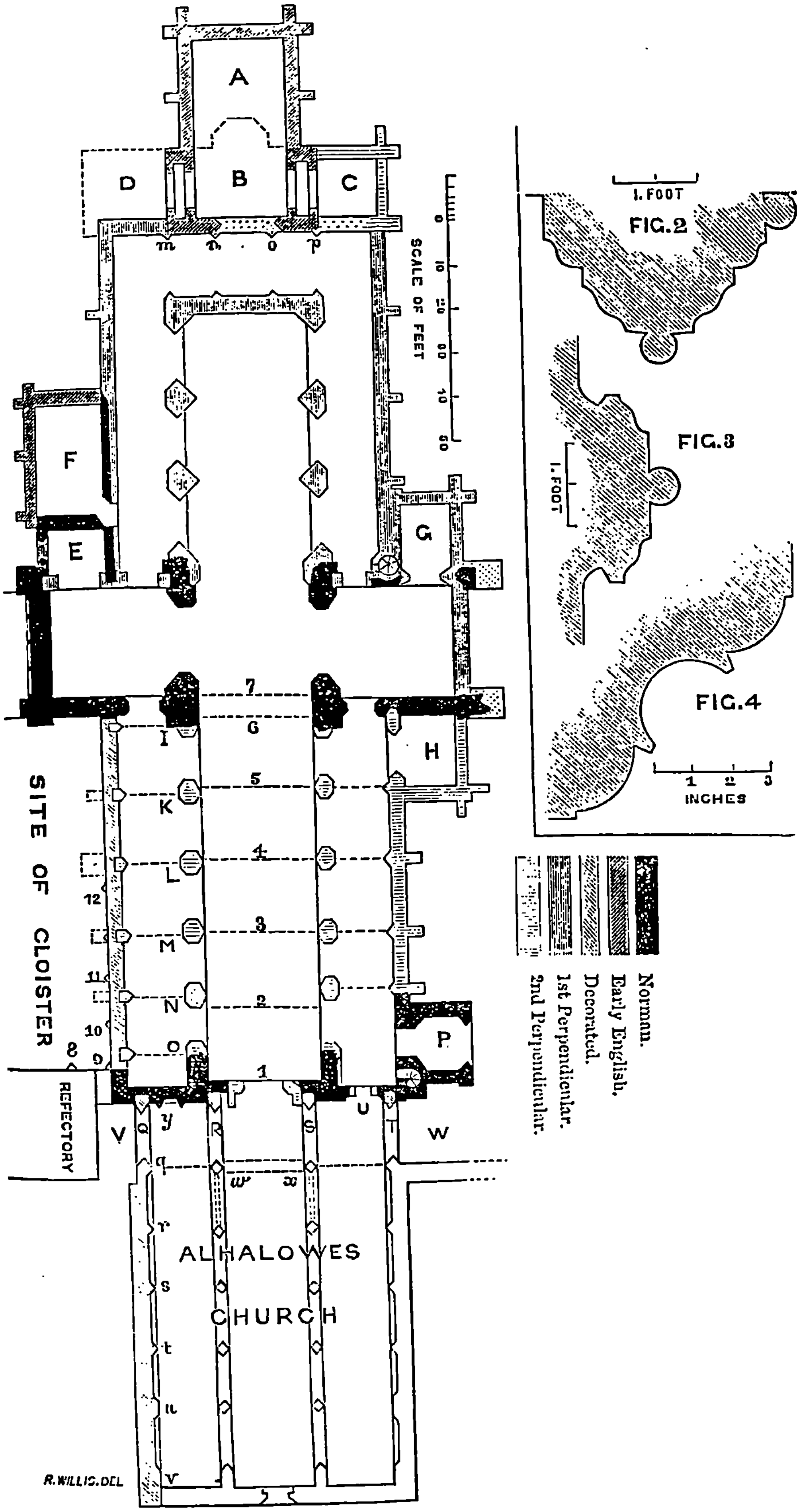
4.37B: St Mary’s Warwick, Beauchamp Chapel exterior

FIGURE 5.1



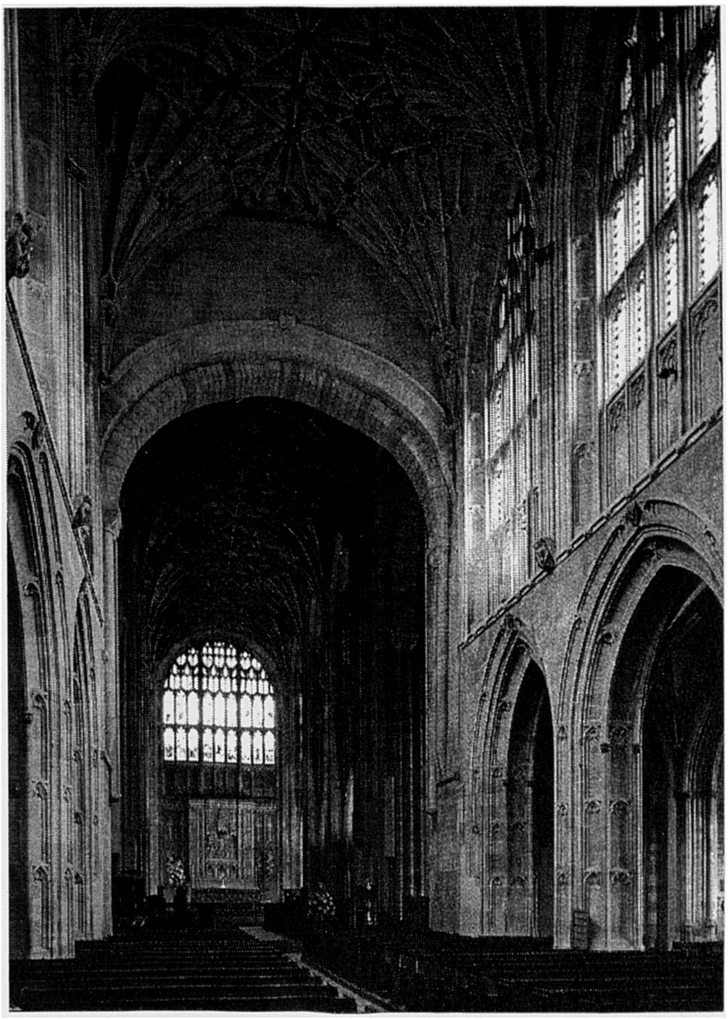
5.1: Plan of Sherborne Abbey – RCHME (1952)

FIGURE 5.2

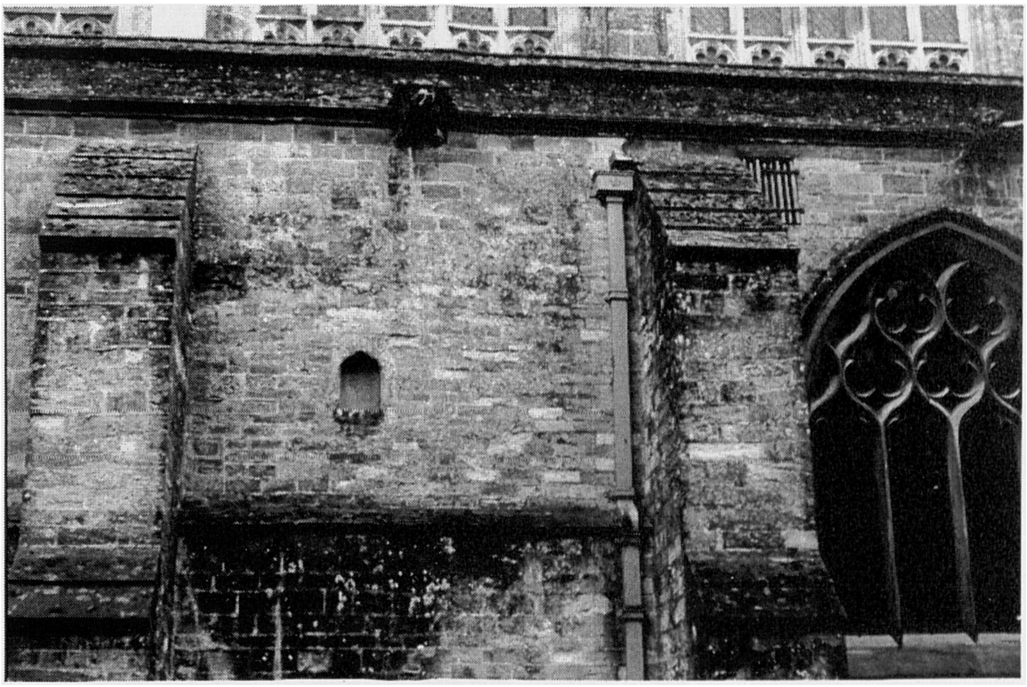


5.2: Plan of Sherborne Abbey – Willis (1865)

FIGURE 5.3

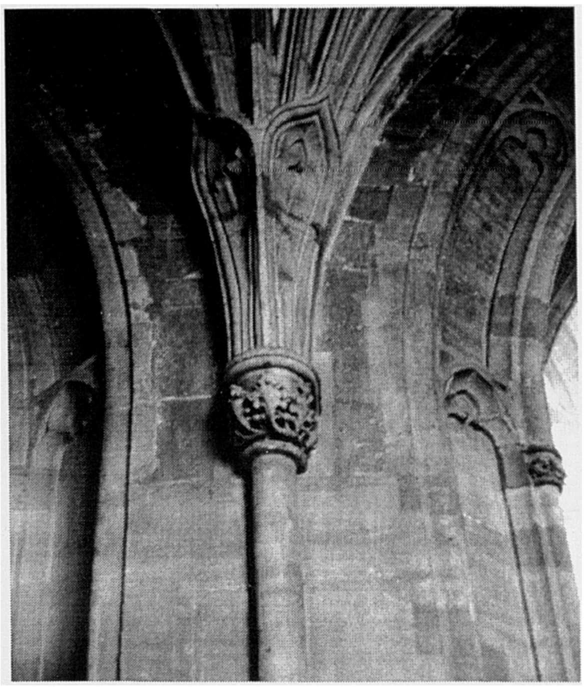


5.3A: Sherborne Abbey, nave, view to east

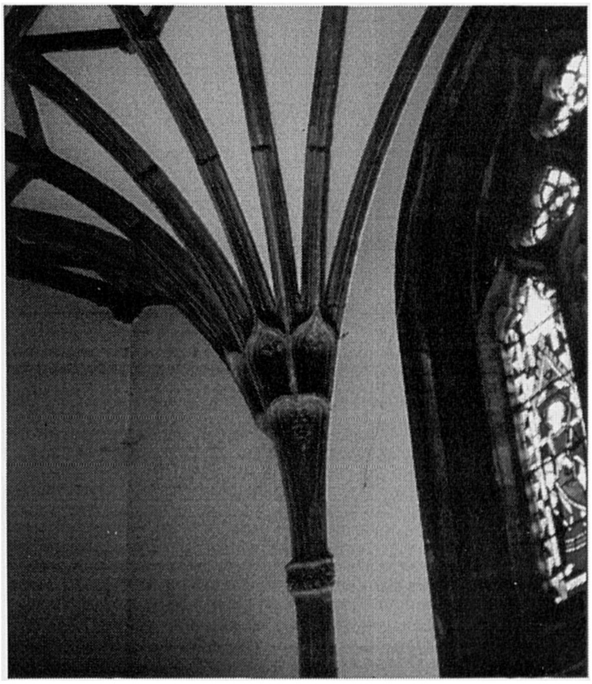


5.3B: Sherborne Abbey, exterior of north nave aisle wall

FIGURE 5.4

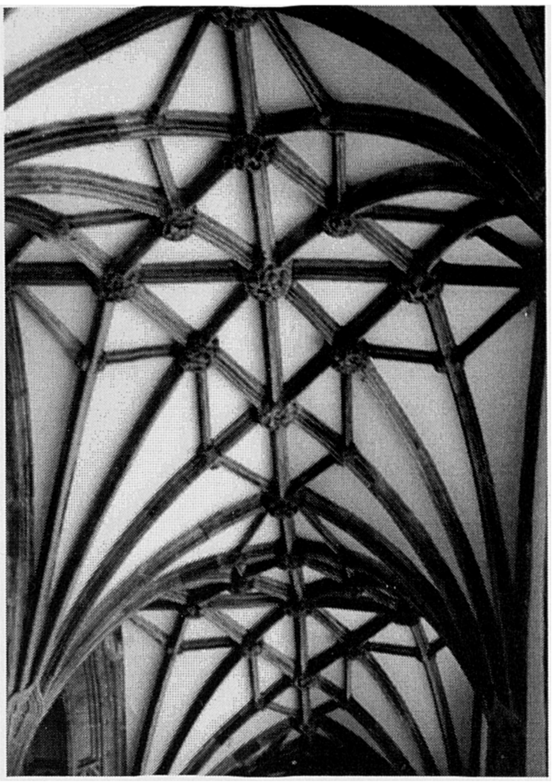


5.4A: Sherborne Abbey, south nave aisle springer

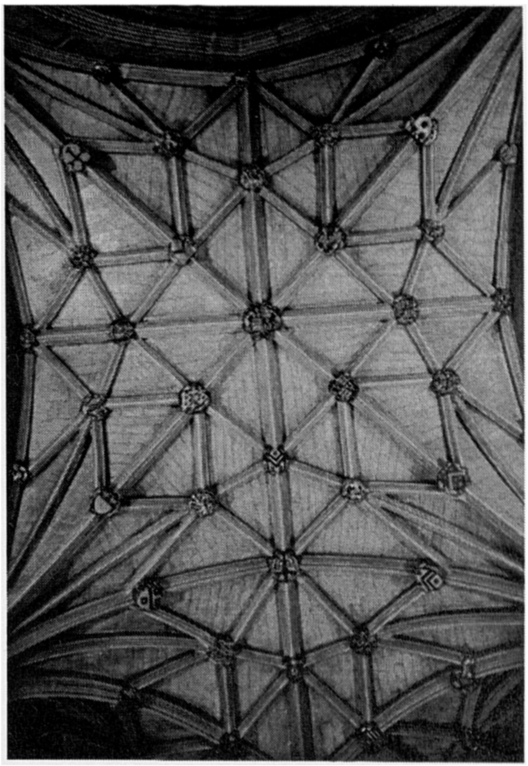


5.4B: Sherborne Abbey, north nave aisle springer

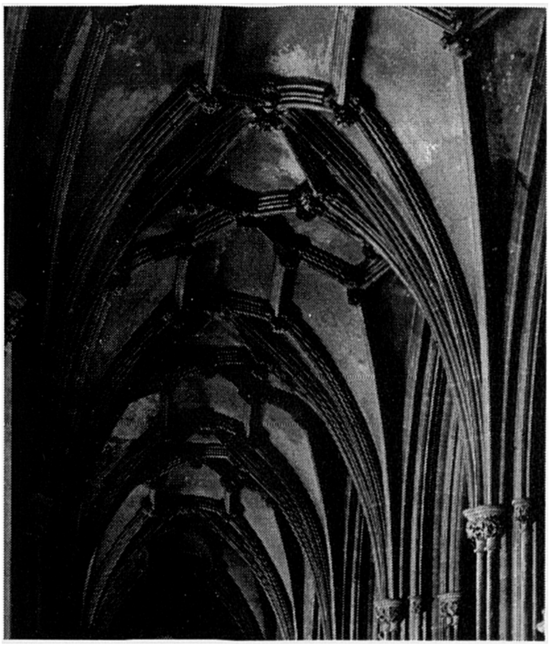
FIGURE 5.5



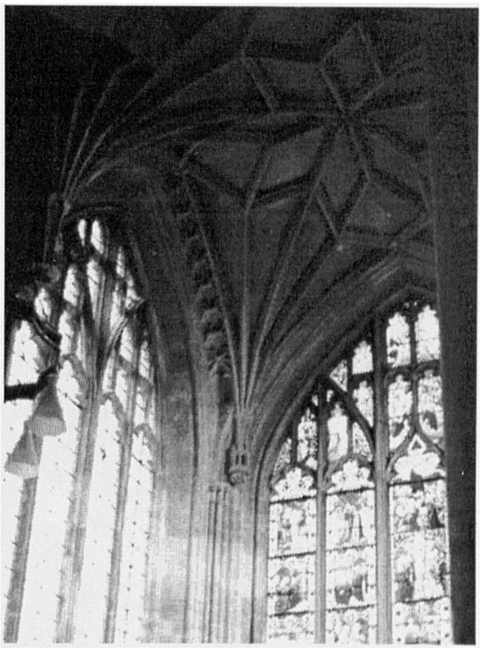
5.5A: Sherborne Abbey, south nave aisle



5.5B: Winchester College, Fromond's Chapel

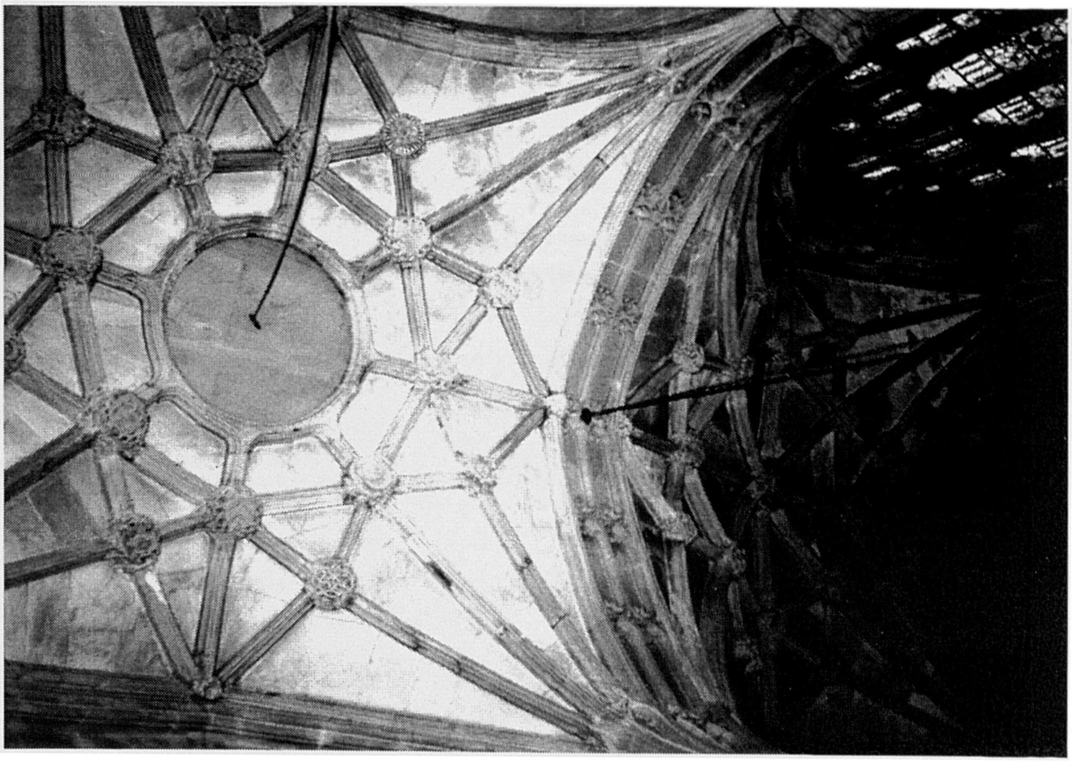


5.5C: Wells Cathedral, choir aisle vault

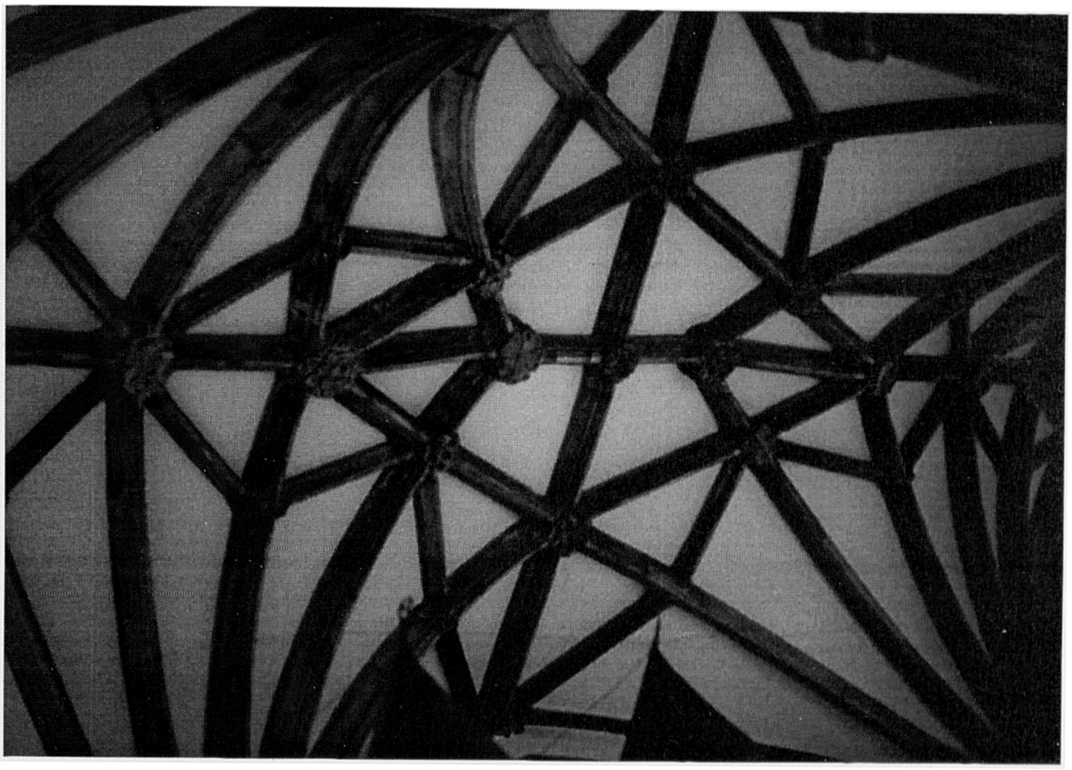


5.5D: Christchurch Priory, Lady chapel

FIGURE 5.6

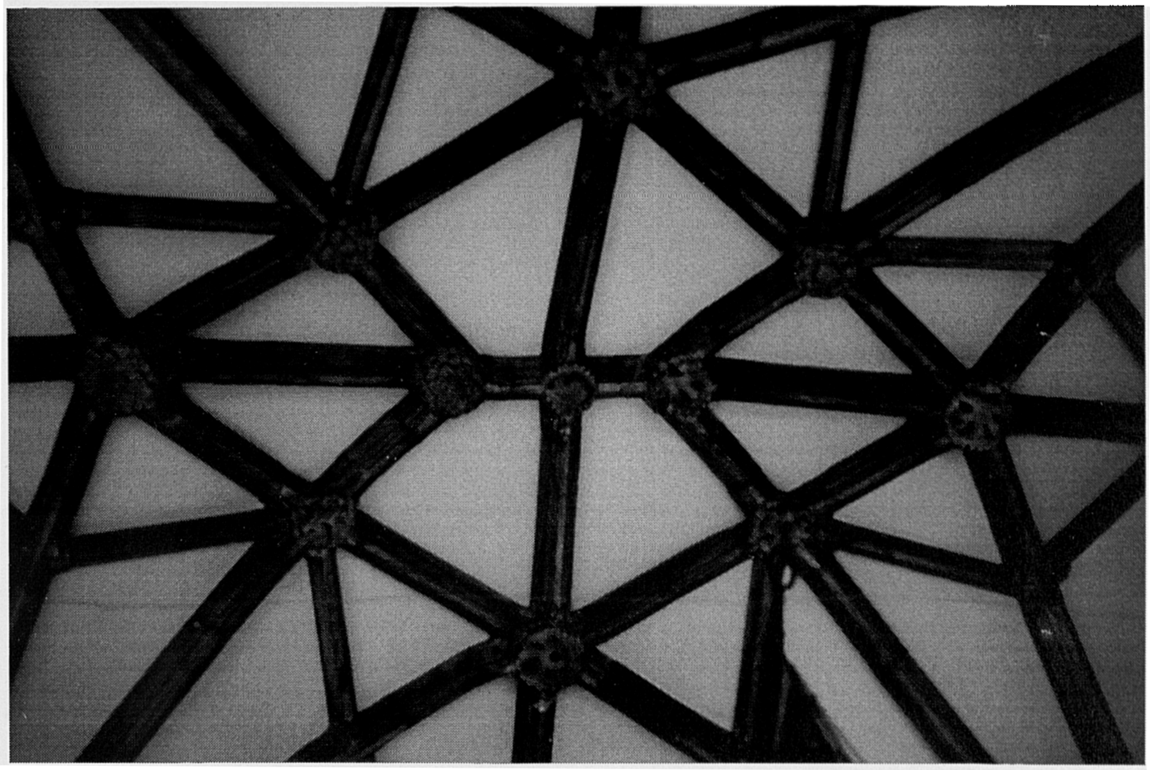


5.6B: Winchester College, Thurbern's Chapel vault

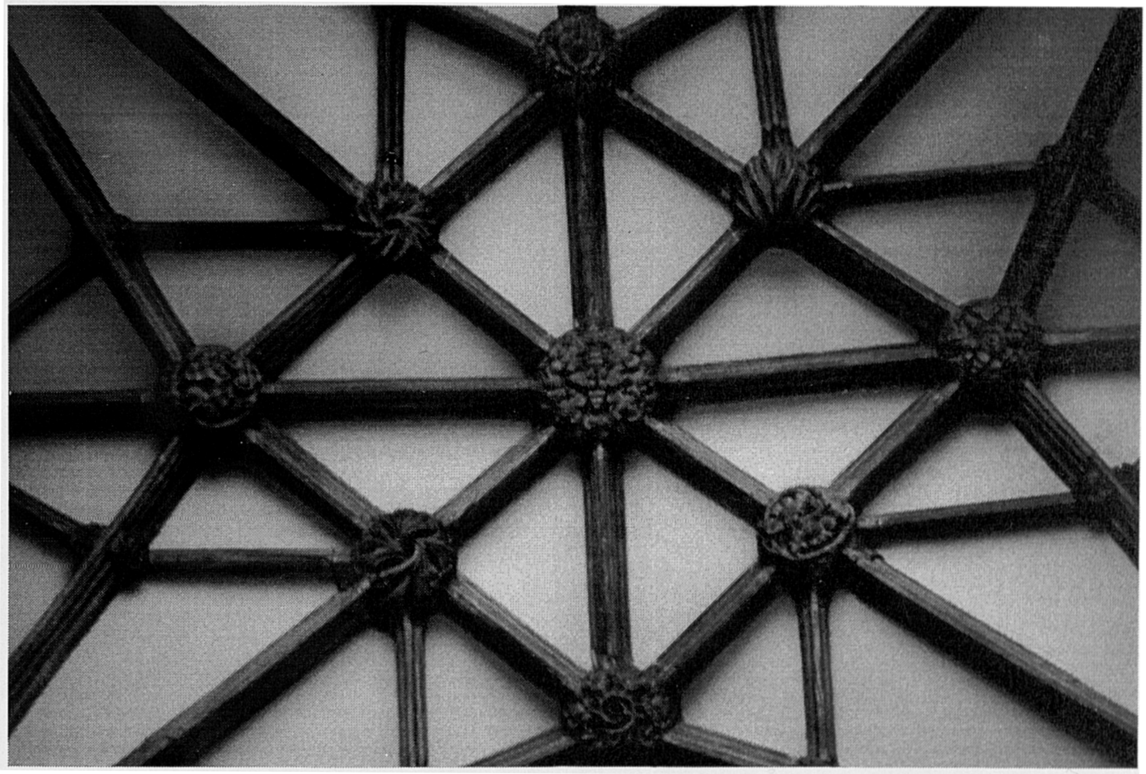


5.6A:Sherborne Abbey, north nave aisle vault

FIGURE 5.7

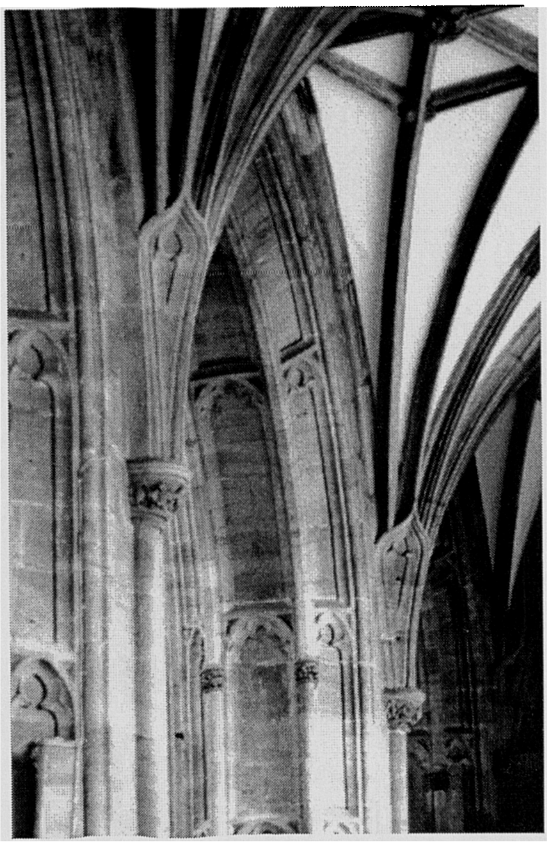


5.7A: Sherborne Abbey, north nave aisle vault and bosses

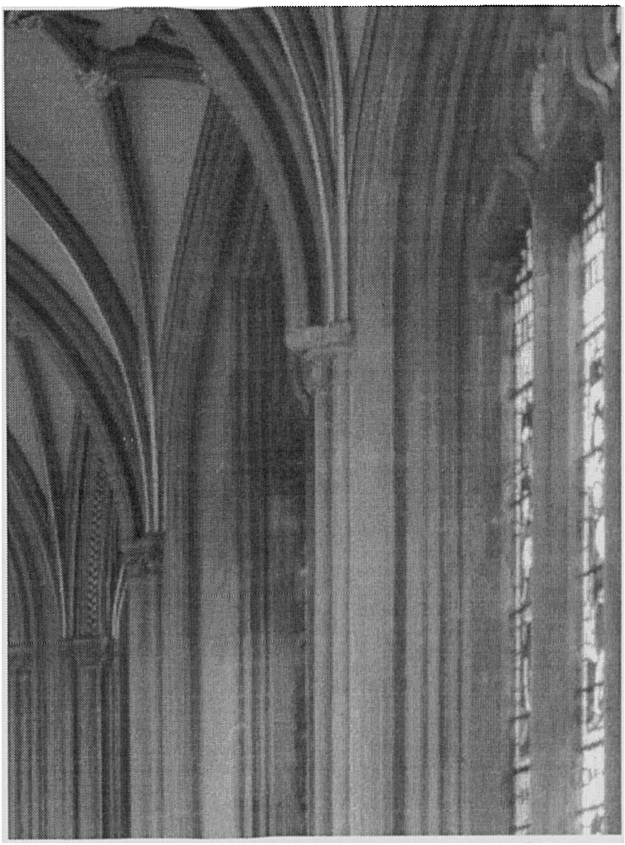


5.7B: Sherborne Abbey, south nave aisle vault and bosses

FIGURE 5.8

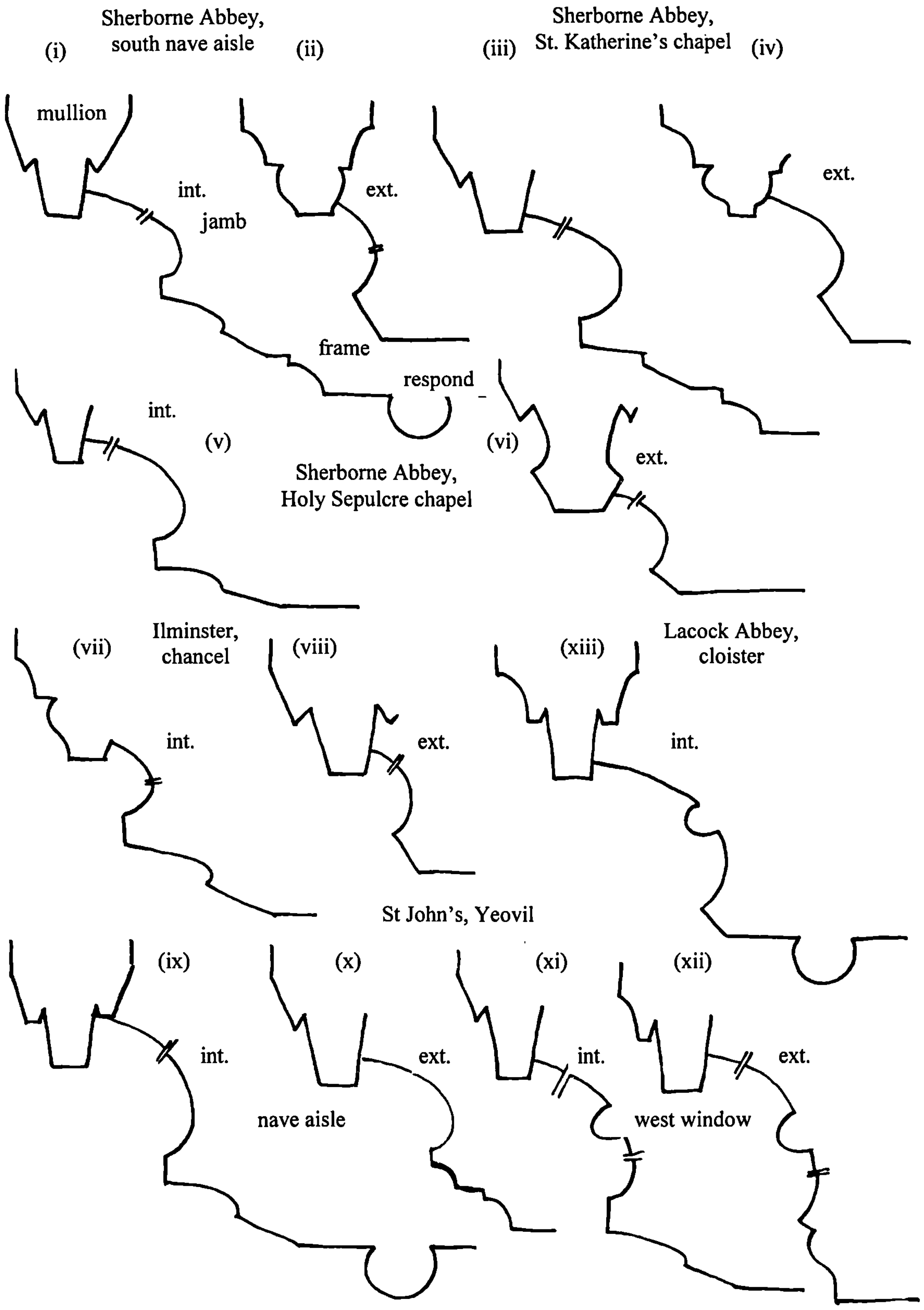


5.8A: Sherborne Abbey, south nave aisle vault respond



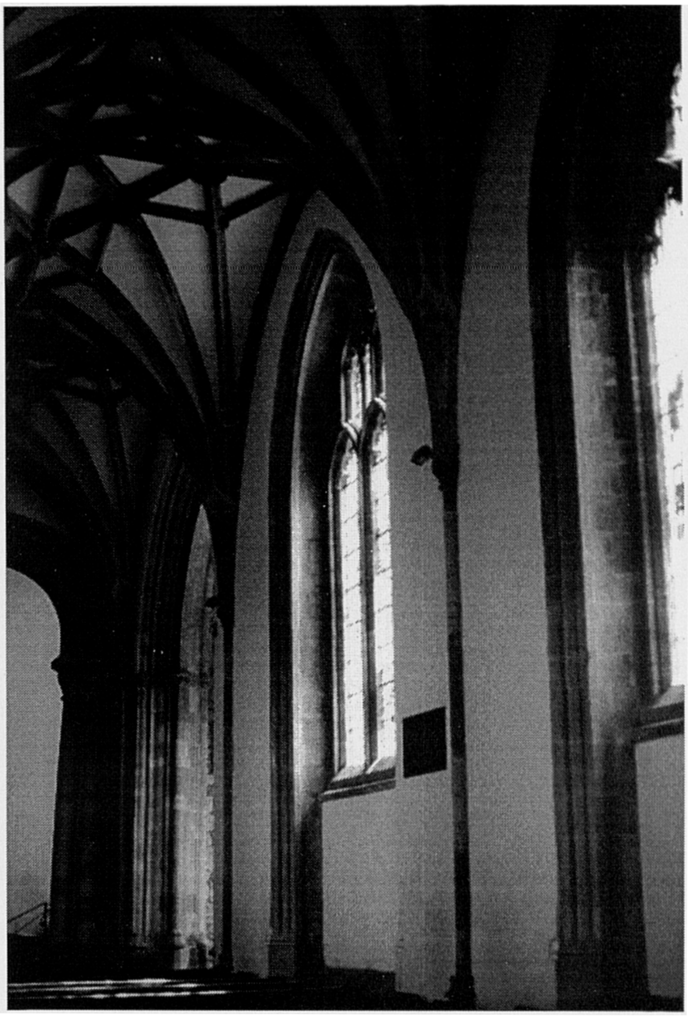
5.8B: St Mary Redcliffe, south nave aisle vault respond

FIGURE 5.9

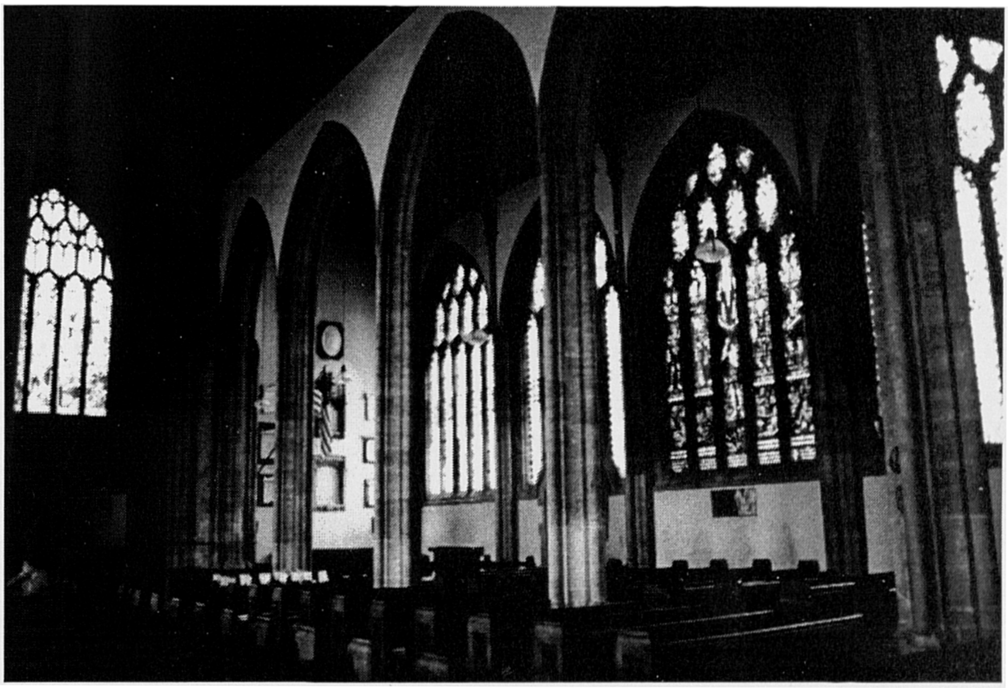


5.9: Sherborne Abbey south nave aisle mouldings and related designs

FIGURE 5.10

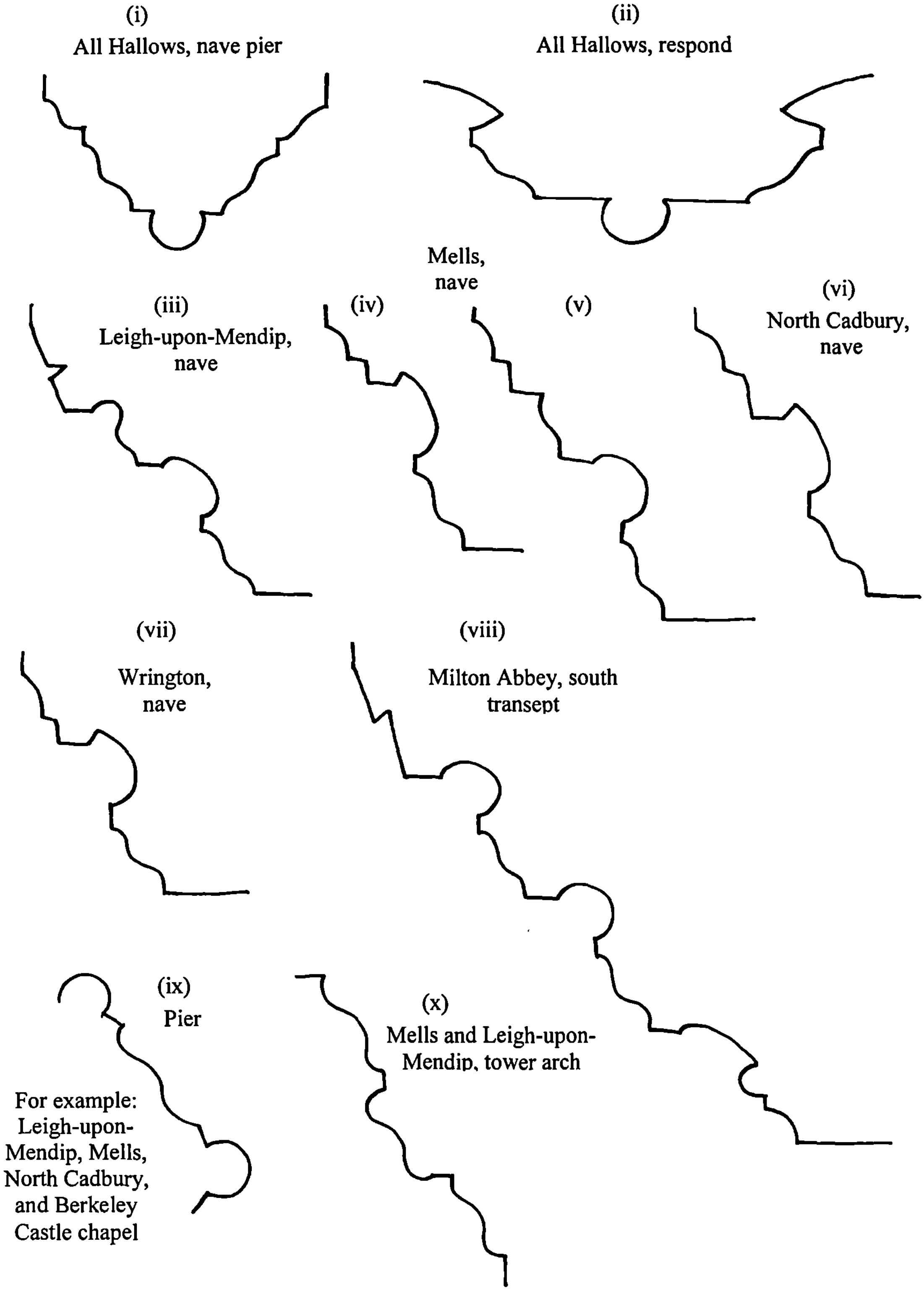


5.10A: Sherborne Abbey, south nave aisle



5.10B: St John's, Yeovil, north nave aisle

FIGURE 5.11



(i)
All Hallows, nave pier

(ii)
All Hallows, respond

(iii)
Leigh-upon-Mendip, nave

Mells, nave
(iv)
(v)

(vi)
North Cadbury, nave

(vii)
Wrington, nave

(viii)
Milton Abbey, south transept

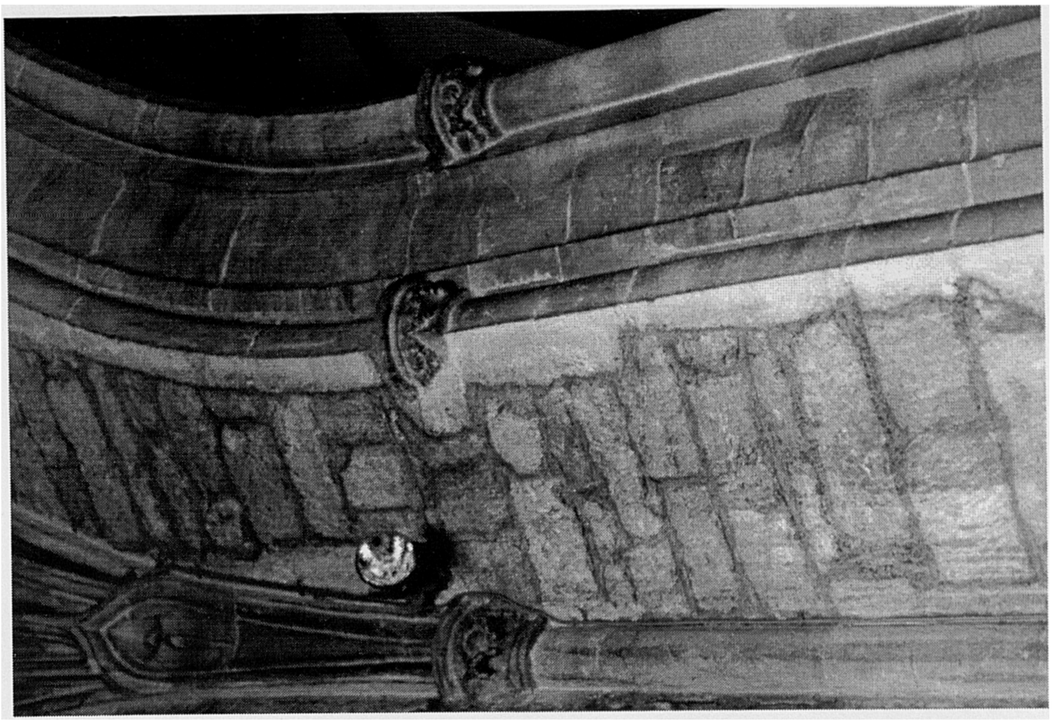
(ix)
Pier

For example: Leigh-upon-Mendip, Mells, North Cadbury, and Berkeley Castle chapel

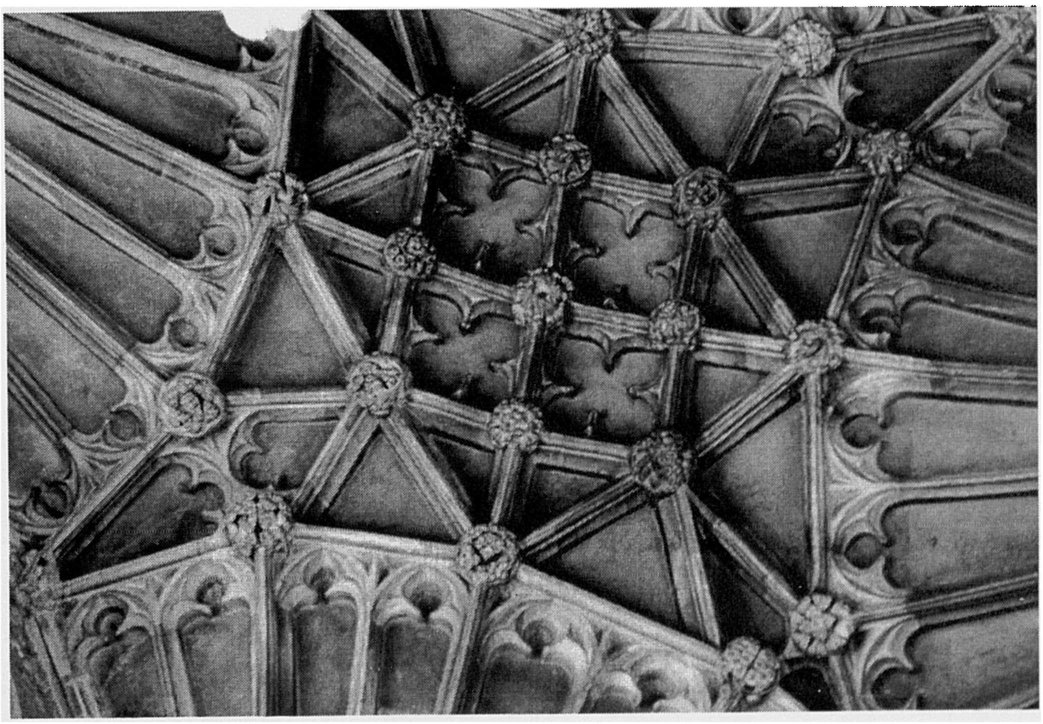
(x)
Mells and Leigh-upon-Mendip, tower arch

5.11: All Hallows, Sherborne, mouldings and related designs

FIGURE 5.12

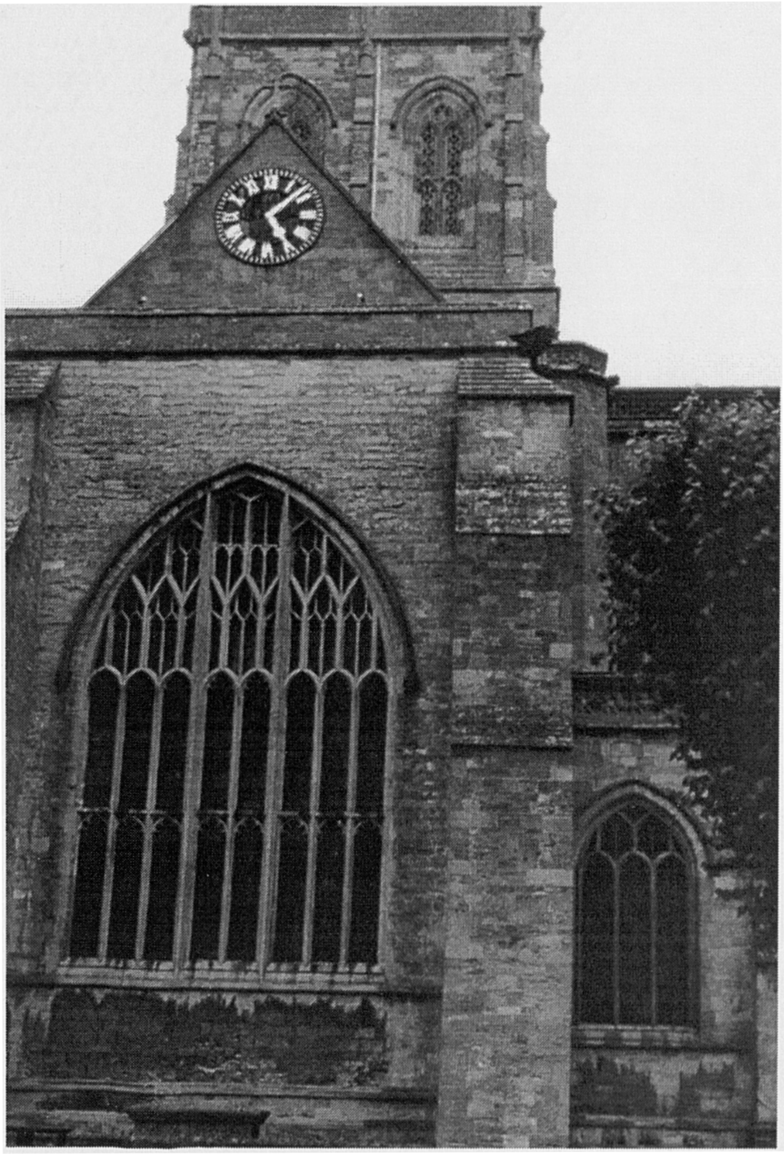


5.12A: Sherborne Abbey. St Katherine's chapel respond



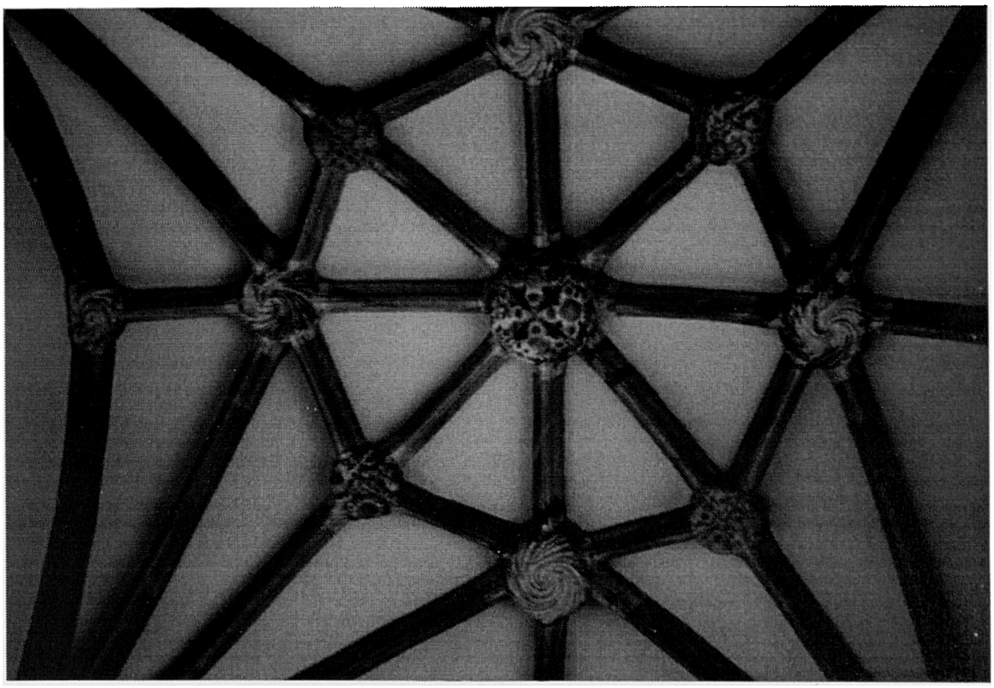
5.12B: Sherborne Abbey, St Katherine's chapel vault

FIGURE 5.13

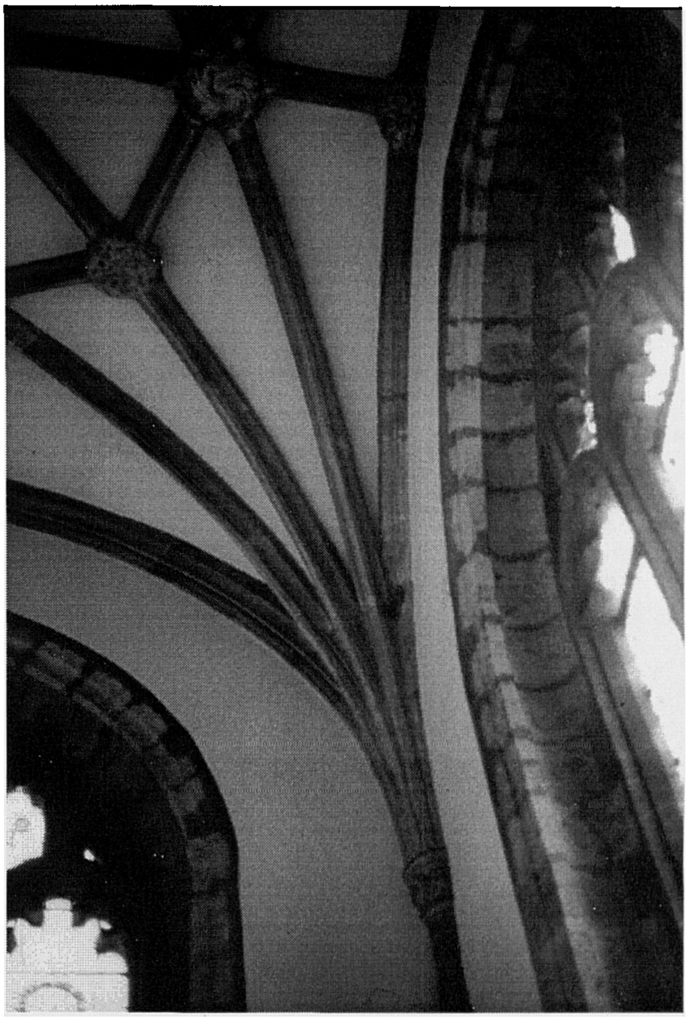


5.13: Sherborne Abbey, south transept and Holy Sepulcre chapel from south

FIGURE 5.14

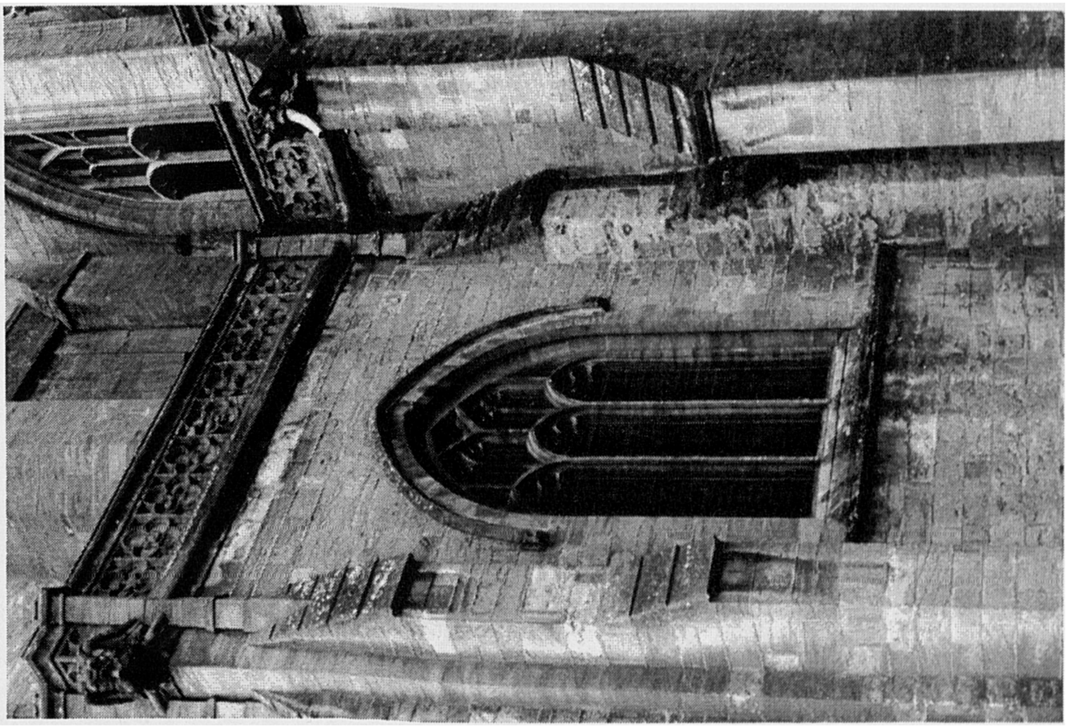


5.14A: Sherborne Abbey, Holy Sepulcre chapel vault

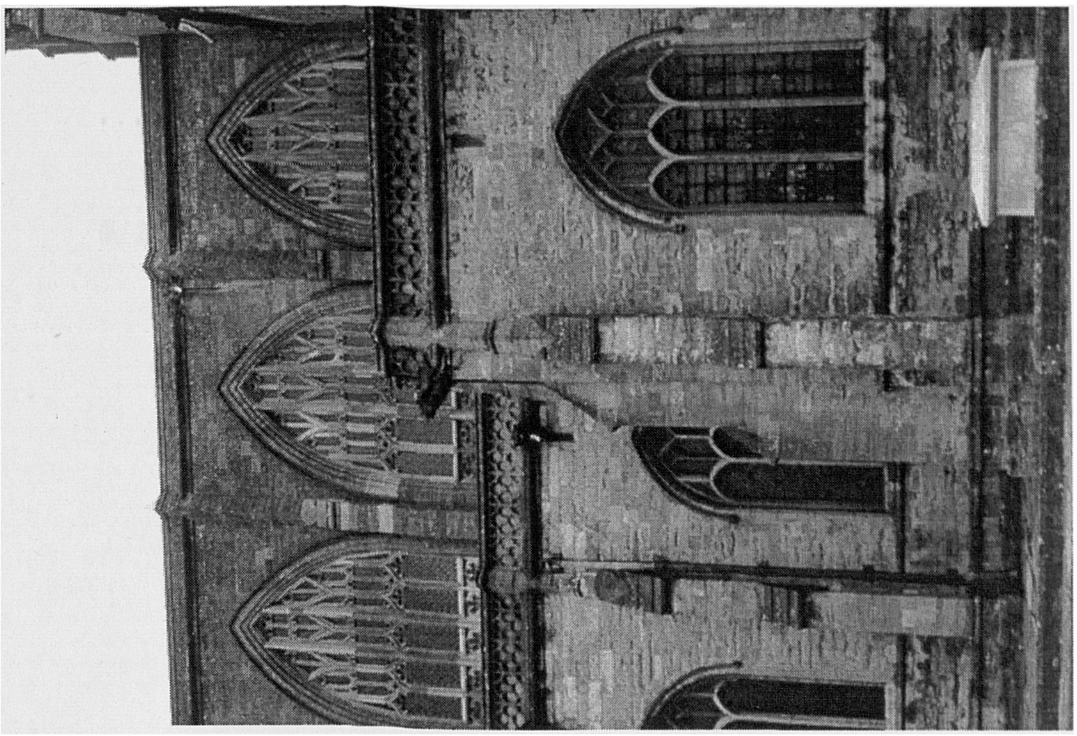


5.14B: Sherborne Abbey, Holy Sepulcre chapel vault springer

FIGURE 5.15

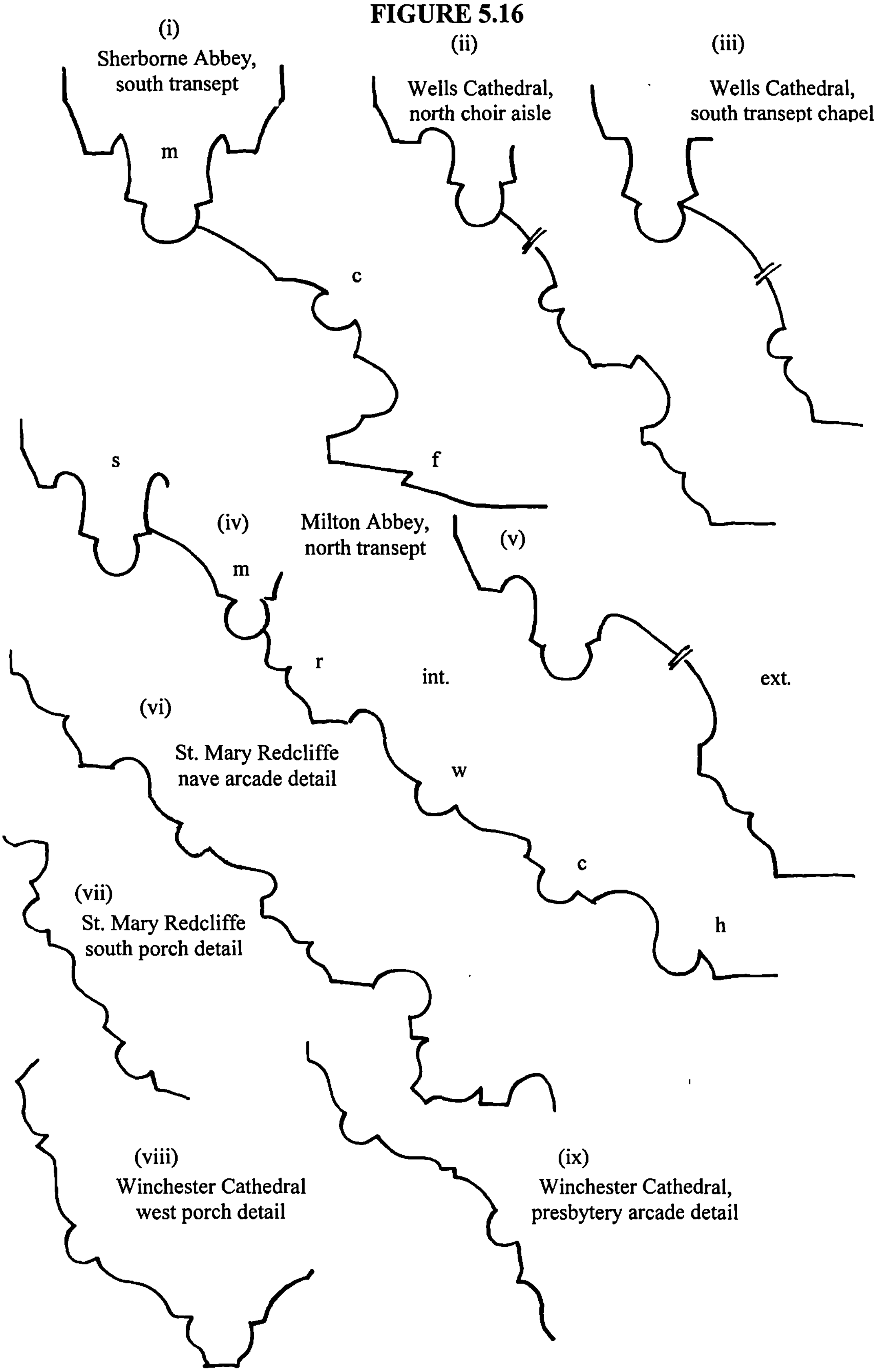


5.15A: Sherborne Abbey, Holy Sepulcre chapel exterior



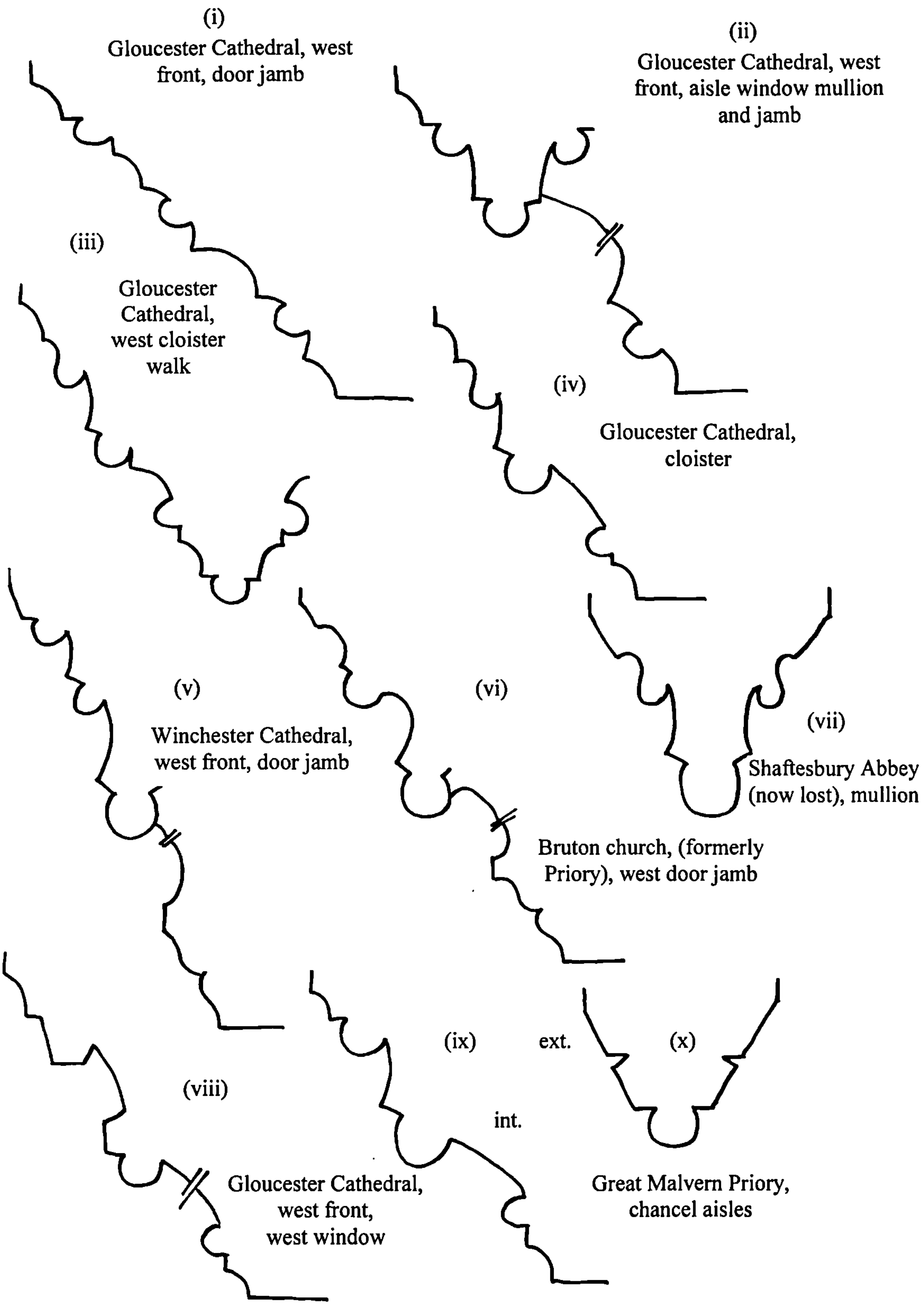
5.15B: Shernorne Abbey, St Katherine's chapel exterior

FIGURE 5.16



5.16: Sherborne Abbey and Milton Abbey transepts, and related designs

FIGURE 5.17



(i) Gloucester Cathedral, west front, door jamb

(ii) Gloucester Cathedral, west front, aisle window mullion and jamb

(iii) Gloucester Cathedral, west cloister walk

(iv) Gloucester Cathedral, cloister

(v) Winchester Cathedral, west front, door jamb

(vi) Bruton church, (formerly Priory), west door jamb

(vii) Shaftesbury Abbey (now lost), mullion

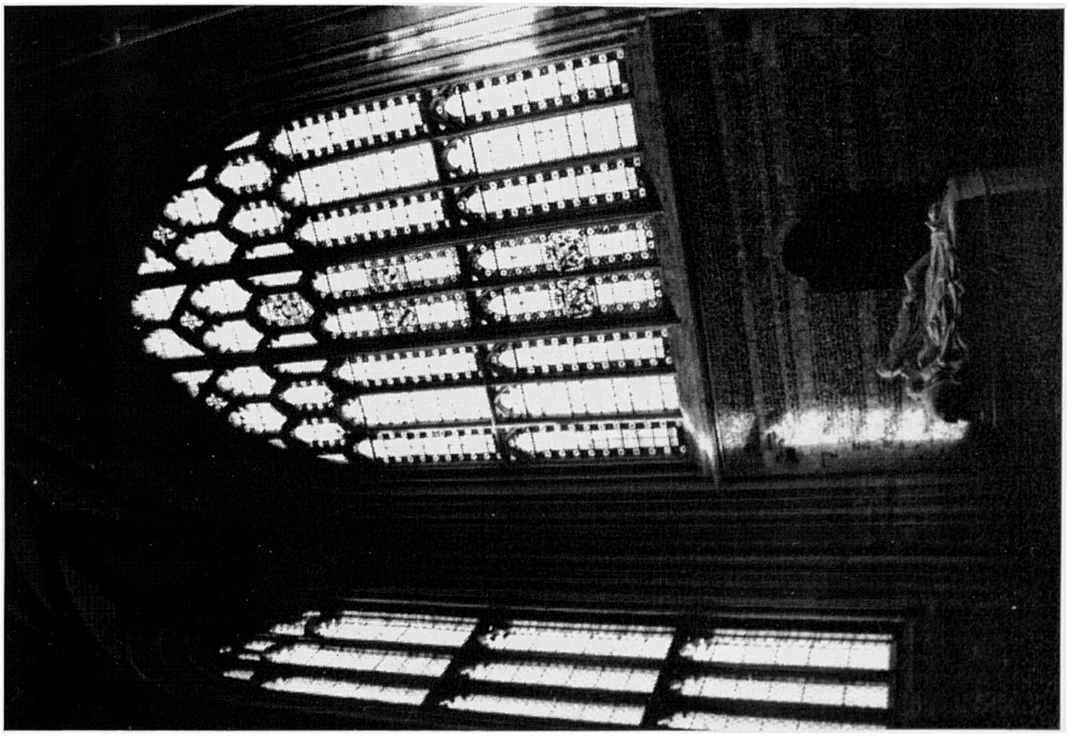
(viii) Gloucester Cathedral, west front, west window

(ix)

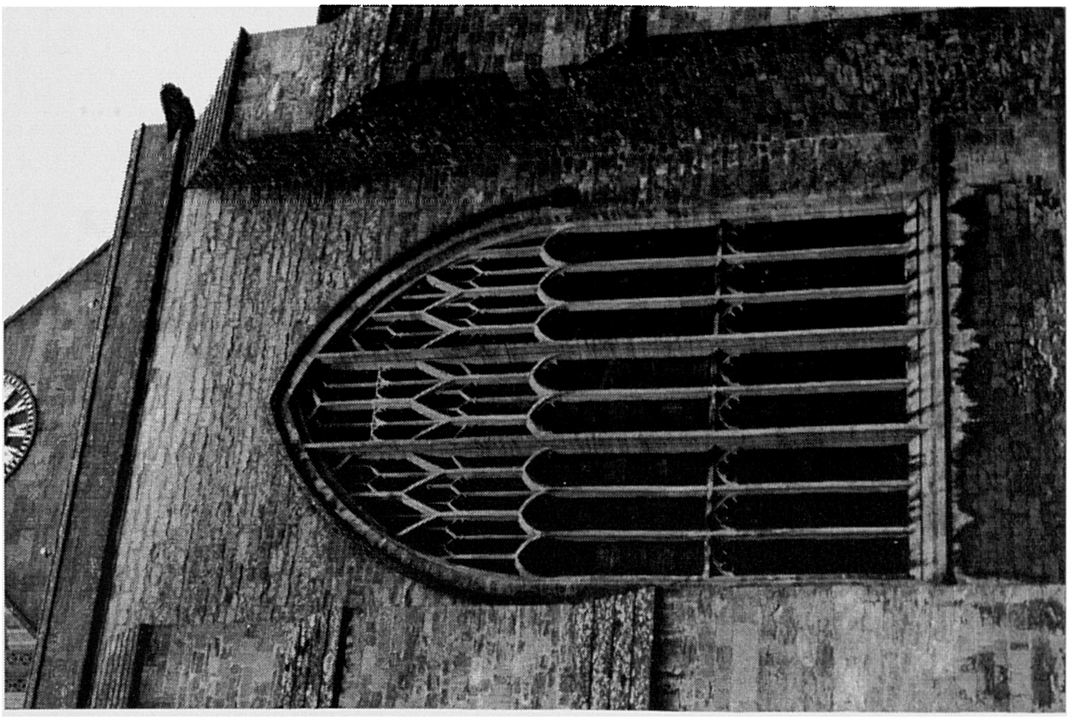
(x) Great Malvern Priory, chancel aisles

5.17: Gloucester Cathedral mouldings and related designs

FIGURE 5.18

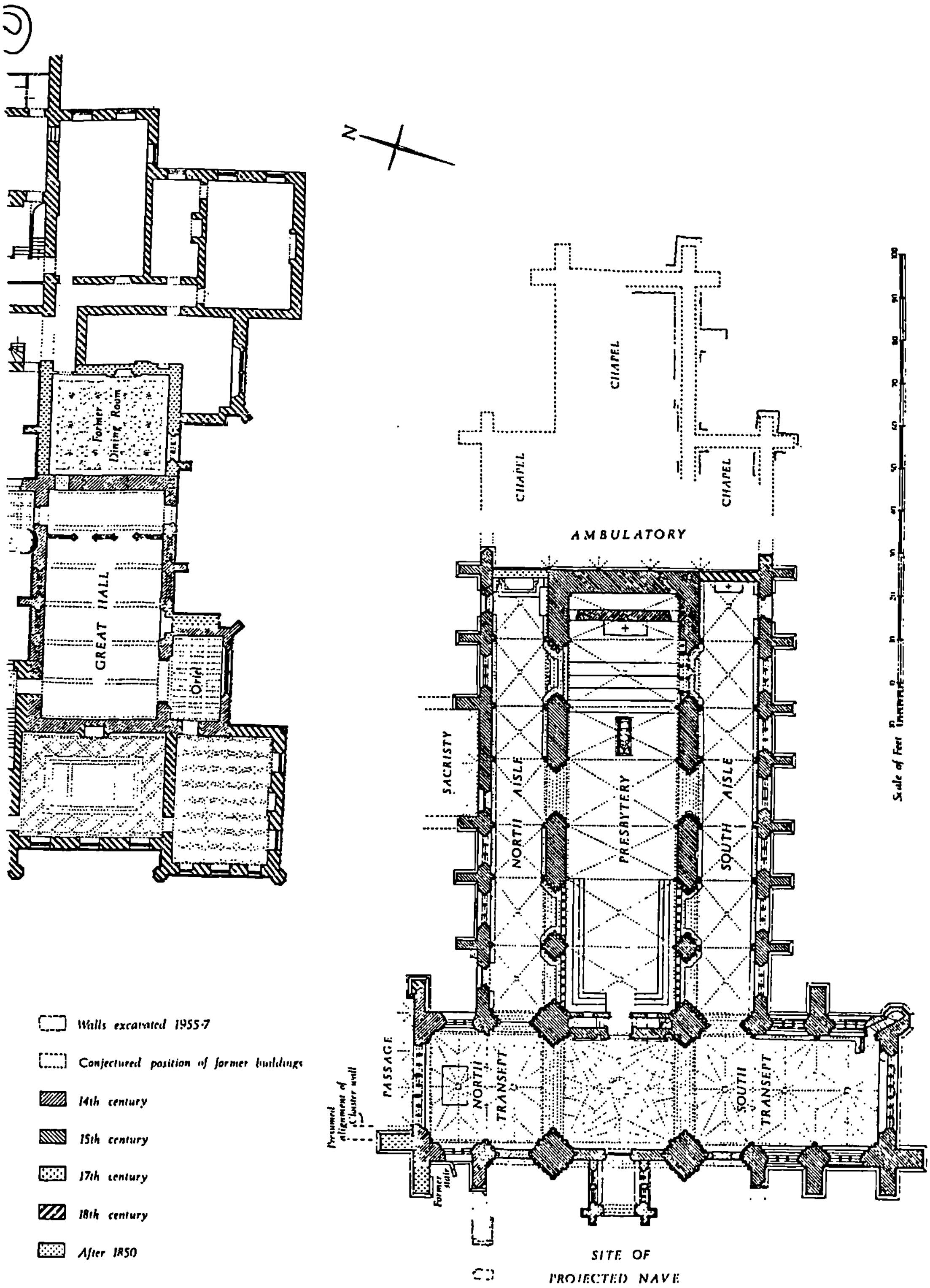


5.18A: Milton Abbey, north transept interior looking north



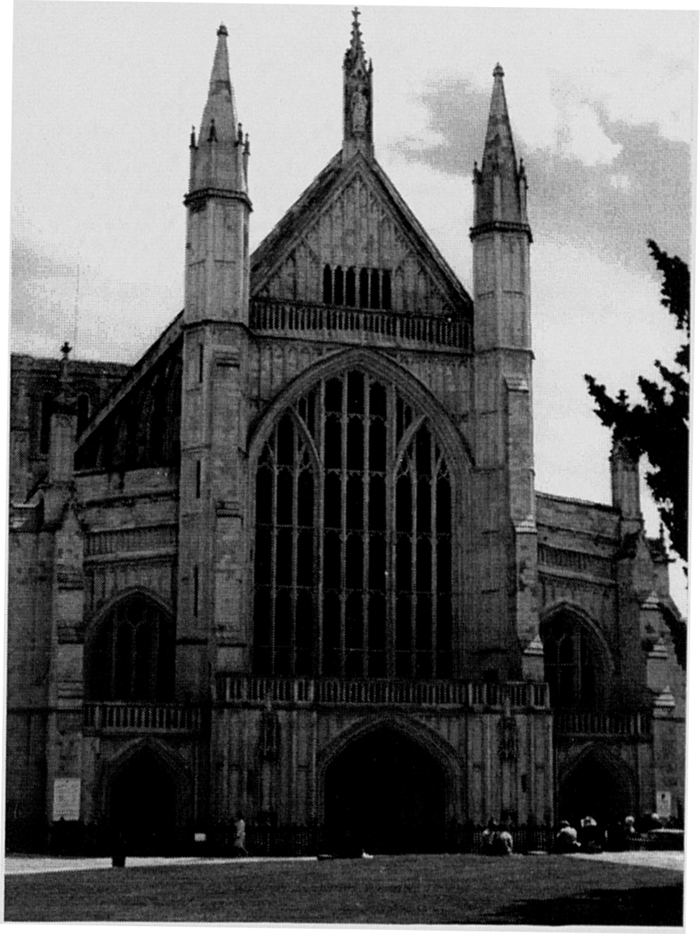
5.18B: Sherborne Abbey, south transept exterior from south

FIGURE 5.19

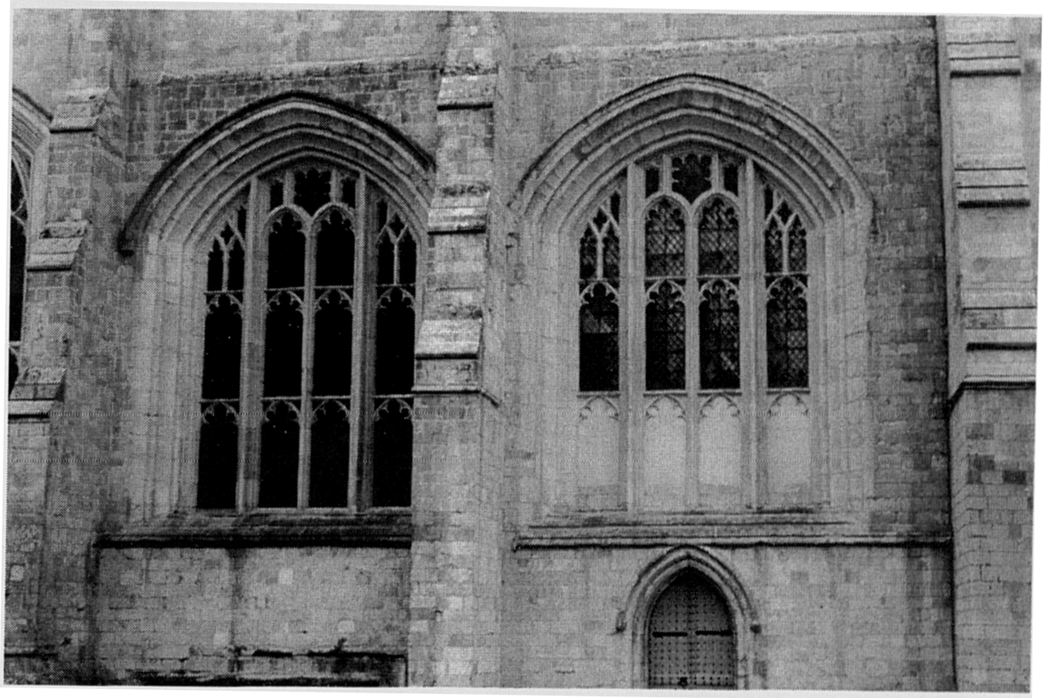


5.19: Plan of Milton Abbey - RCHME

FIGURE 5.20



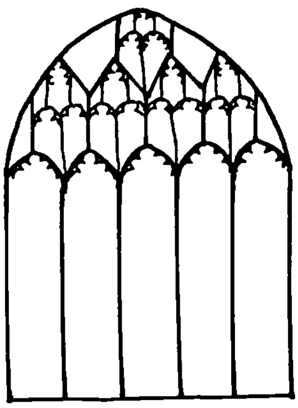
5.20A: Winchester Cathedral, west front



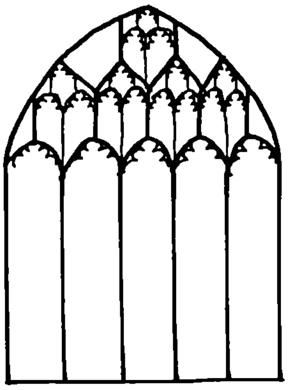
5.20B: Winchester Cathedral, west bays of north nave aisle (under Bishop Edington)

FIGURE 5.21

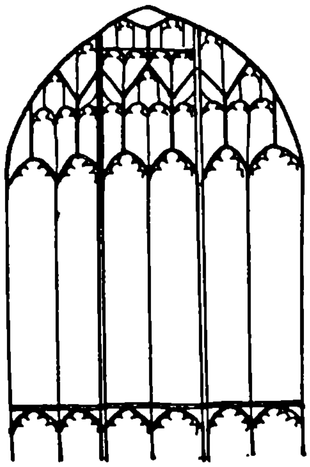
(i)
St Mary Redcliffe,
clerestory



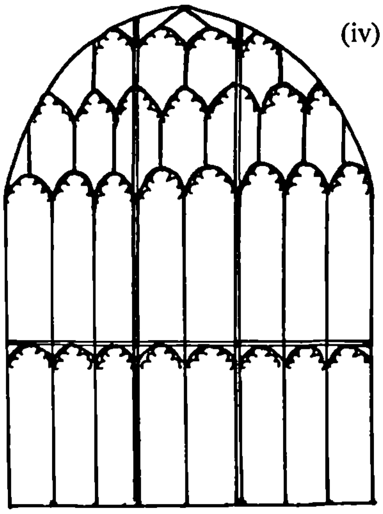
(ii)
St John's Yeovil,
transepts



(iii)
Sherborne Abbey,
chancel clerestory

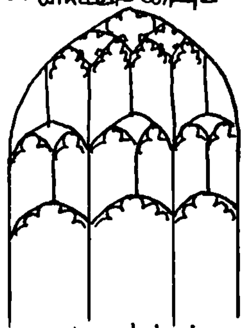


(iv)

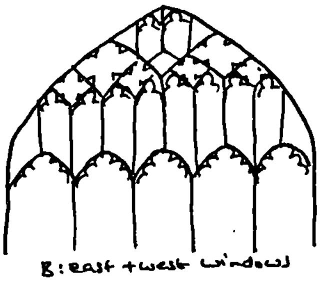


Milton Abbey, north
transept, north window

(v) Fromond's chapel
Winchester College

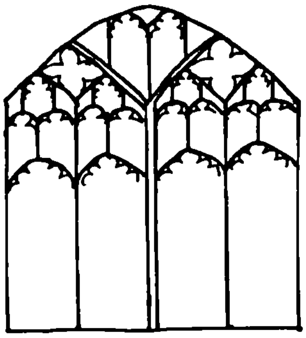


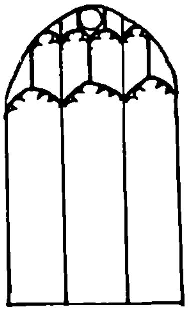
A: side windows



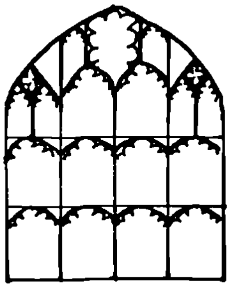
B: east + west windows

(vi)
Sherborne Abbey,
chancel aisle

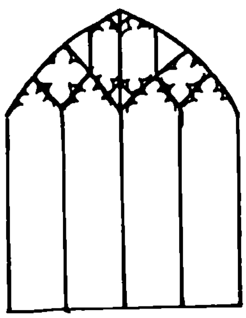




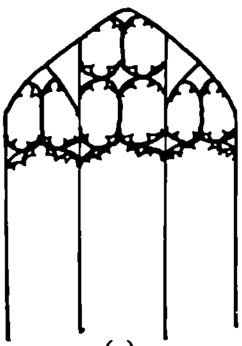
(vii)
Milton Abbey, north
transept, west



(viii)
Winchester Cathedral
nave aisle, west bay



(ix)
Divinity School, Oxford,
end walls (blind tracery)

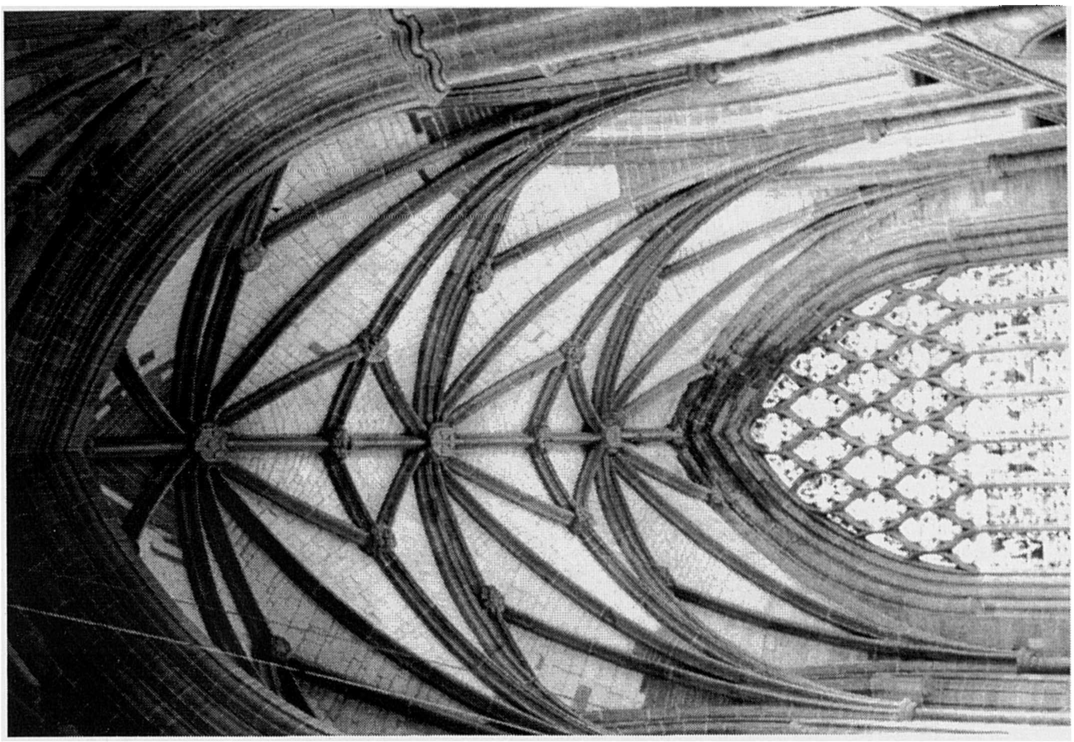


(x)
Divinity School, Oxford,
end walls (blind tracery)

5.21: Sherborne Abbey and Milton Abbey, and related tracery designs

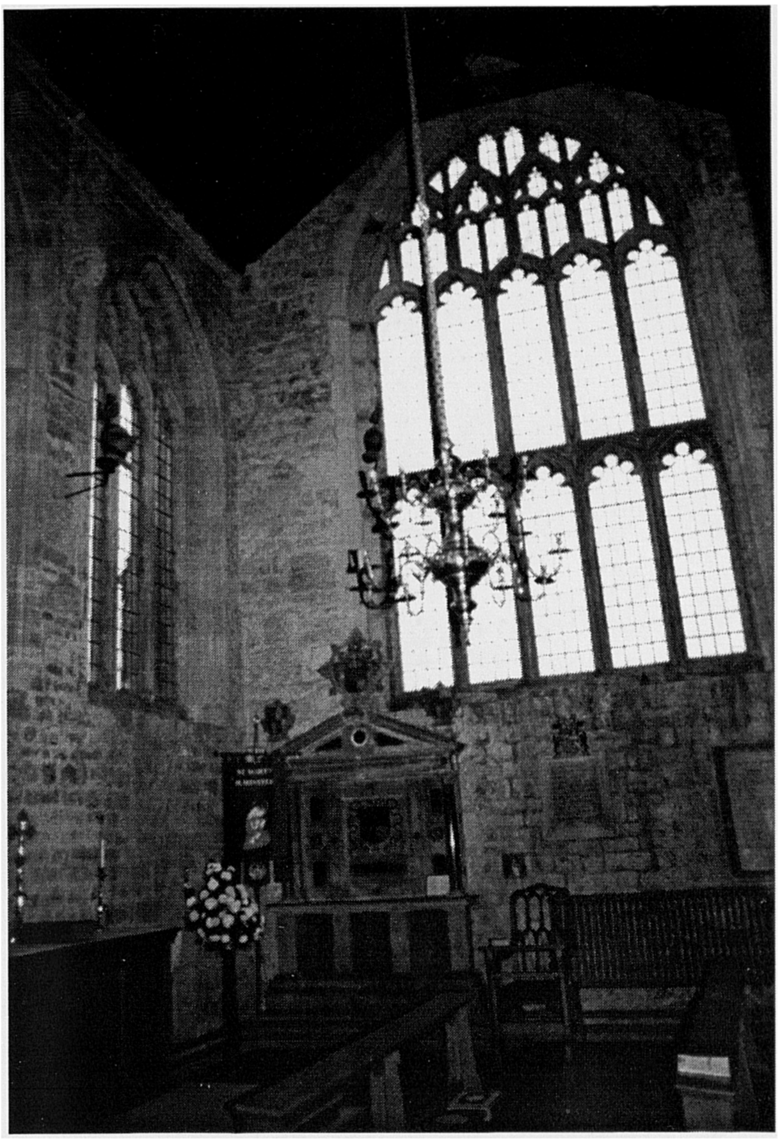
FIGURE 5.22

5.22A: Milton Abbey, north transept vault & north window



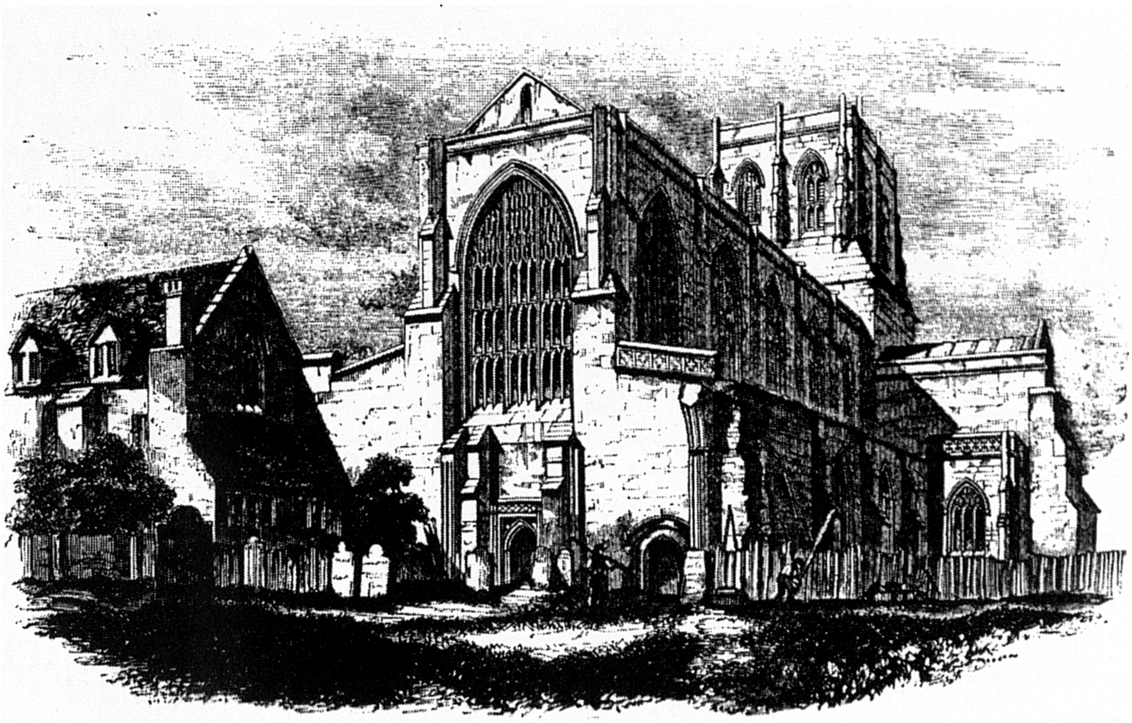
5.22B: Milton Abbey, south transept vault & south window

FIGURE 5.23

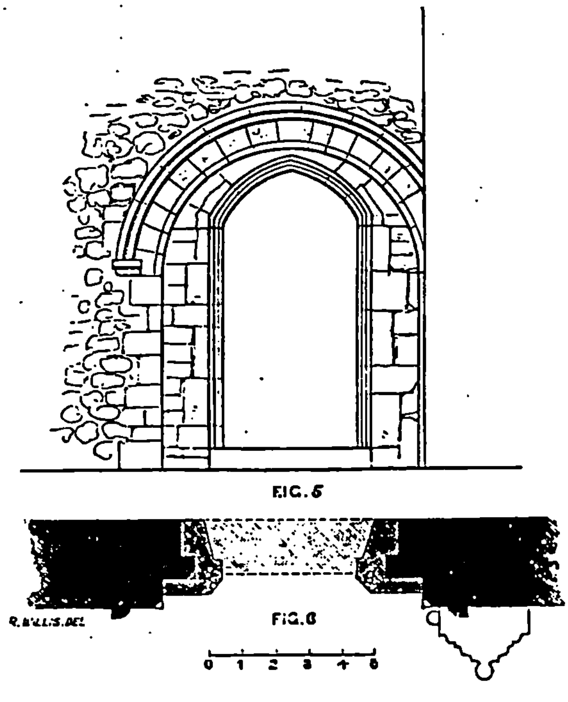


5.23: Ilminster, south transept, view of south window from interior

FIGURE 5.24



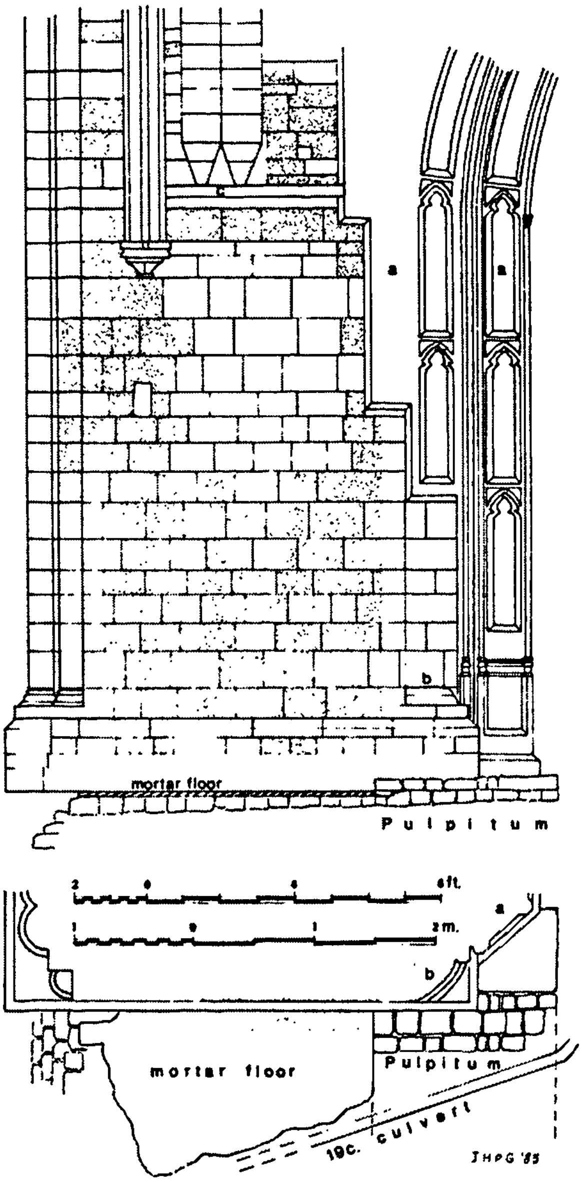
5.24A: Sherborne Abbey, view from west – Willis (1865)



Elevation and Plan of the South-Western Doorway of the Nave.

5.24B: Sherborne Abbey, drawing of inserted doorway, west of south nave aisle – Willis (1865)

FIGURE 5.25



South-west tower pier (inner face) showing burnt areas (stippled)

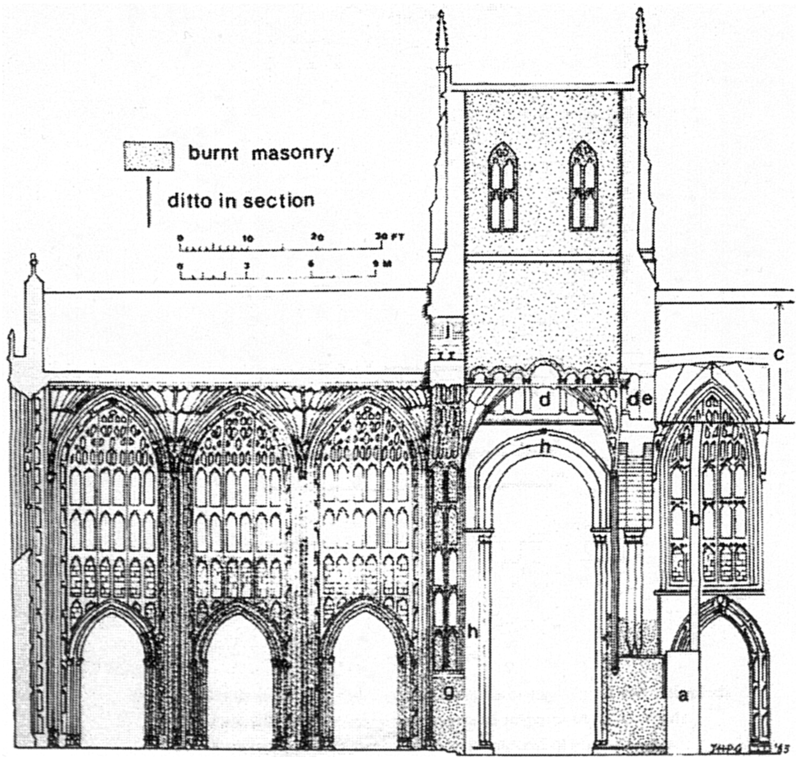
a. Late fifteenth-century masonry and respond of nave arcade

b. Surviving part of twelfth-century respond of nave arcade

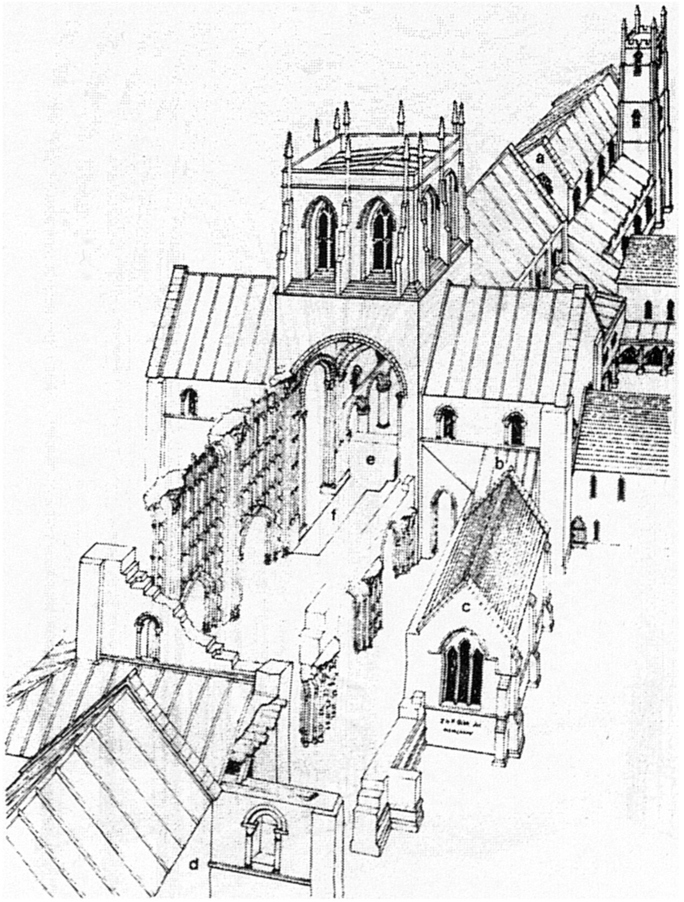
c. Twelfth-century string course marking top of monks' stalls

5.25: Sherborne Abbey, south-west tower pier showing burnt areas – Gibb (1985)

FIGURE 5.26



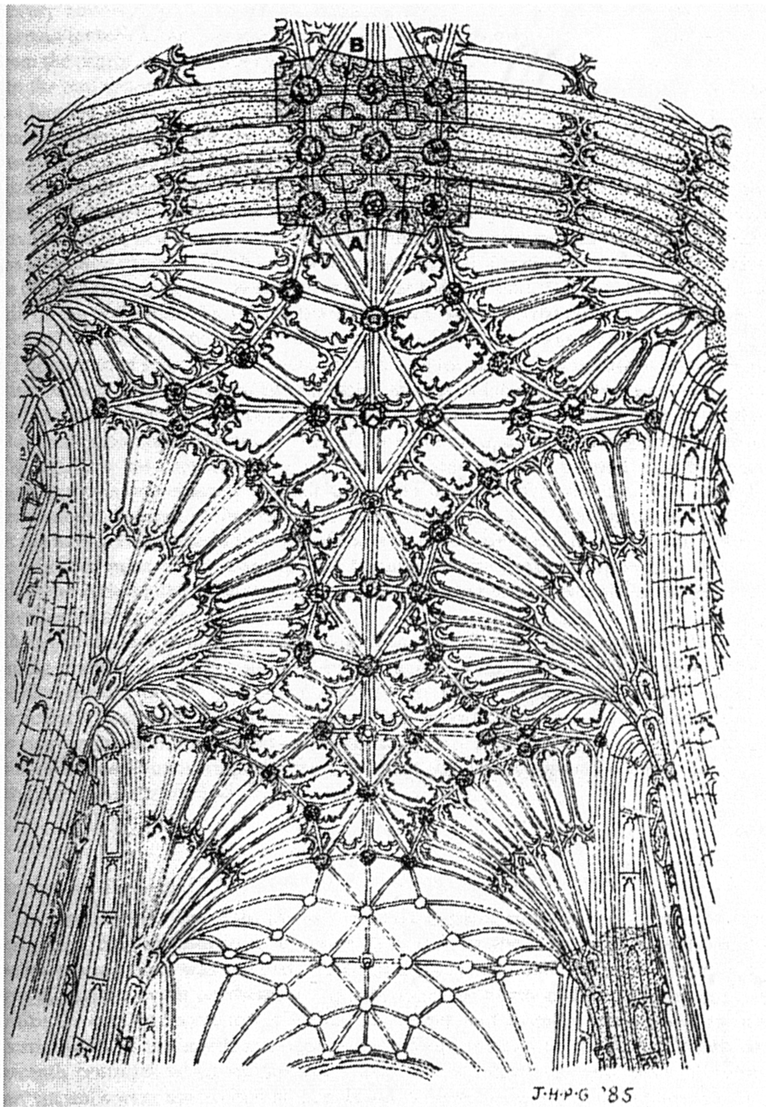
5.26A: Sherborne Abbey, burnt masonry – Gibb (1985)



Sherborne Abbey from the north-east immediately before the fire. The scaffolding and the temporary partition erected above the pulpitum have been omitted a. All Hallows Church b. Wykeham chapel (twelfth century) c. Bishop Roger's chapel (thirteenth century) d. Lady chapel (thirteenth century) e. pulpitum f. site of monks' stalls

5.26B: Sherborne Abbey from north *c.*1437 – Gibb (1985)

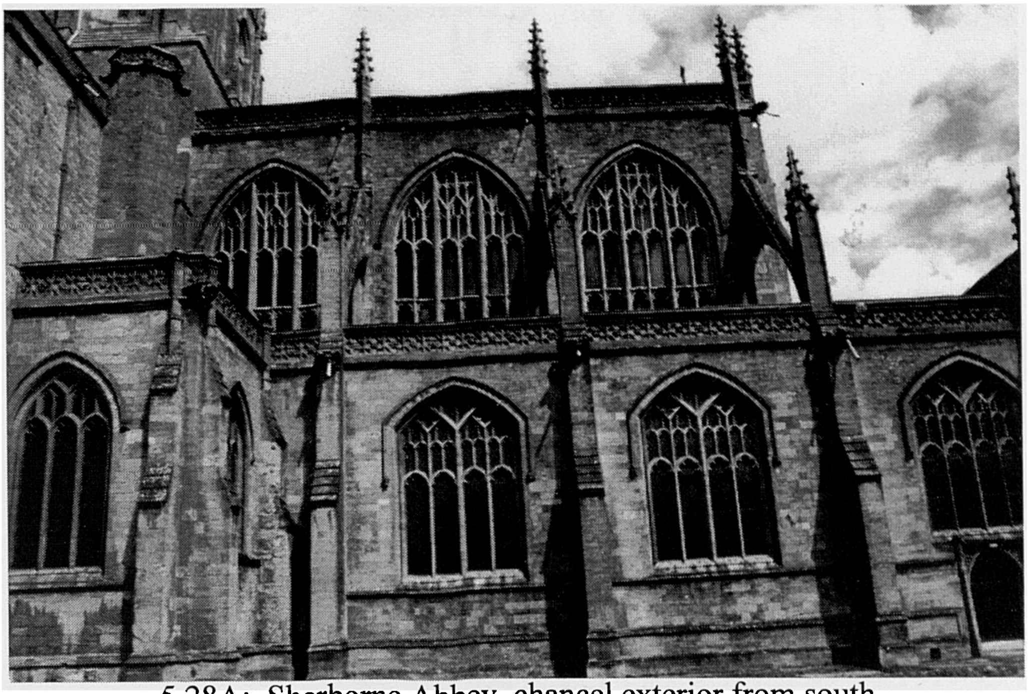
FIGURE 5.27



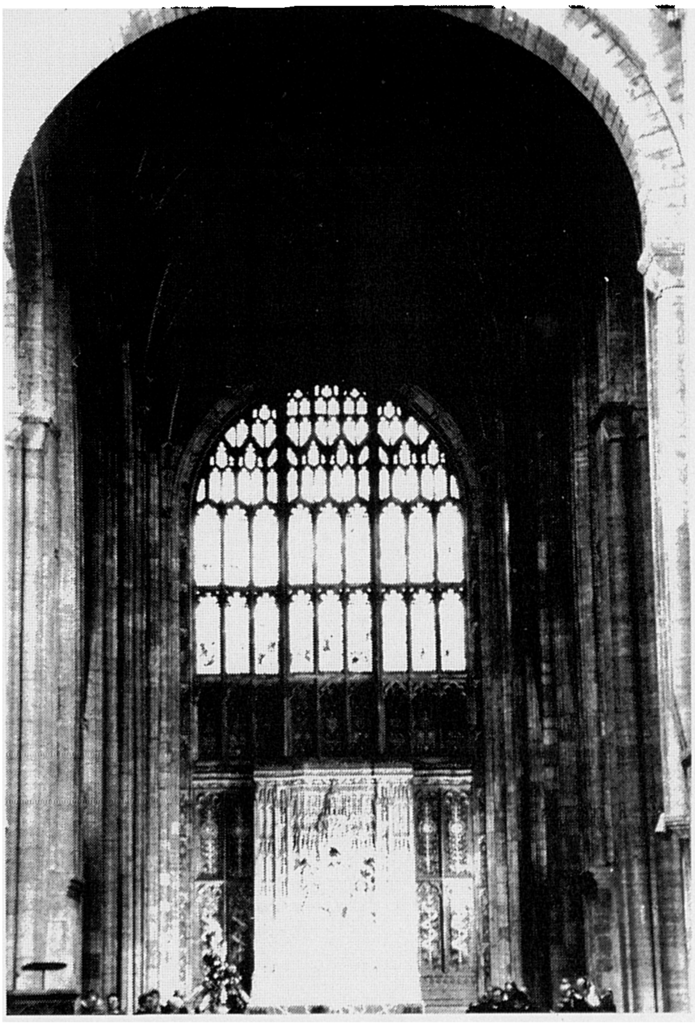
Chancel vault and east tower arch looking east. Burnt areas are stippled. A and B the three outer key-stones of the tower arch which carry parts of vaulting ribs and panel cusping

5.27: Sherborne Abbey, chancel vault with fire damage – Gibb (1985)

FIGURE 5.28

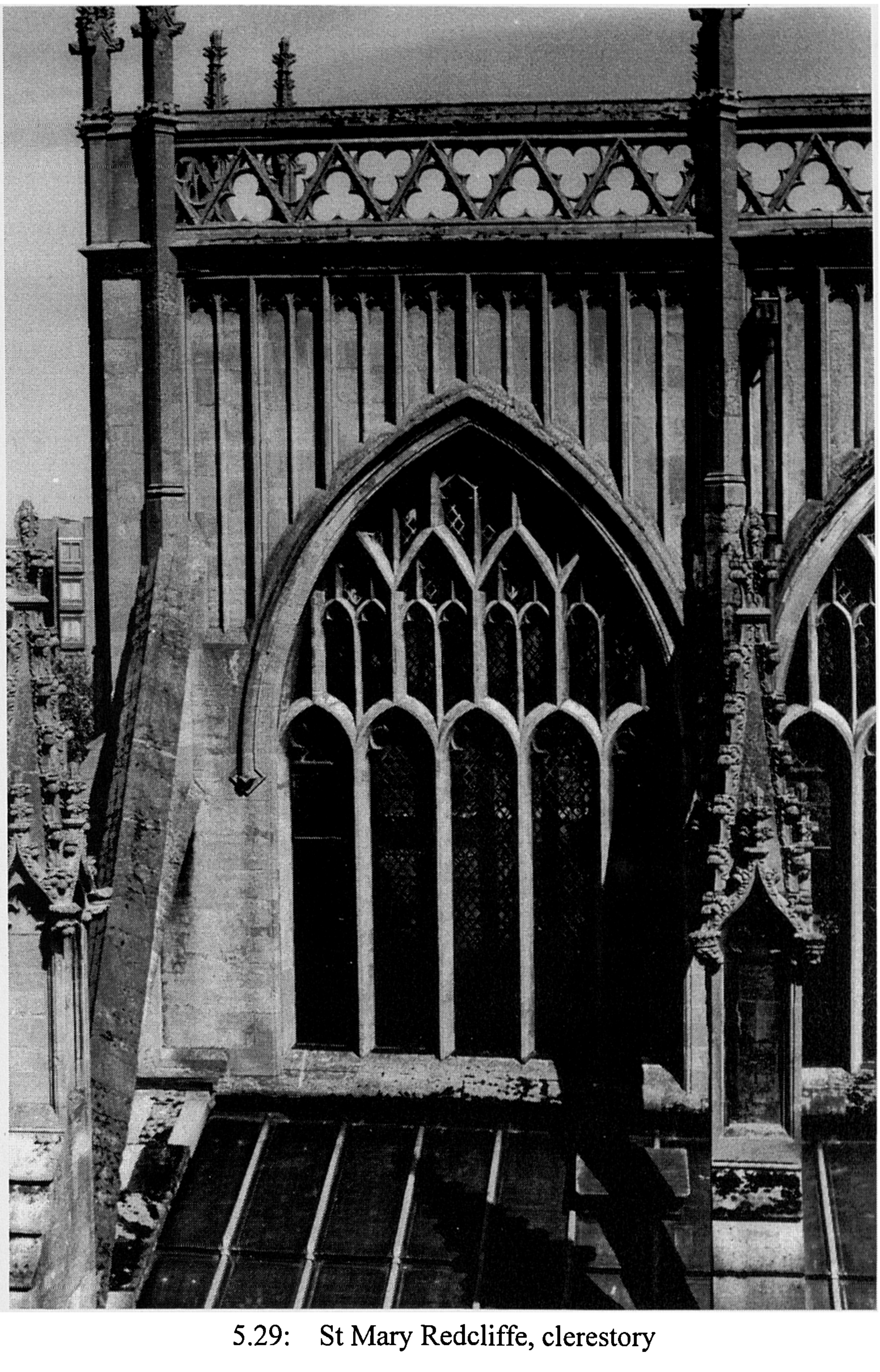


5.28A: Sherborne Abbey, chancel exterior from south



5.28B: Sherborne Abbey, chancel interior looking east

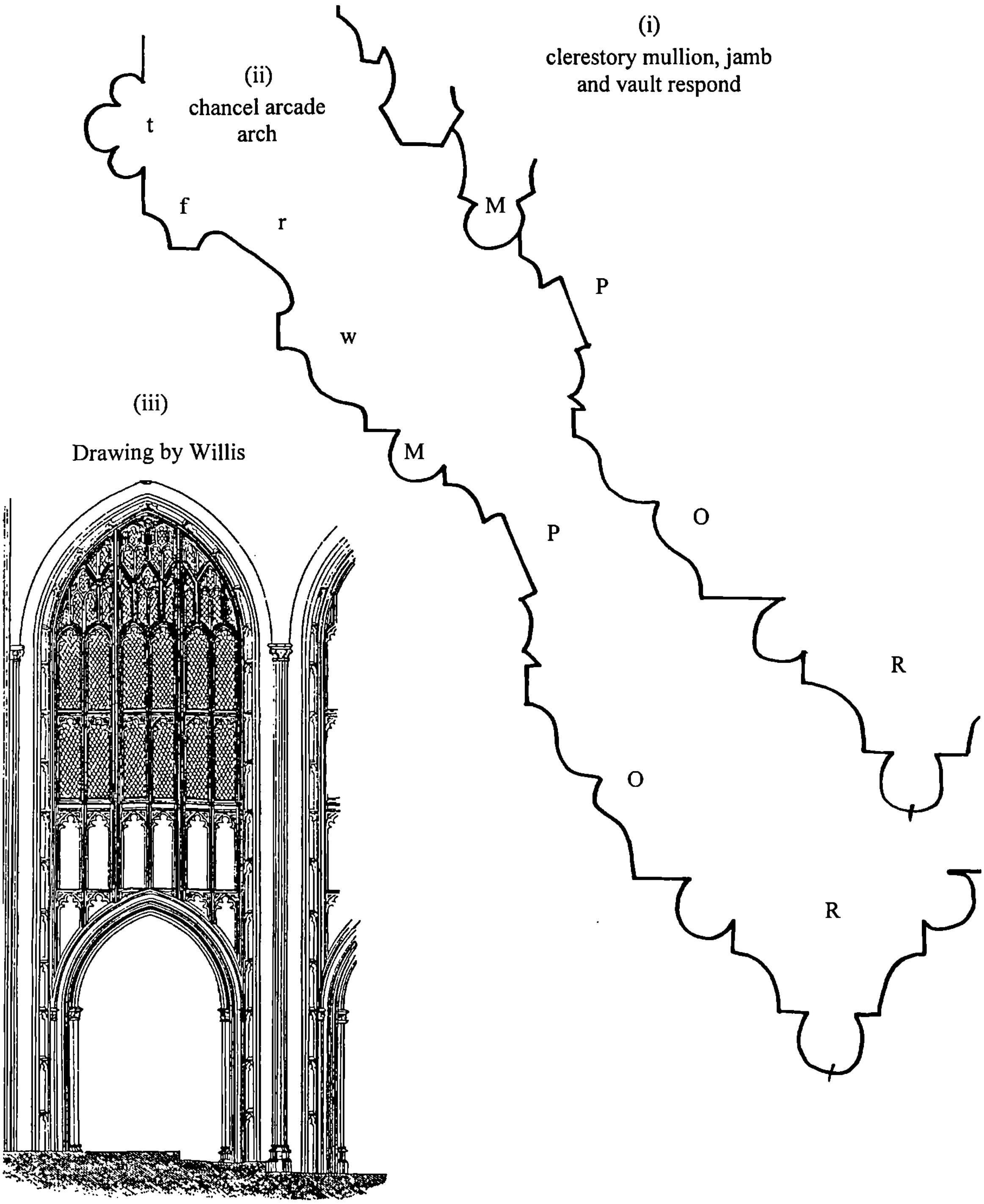
FIGURE 5.29



5.29: St Mary Redcliffe, clerestory

FIGURE 5.30

Sherborne Abbey, chancel elevation



(i)
clerestory mullion, jamb
and vault respond

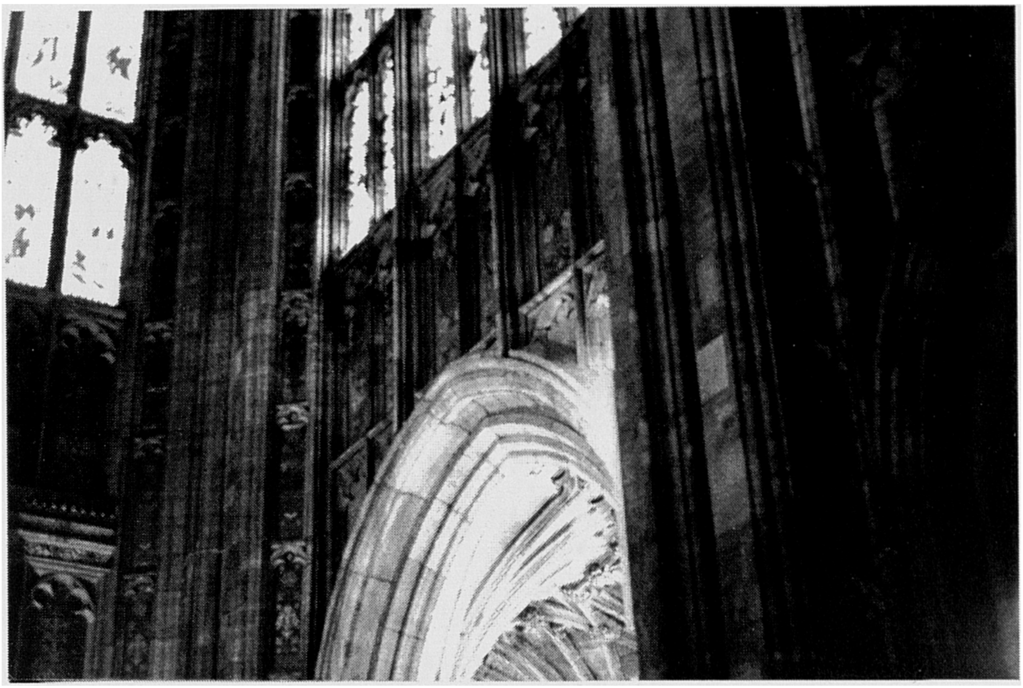
(ii)
chancel arcade
arch

(iii)

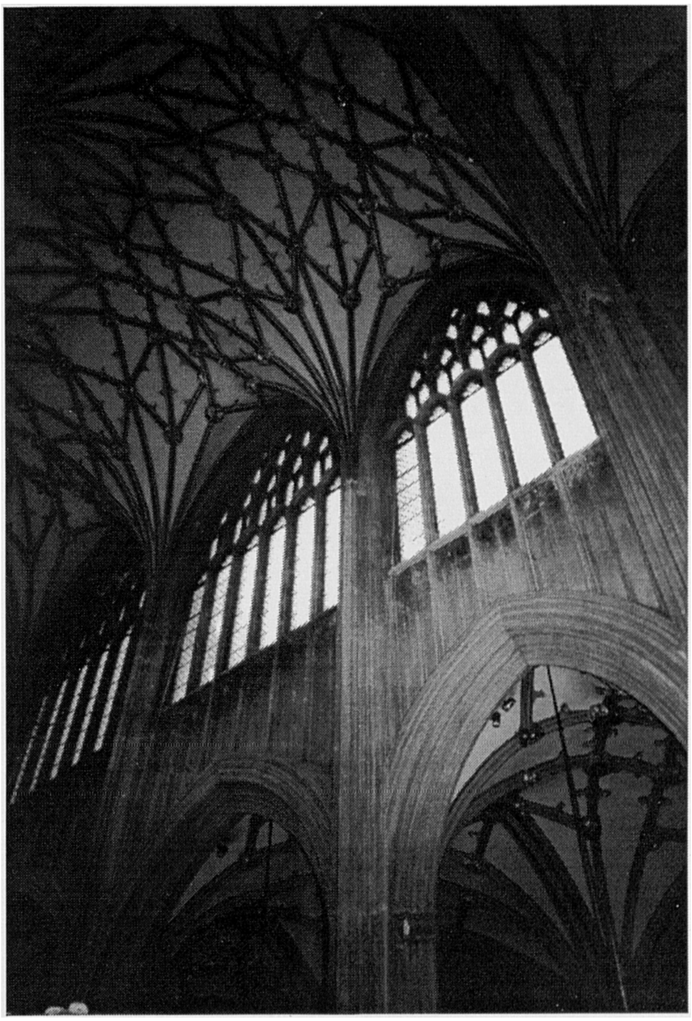
Drawing by Willis

5.30: Sherborne Abbey, chancel mouldings, and drawing of elevation – Willis (1985)

FIGURE 5.31

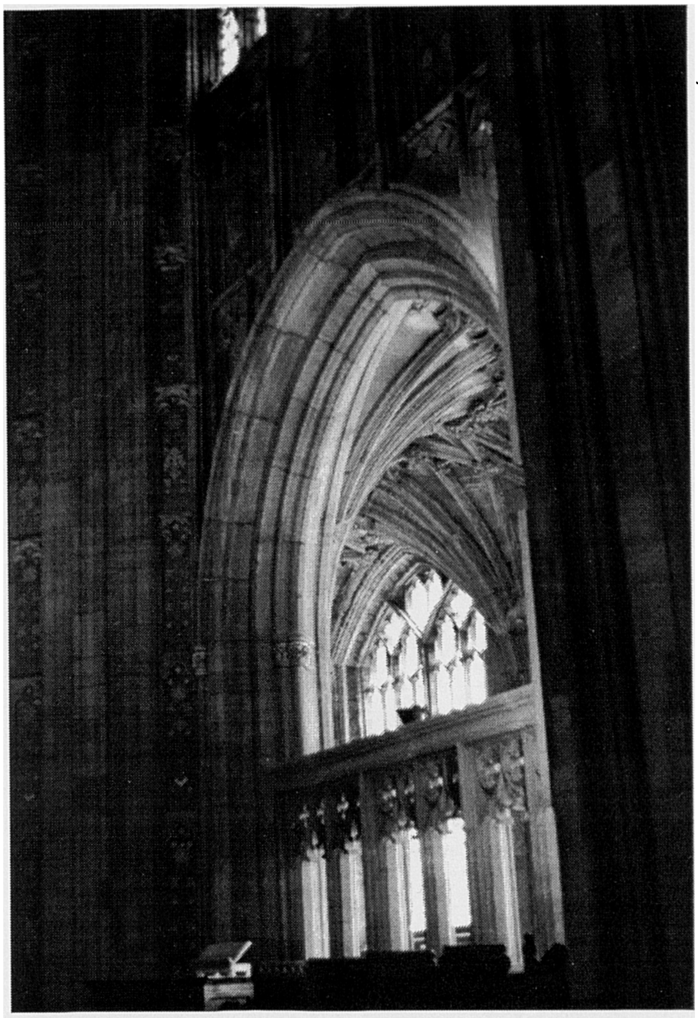


5.31A: Sherborne Abbey, chancel elevation (south)

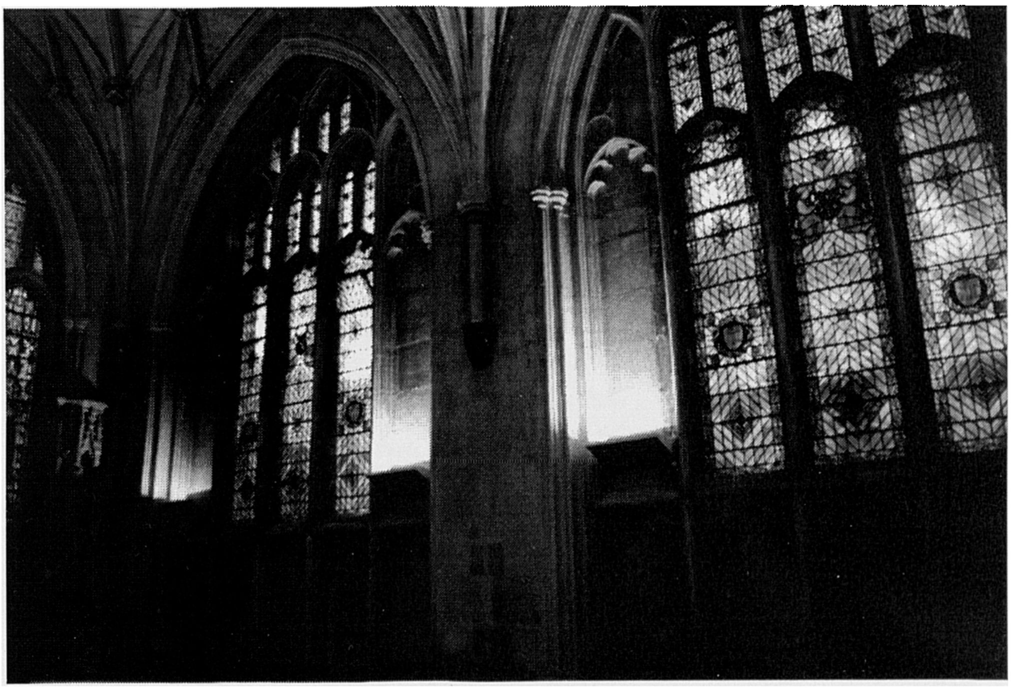


5.31B: St Mary Redcliffe, nave elevation (south)

FIGURE 5.32

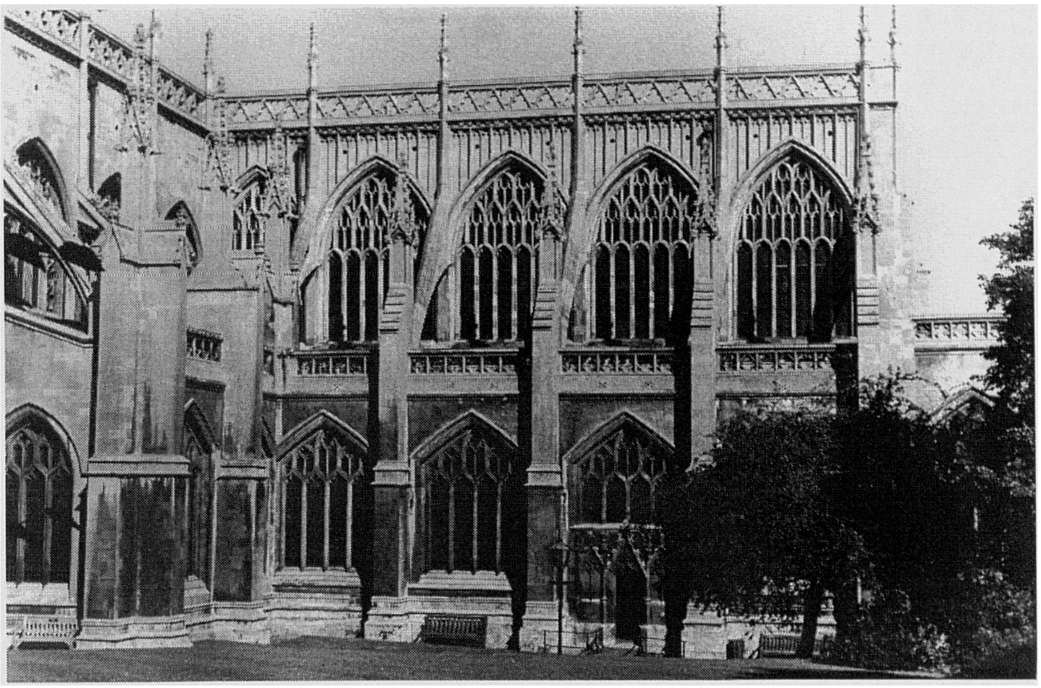


5.32A: Sherborne Abbey, chancel elevation

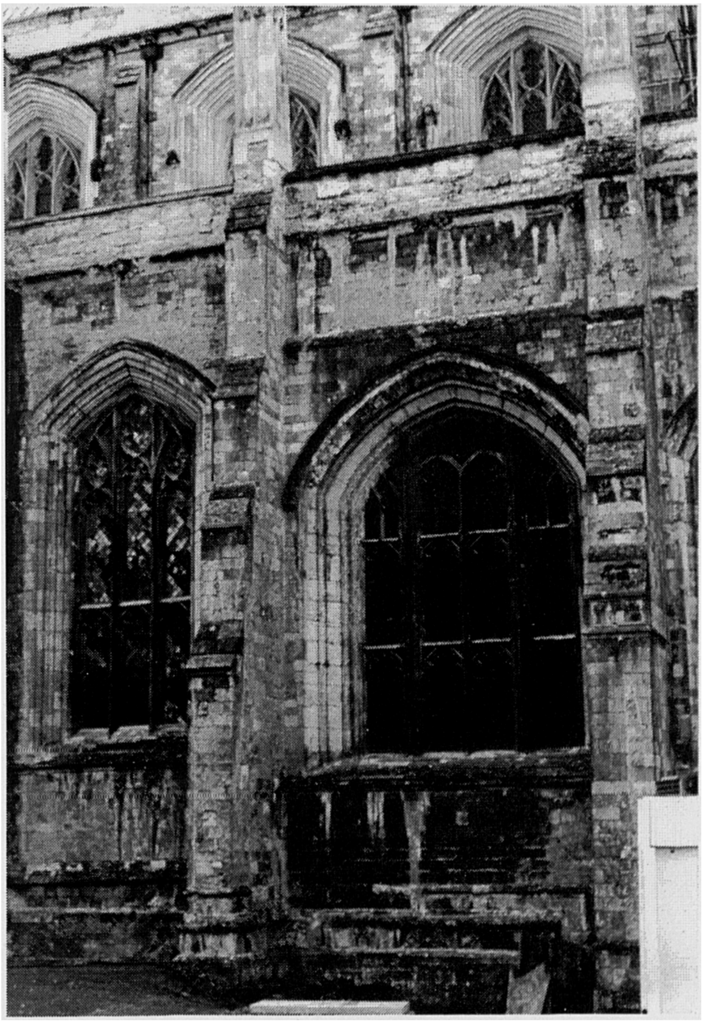


5.32B: Winchester College, Fromond's Chapel interior elevation

FIGURE 5.33

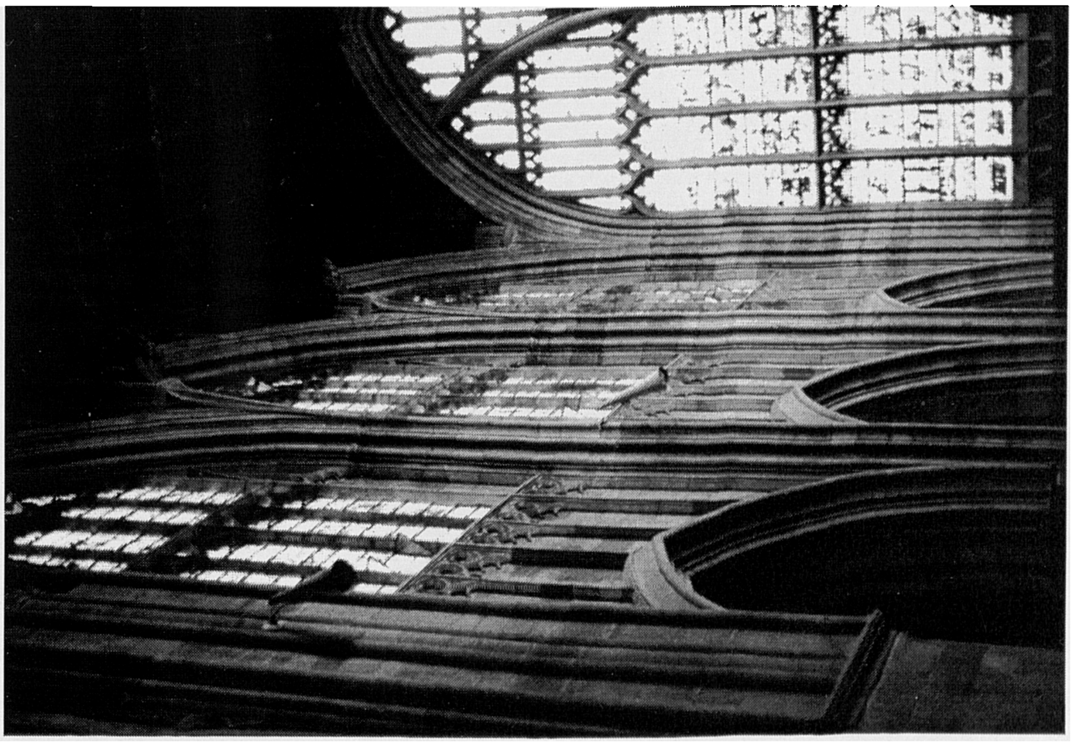


5.33A: St Mary Redcliffe, chancel elevation (south)



5.33B: Winchester Cathedral, nave elevation (north)

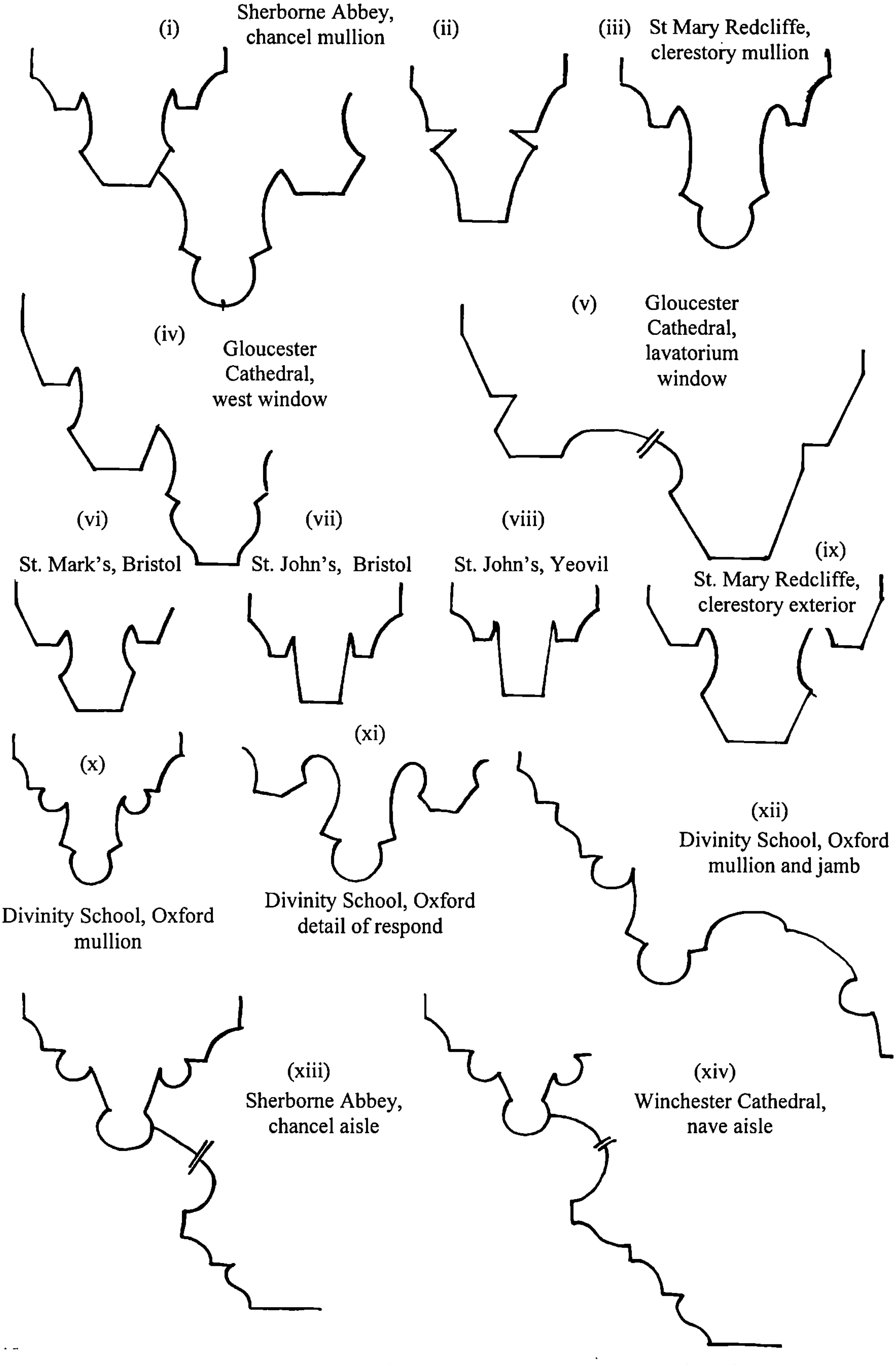
FIGURE 5.34



5.34A: Great Malvern Priory, chancel elevation (interior)

5.34B: Great Malvern Priory, detail of triforium panelling

FIGURE 5.35



(i) Sherborne Abbey, chancel mullion

(ii)

(iii) St Mary Redcliffe, clerestory mullion

(iv) Gloucester Cathedral, west window

(v) Gloucester Cathedral, lavatorium window

(vi) St. Mark's, Bristol

(vii) St. John's, Bristol

(viii) St. John's, Yeovil

(ix) St. Mary Redcliffe, clerestory exterior

(x) Divinity School, Oxford mullion

(xi) Divinity School, Oxford detail of respond

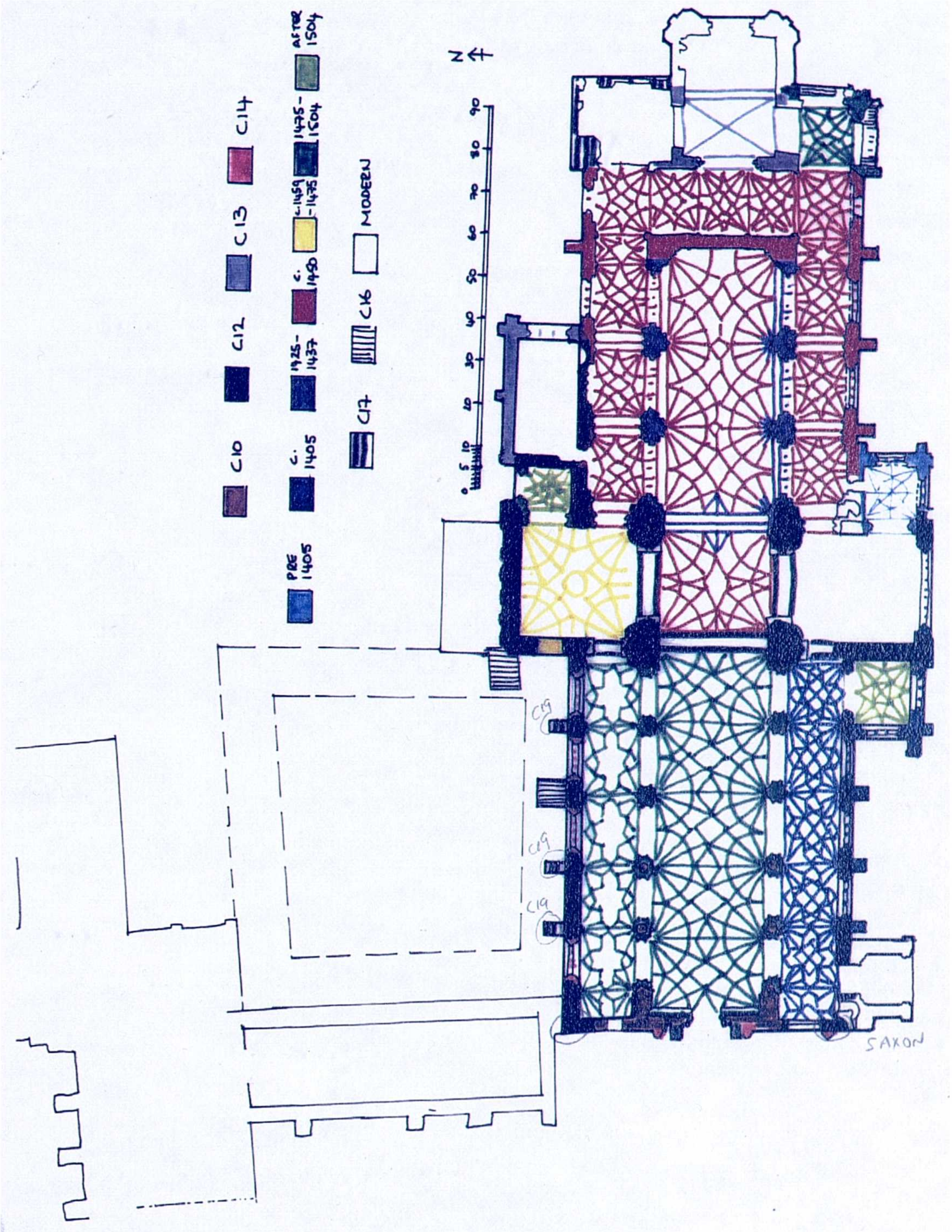
(xii) Divinity School, Oxford mullion and jamb

(xiii) Sherborne Abbey, chancel aisle

(xiv) Winchester Cathedral, nave aisle

5.35: Sherborne Abbey, chancel mouldings and related designs

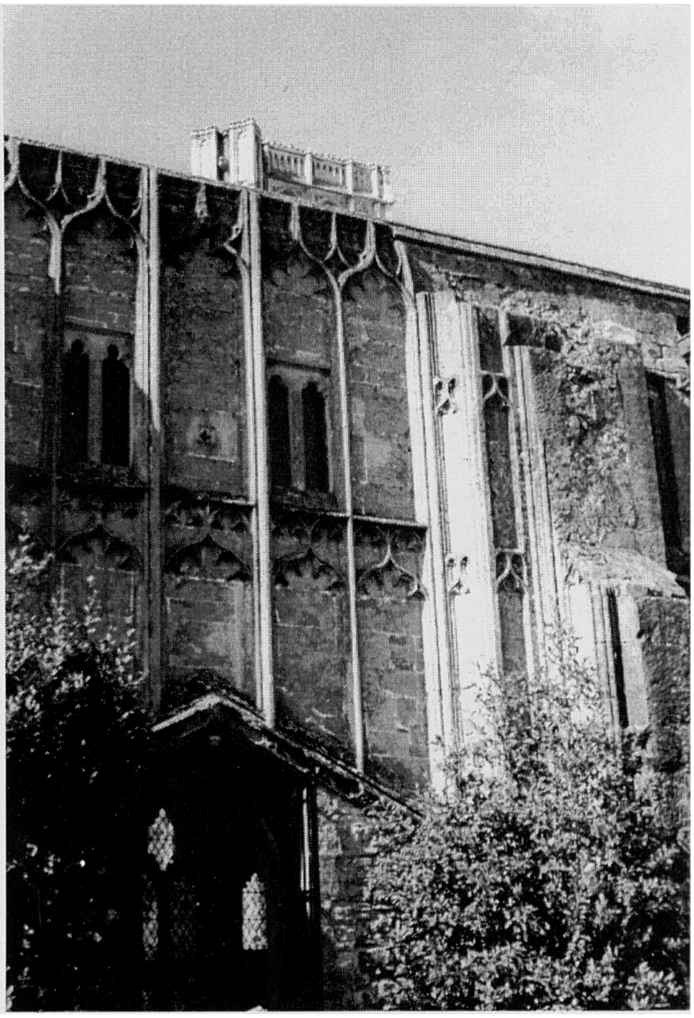
FIGURE 5.36



5.36: Sherborne Abbey, plan

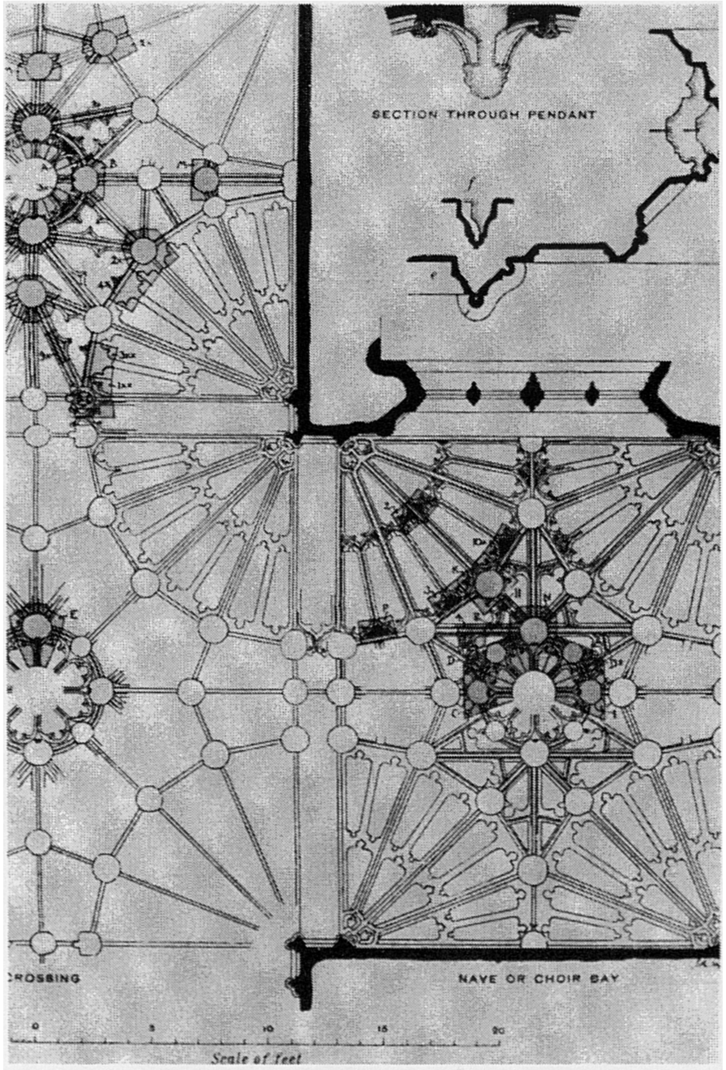
FIGURE 6.1

6.1A: Wells Cathedral, Stillington's Chapel site, east cloister range from east



6.1B: Wells Cathedral, Stillington's Chapel, remains of west wall

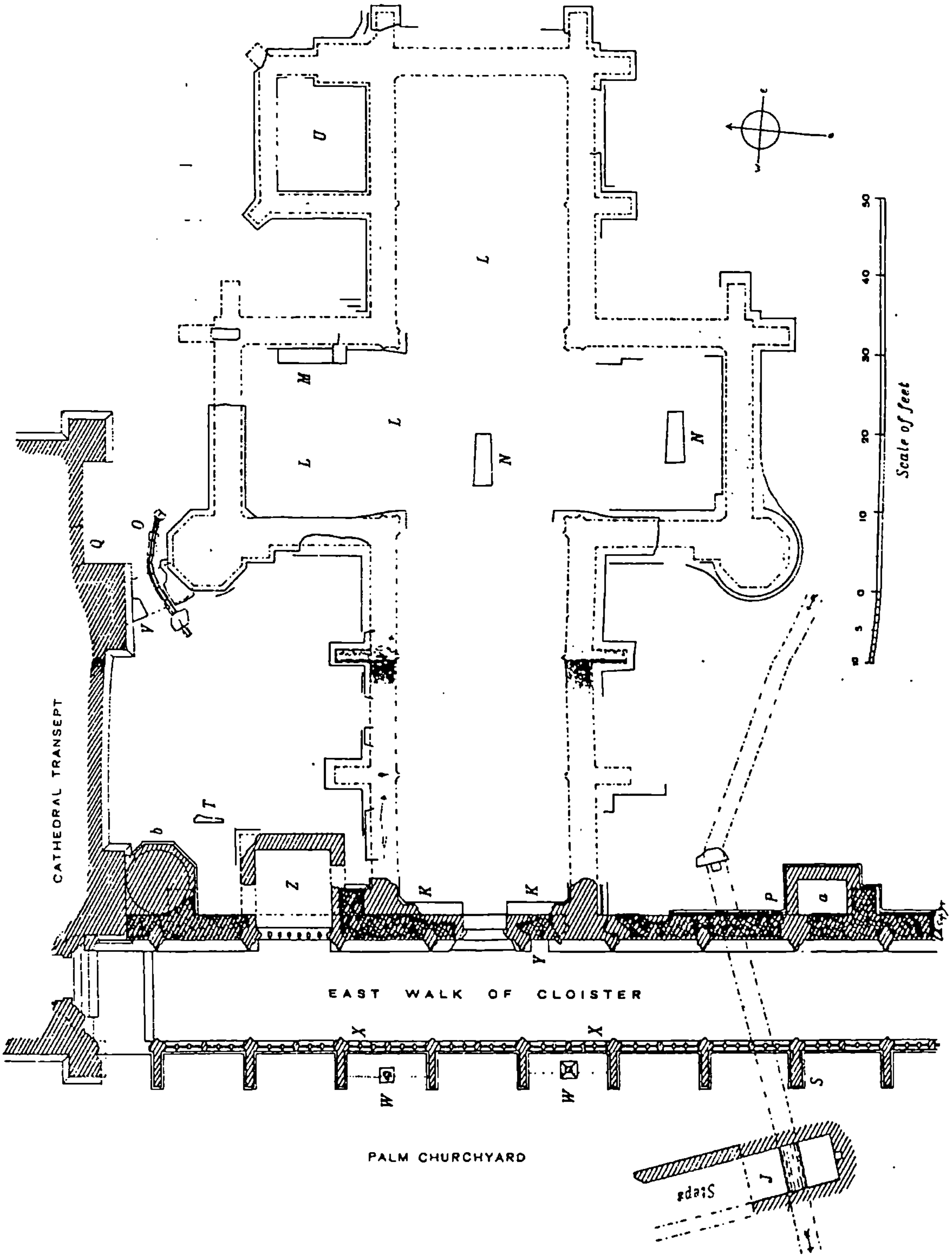
FIGURE 6.2



6.2A: Stillington's Chapel, reconstruction of vault (Buckle)

6.2B: Stillington's Chapel, vault fragment

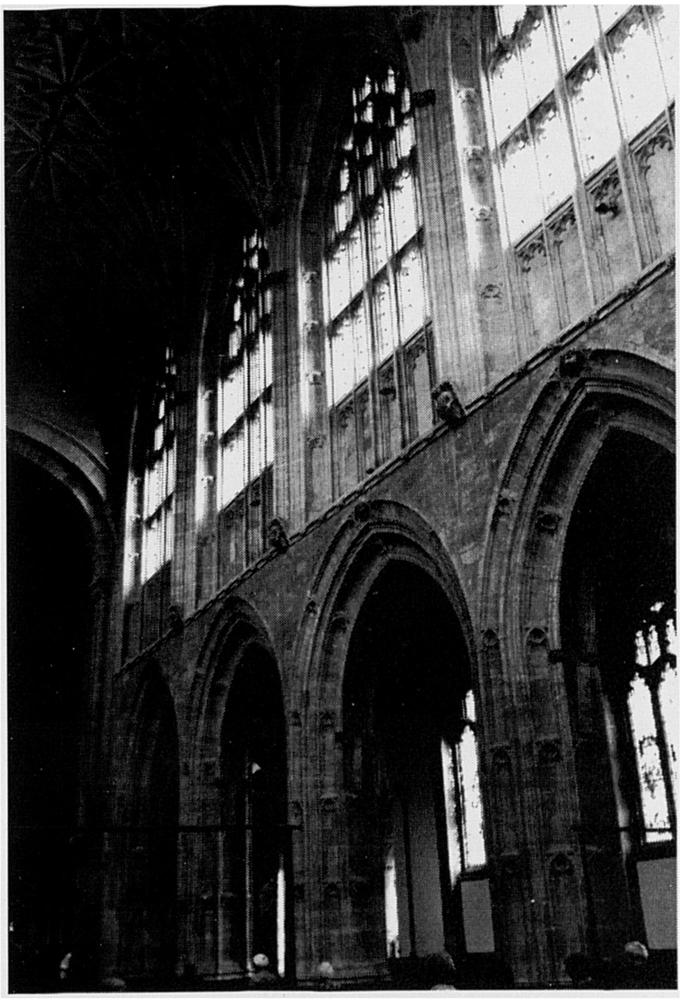
FIGURE 6.3



6.3: Stillington's Chapel, plan after excavation (Buckle 1894)

FIGURE 6.4

6.4A: Sherborne Abbey, view from south

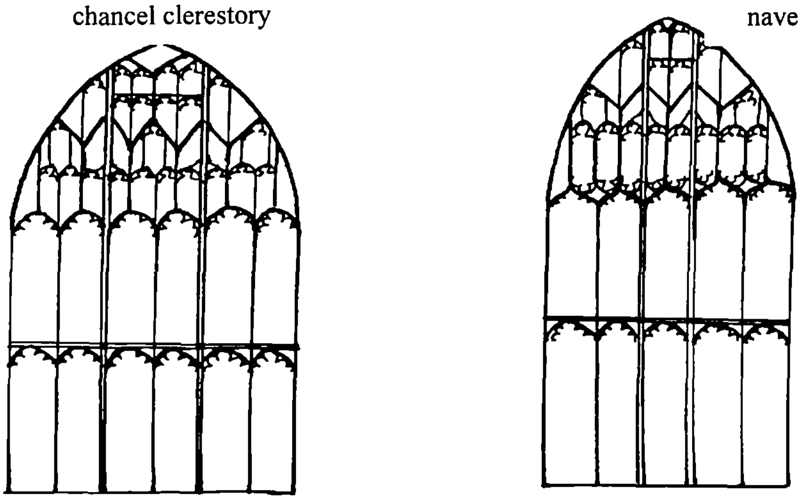


6.4B: Sherborne Abbey, nave (interior) south side

FIGURE 6.5

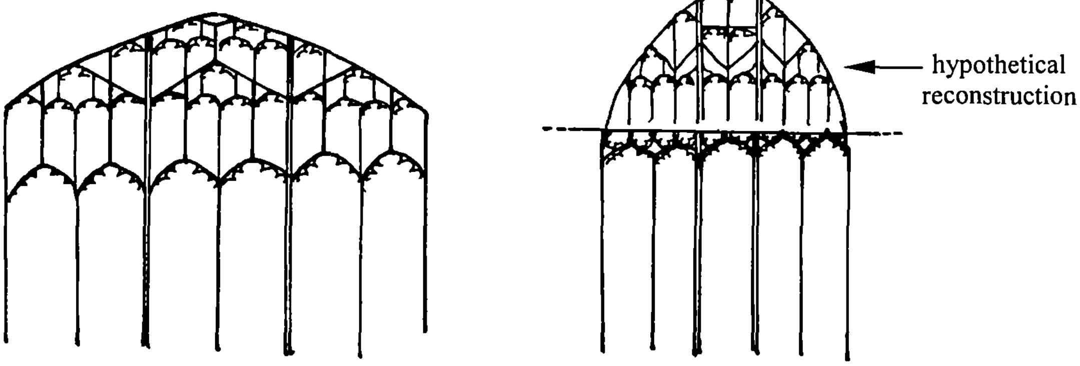
(i) Sherborne Abbey chancel clerestory

(ii) Sherborne Abbey nave clerestory



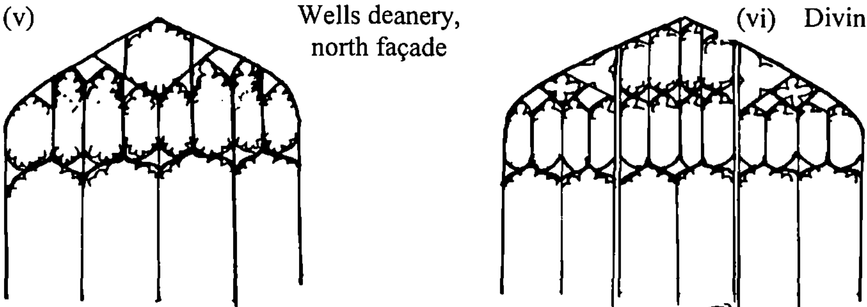
(iii) Sherborne Abbey north transept clerestory

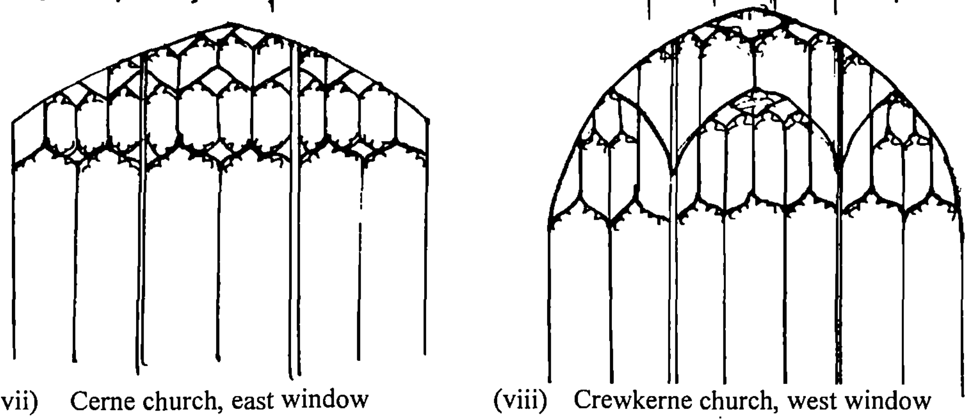
(iv) Stillington's Chapel, west wall



(v) Wells deanery, north façade

(vi) Divinity School, Oxford, side windows



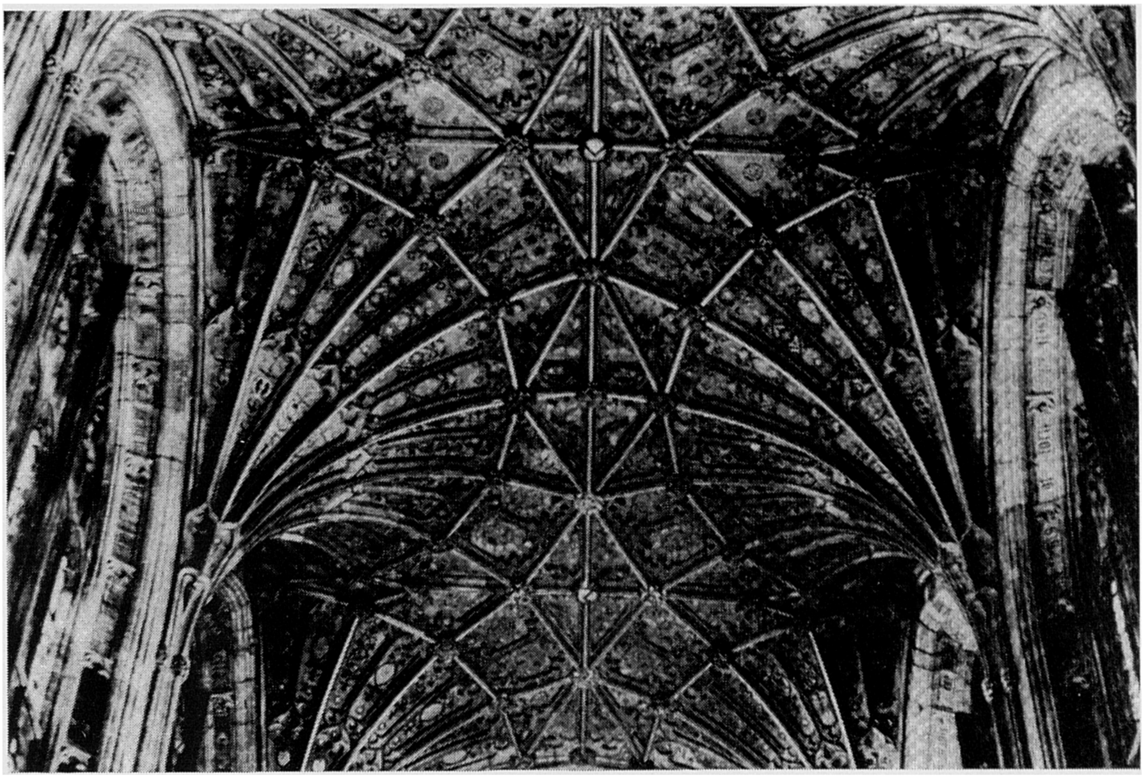


(vii) Cerne church, east window

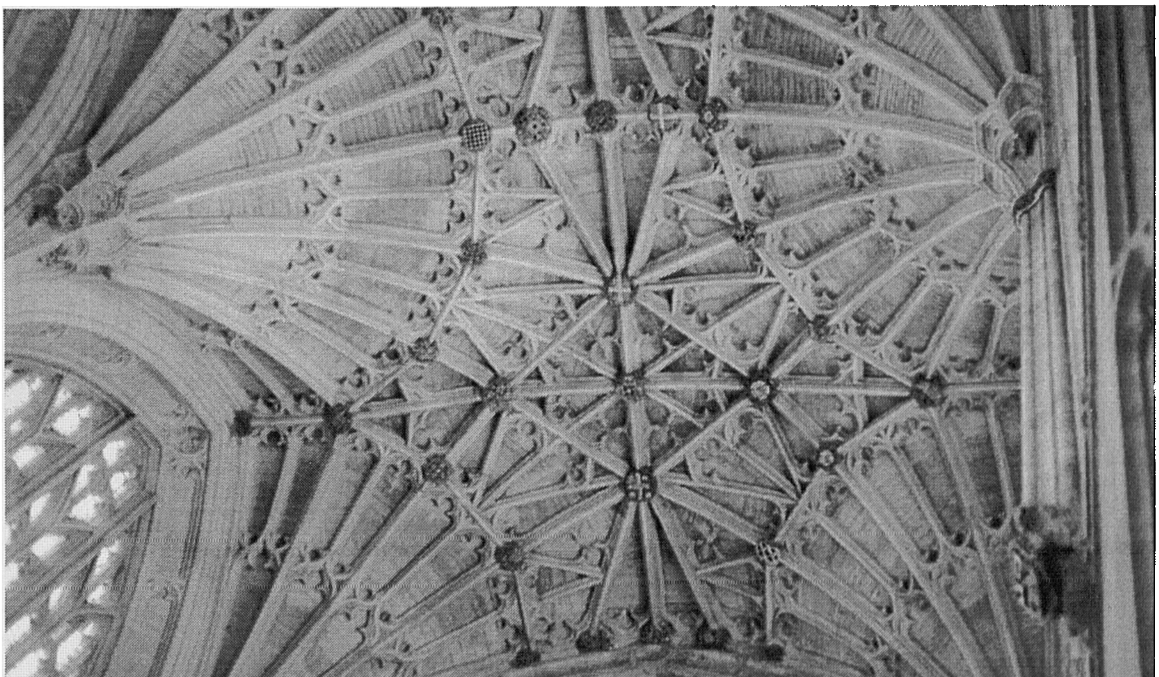
(viii) Crewkerne church, west window

6.5: Comparative tracery designs in the 15th century

FIGURE 6.6

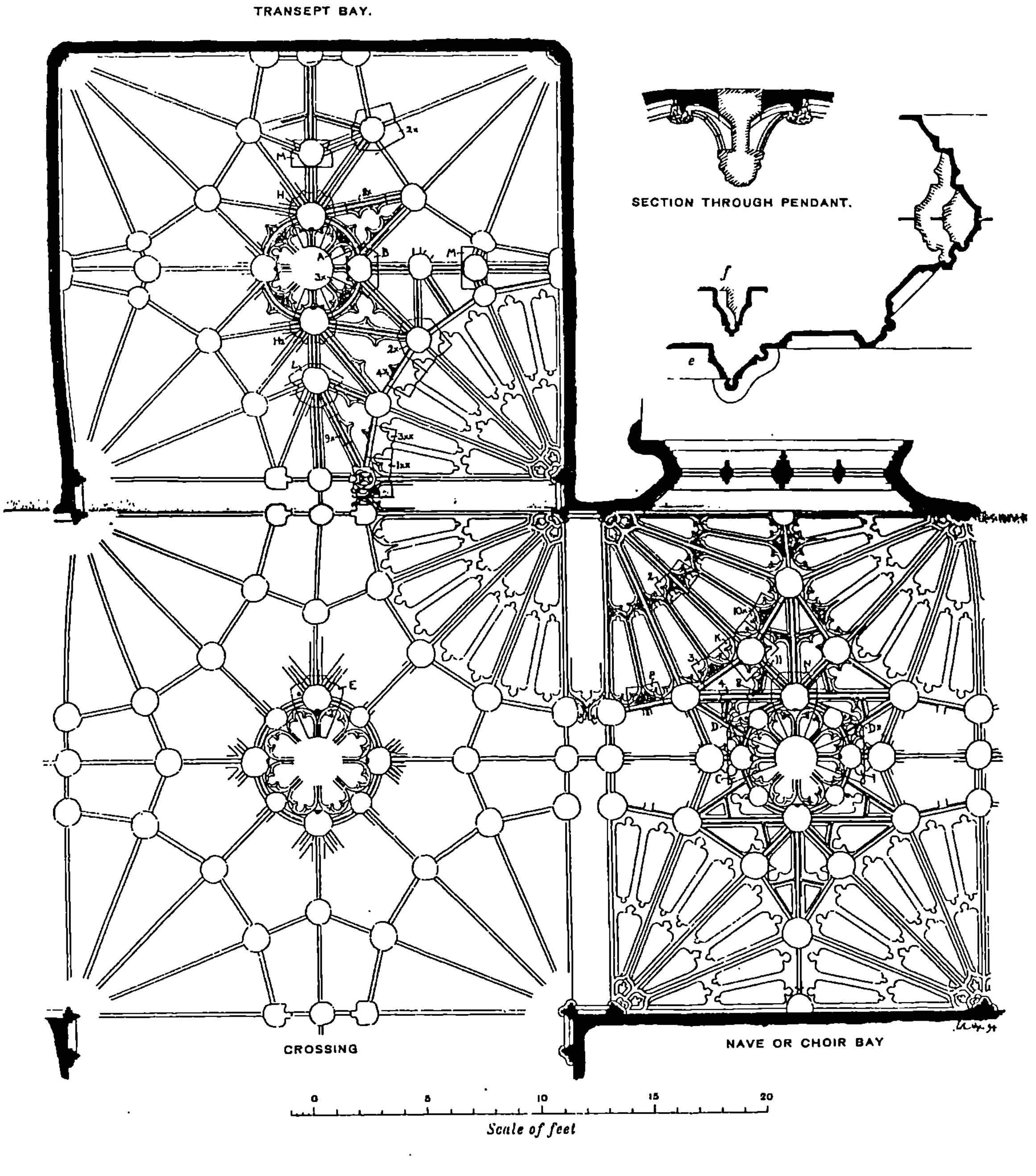


6.6A: Sherborne Abbey, chancel vault



6.6B: Sherborne Abbey, nave vault

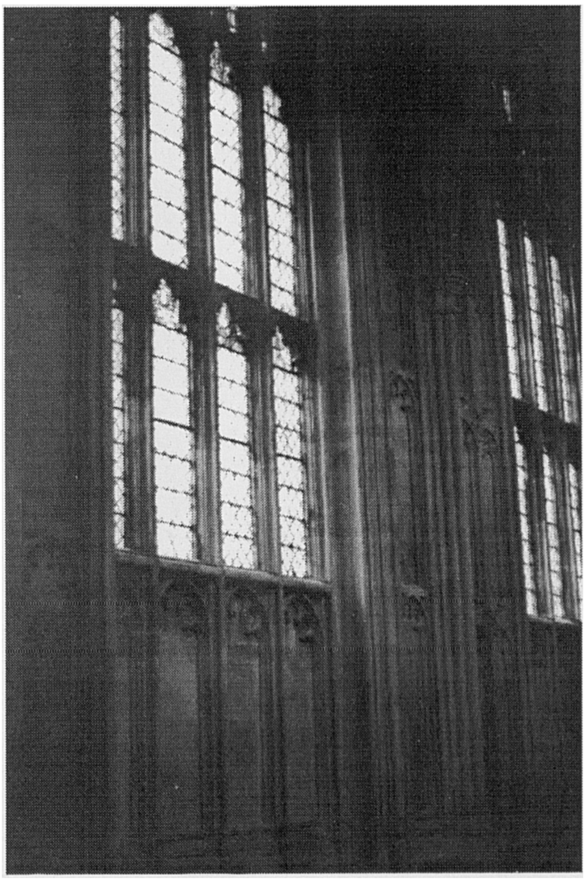
FIGURE 6.7



6.7: Stillington's Chapel, vault as reconstructed by Buckle (1894)

FIGURE 6.8

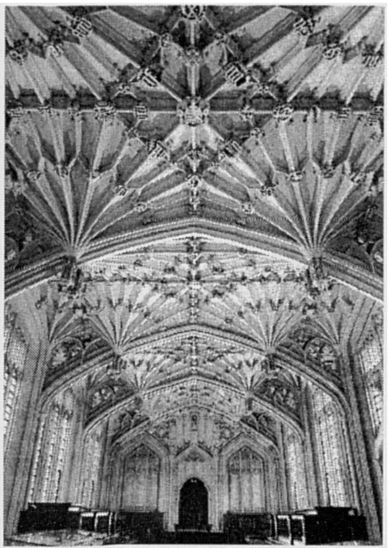
6.8A: Winchester Cathedral, presbytery elevation interior (north)

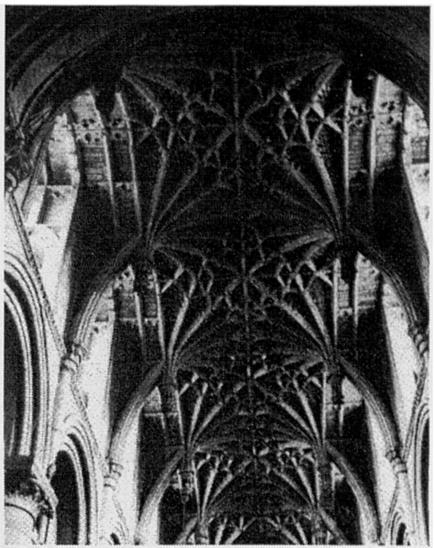


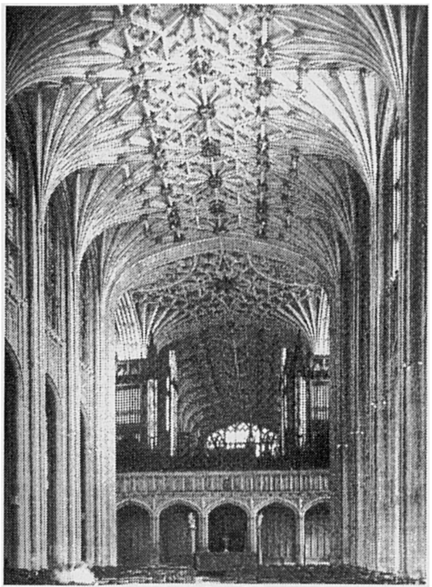
6.8B: Winchester Cathedral, presbytery

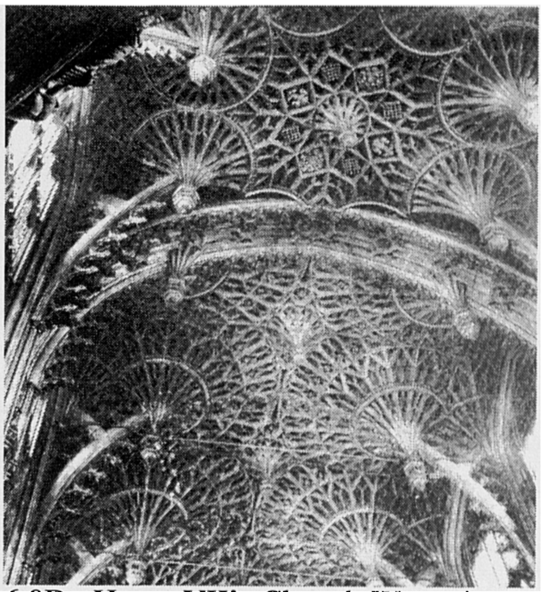
6.8C: Stillington's Chapel, reconstruction

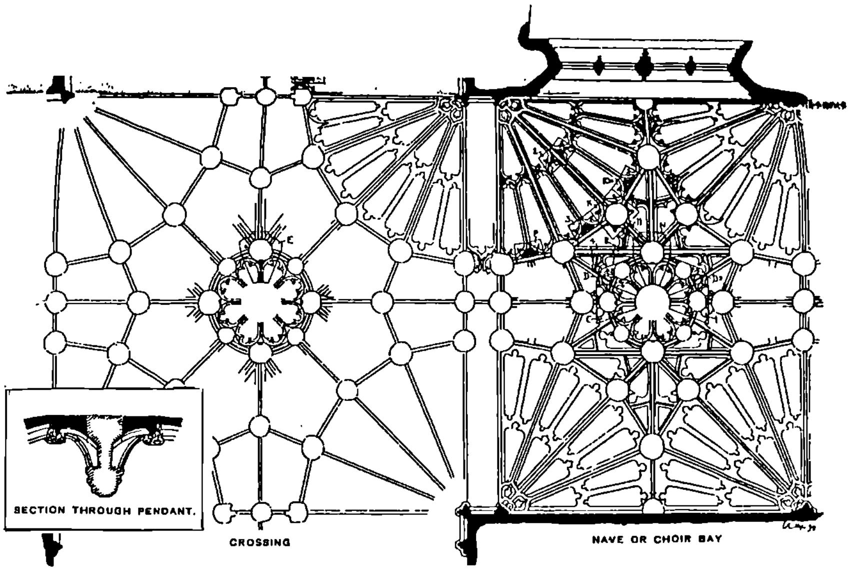
FIGURE 6.9


6.9A: Divinity School, Oxford


6.9B: St. Frideswide's, Oxford

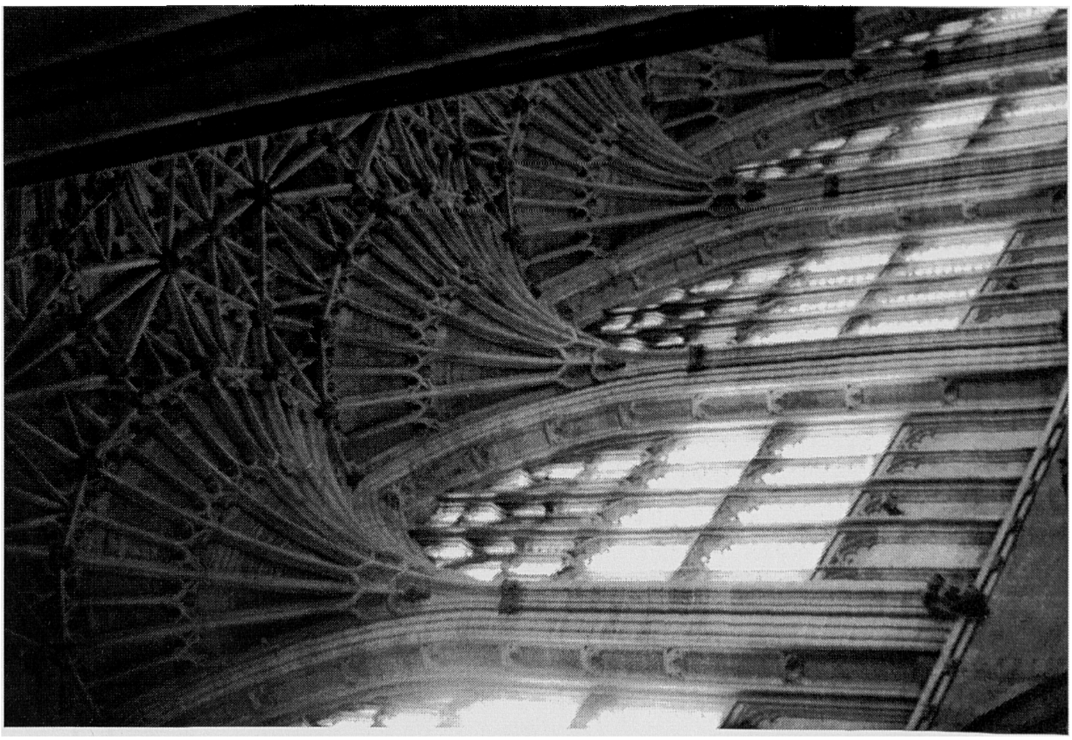

6.9C: St. George's Chapel, Windsor


6.9D: Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster

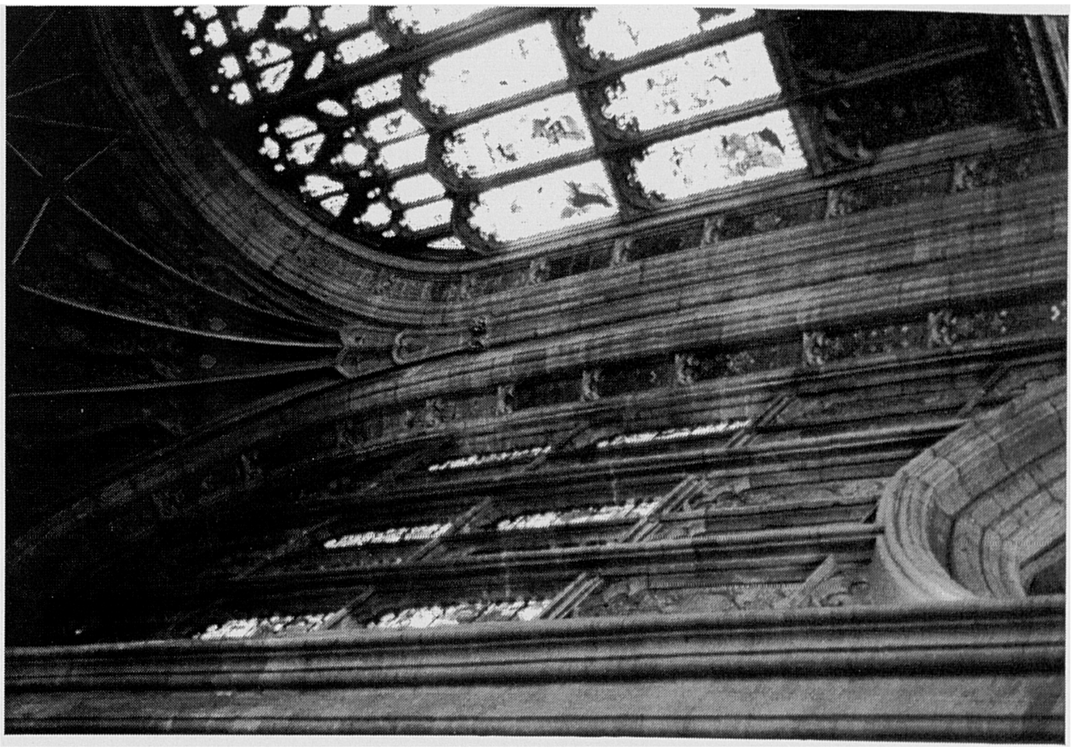


6.9E: Stillington's Chapel, Buckle's reconstruction, details

FIGURE 6.10

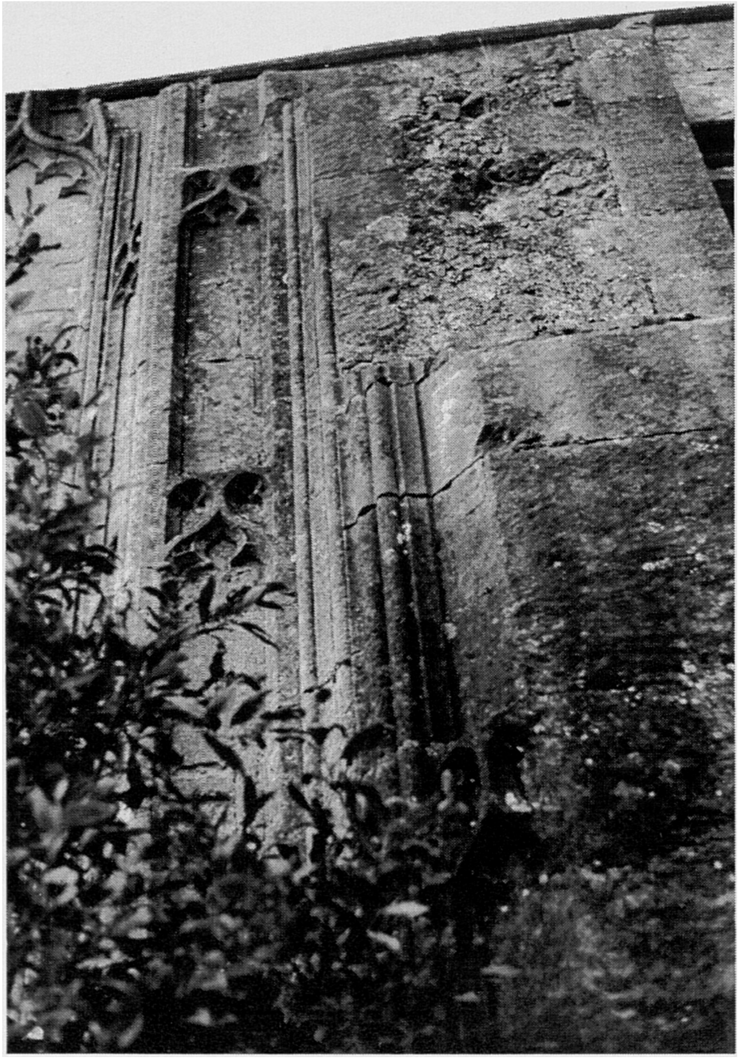


6.10B: Sherborne Abbey, nave clerestory (south)

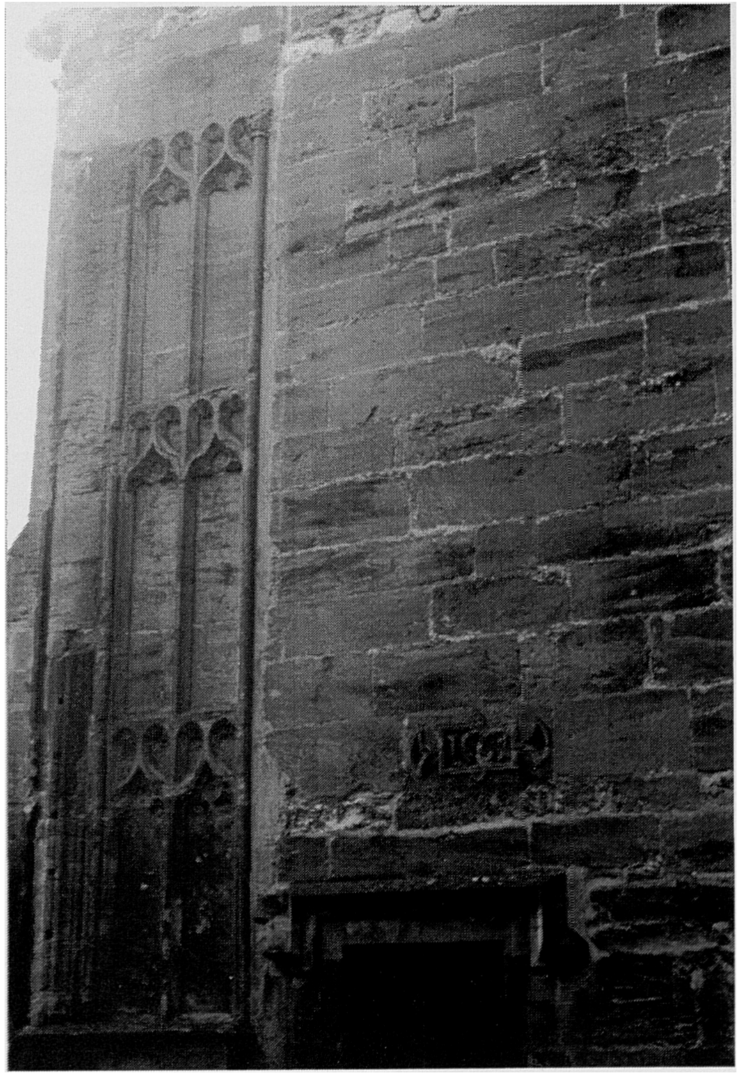


6.10A: Sherborne Abbey, chancel elevation (north)

FIGURE 6.11

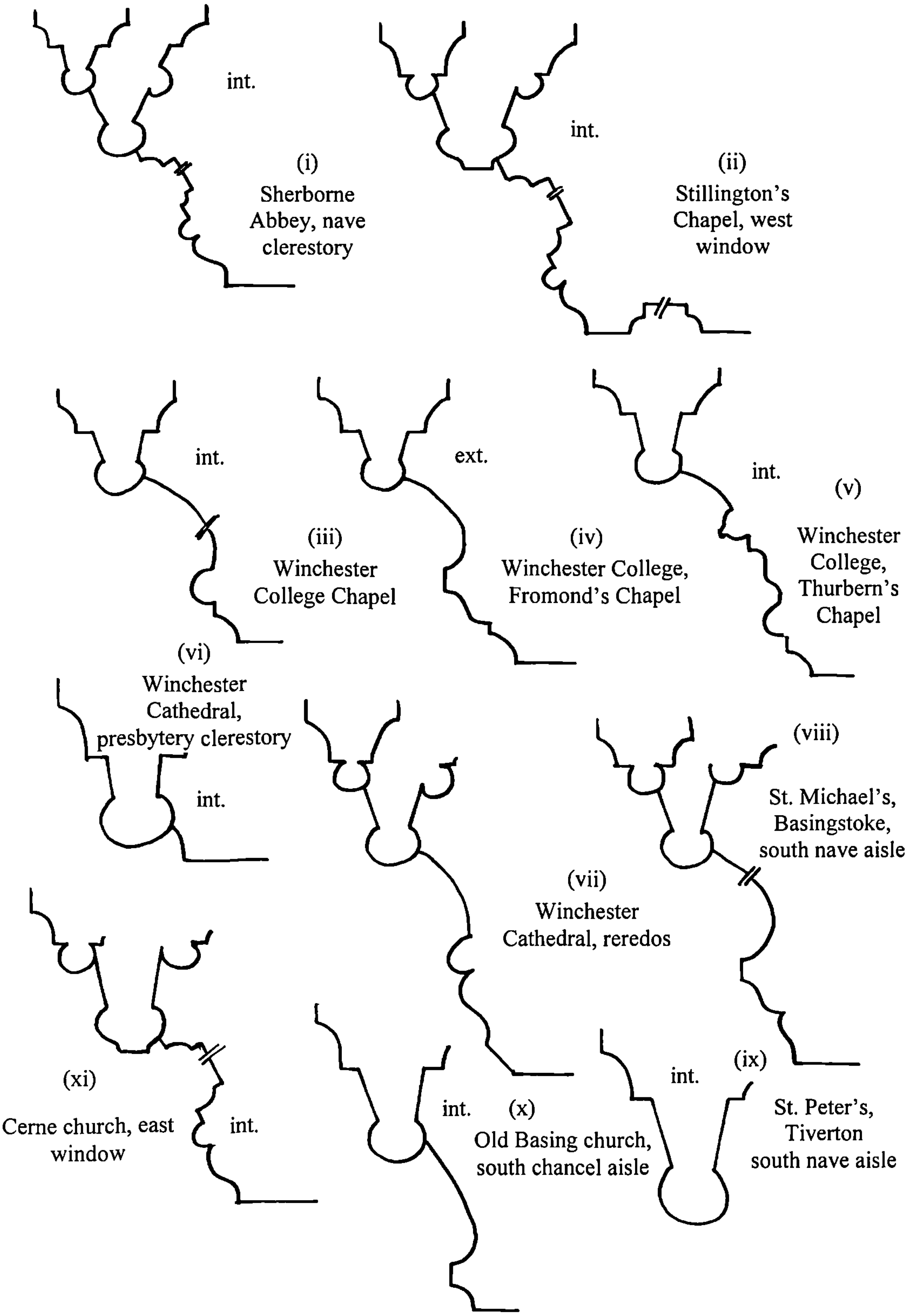


6.11A Stillington's Chapel, detail of panelling



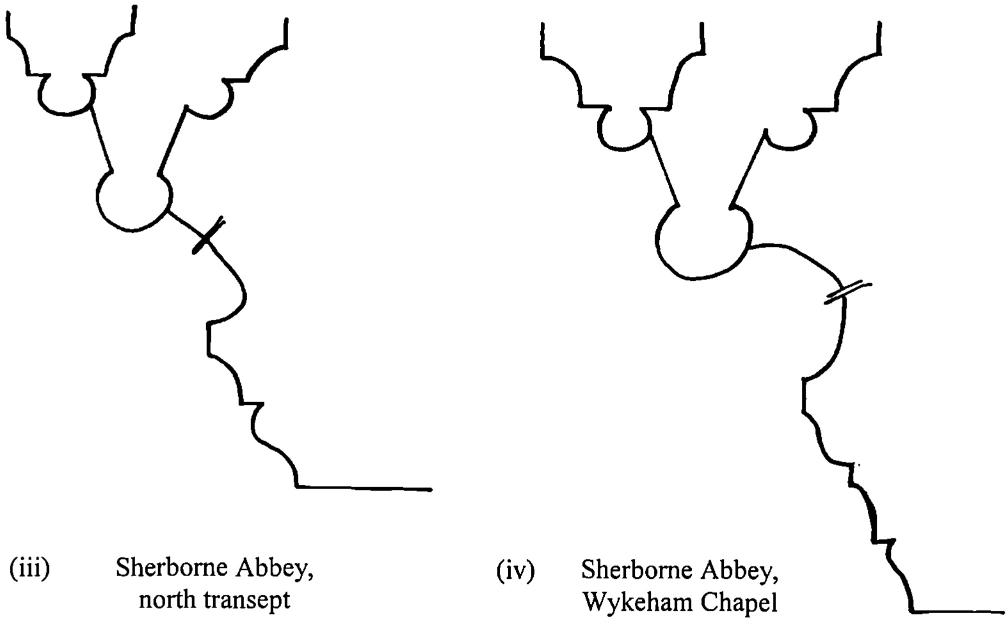
6.11B: Sherborne Abbey, Bow Chapel, detail of panelling

FIGURE 6.12



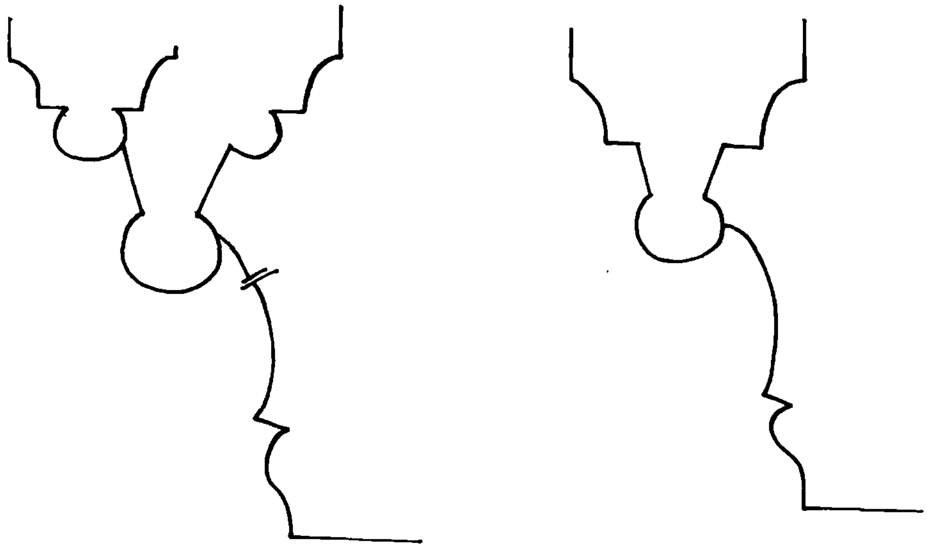
6.12: Sherborne Abbey nave and Stillington's Chapel mullions, with comparisons

FIGURE 6.13



(i) Sherborne Abbey, chancel aisle

(ii) Winchester Cathedral, nave aisles

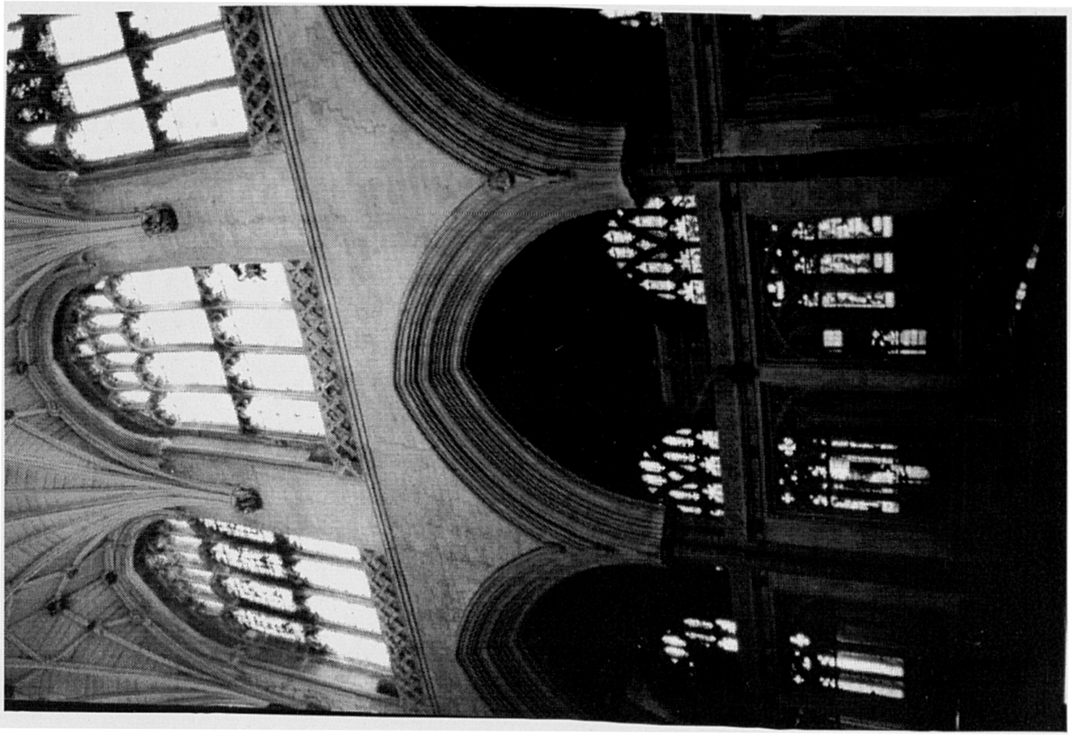


(iii) Sherborne Abbey, north transept

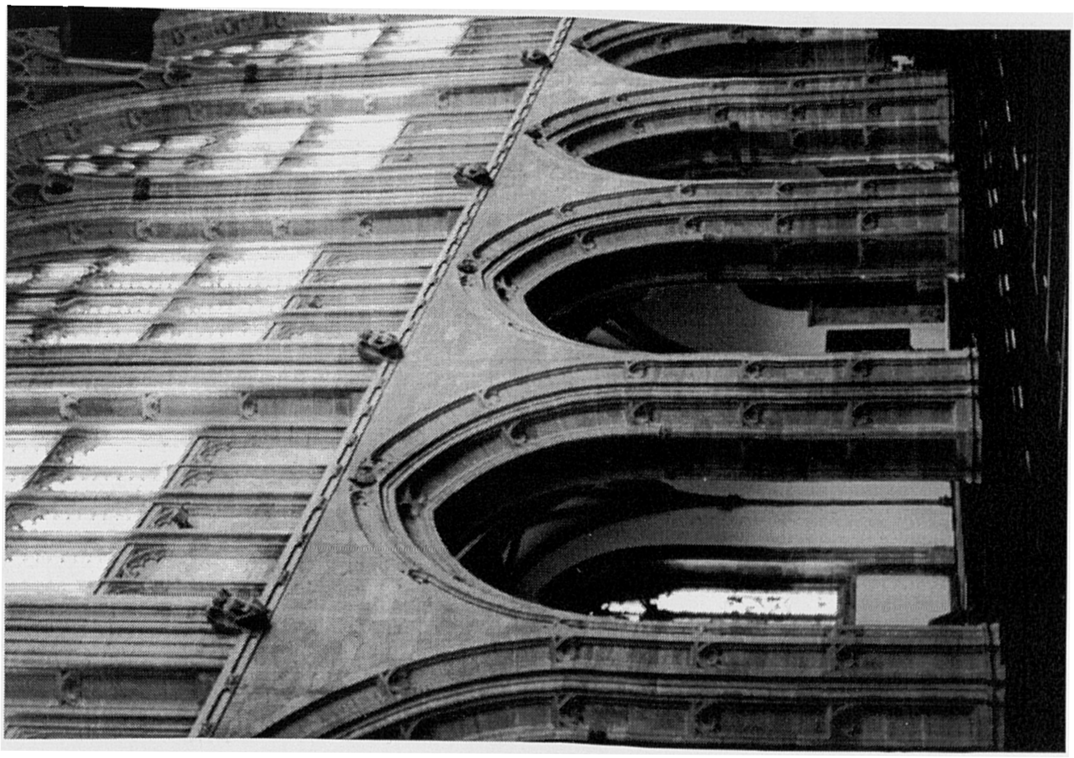
(iv) Sherborne Abbey, Wykeham Chapel

6.13: Sherborne Abbey mullions in the late 15th century

FIGURE 6.14

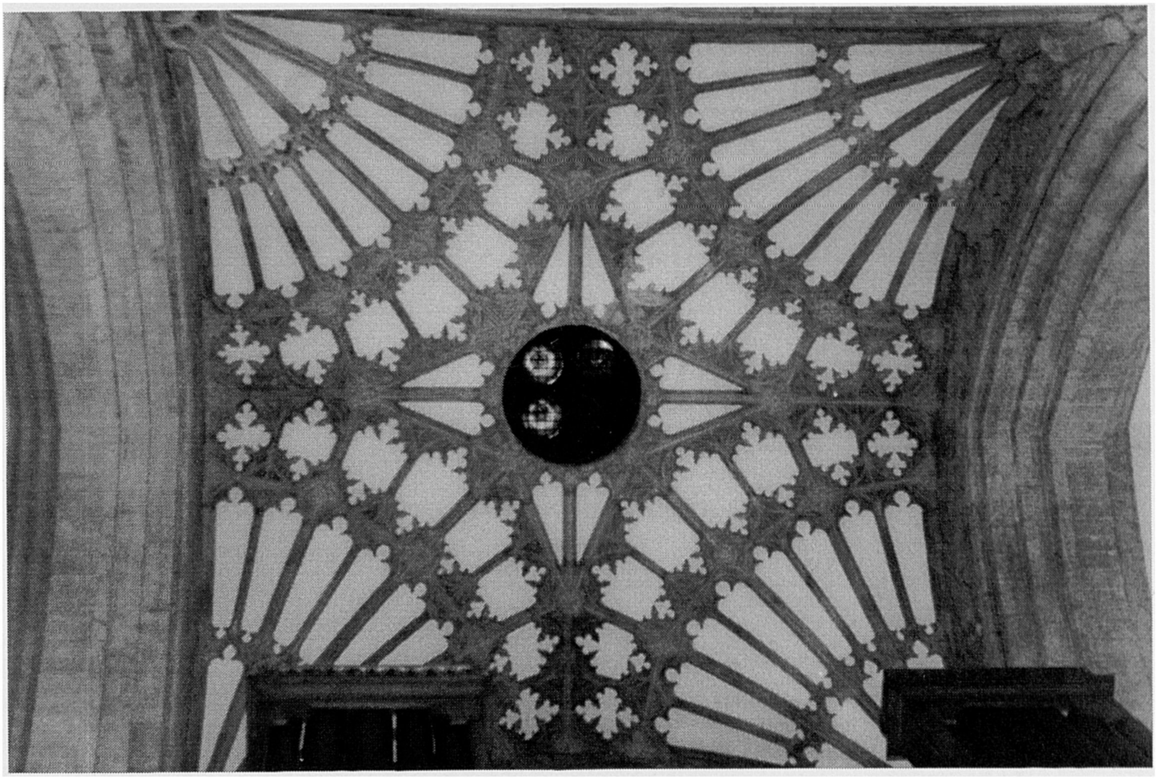


6.14B: Winchester Cathedral, presbytery elevation (north)

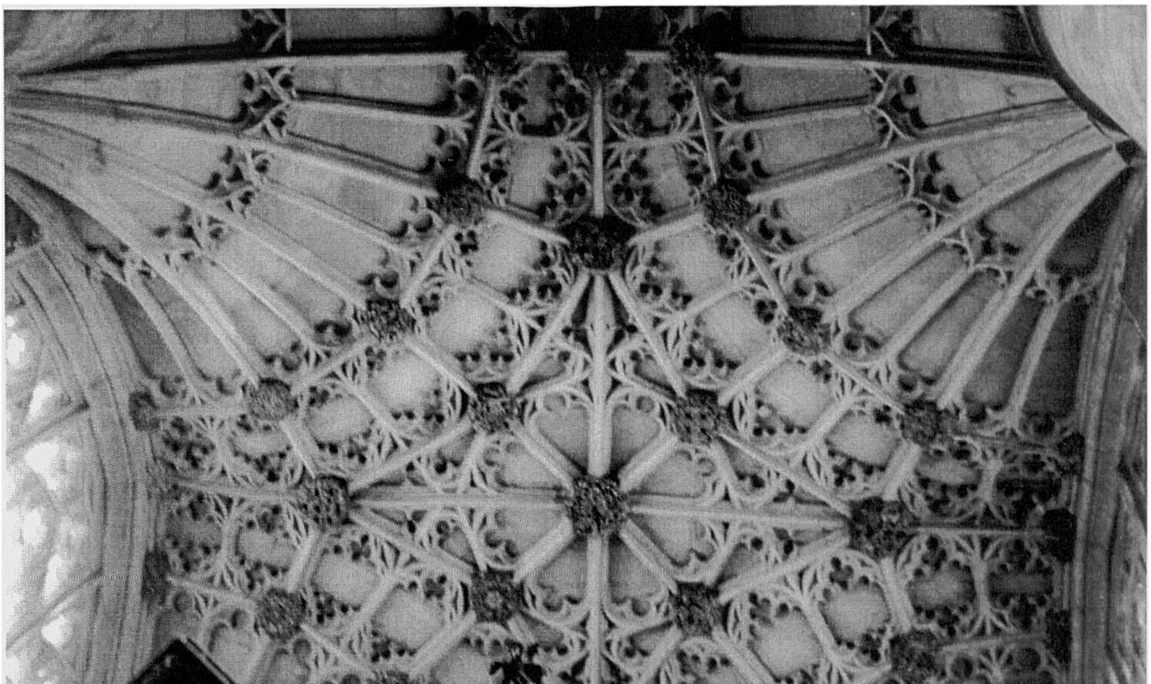


6.14A: Sherborne Abbey, nave elevation (south)

FIGURE 6.15

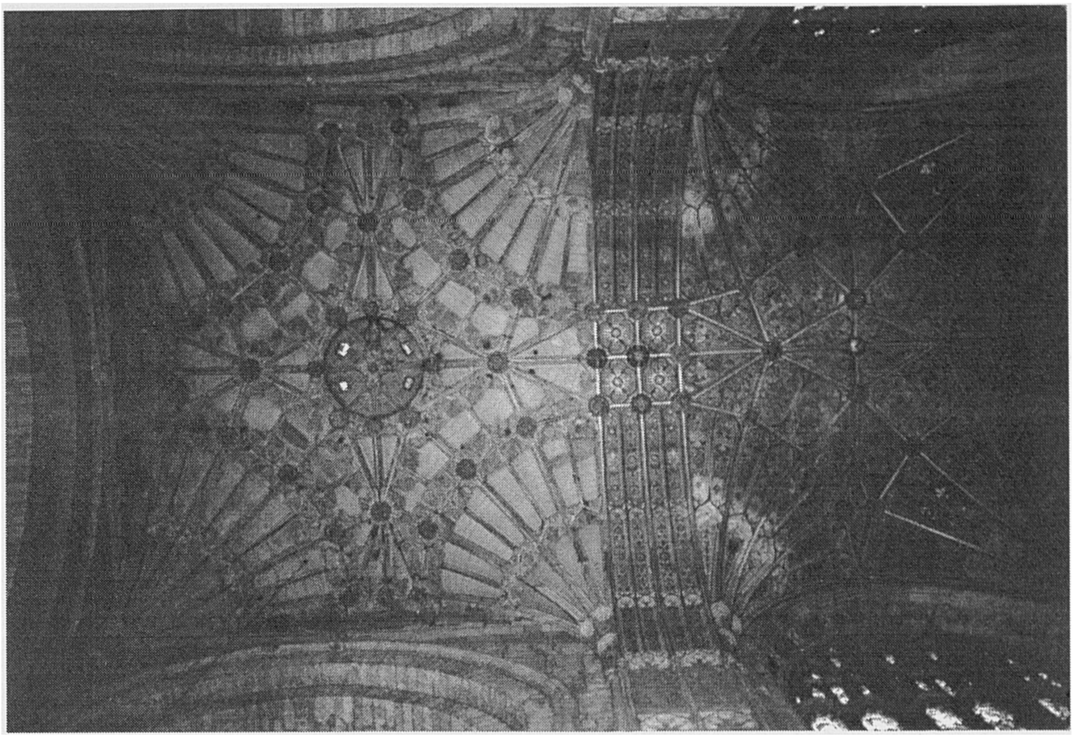


6.15A: Wells Cathedral, crossing vault

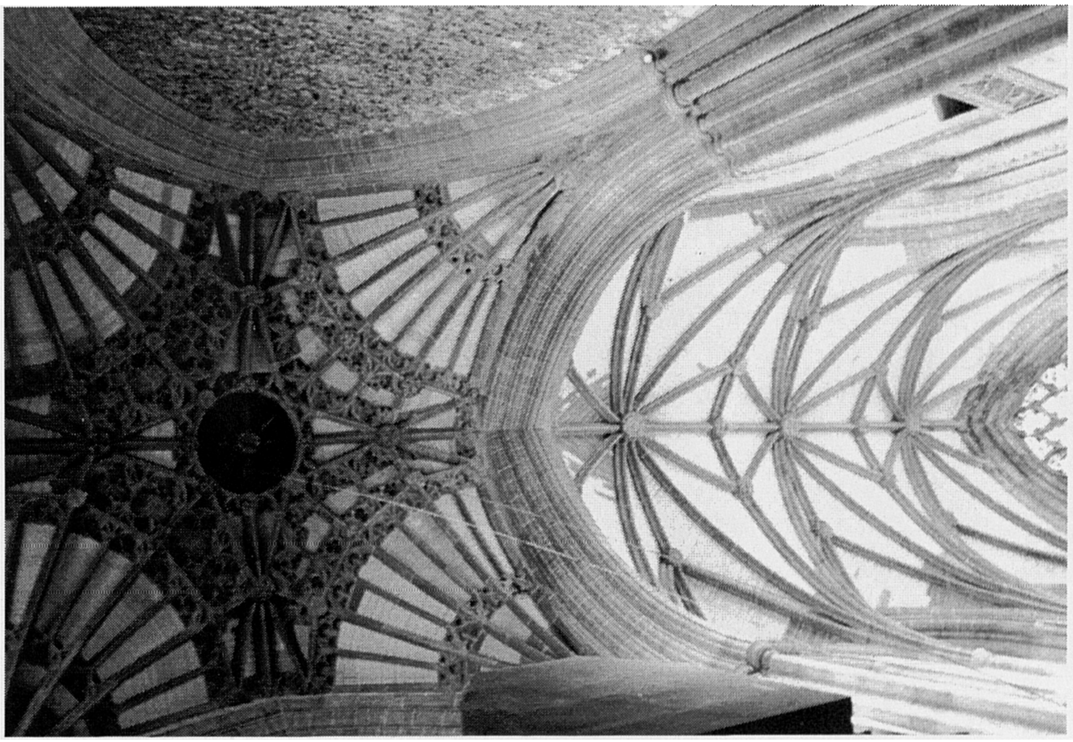


6.15B: Sherborne Abbey, north transept vault

FIGURE 6.16

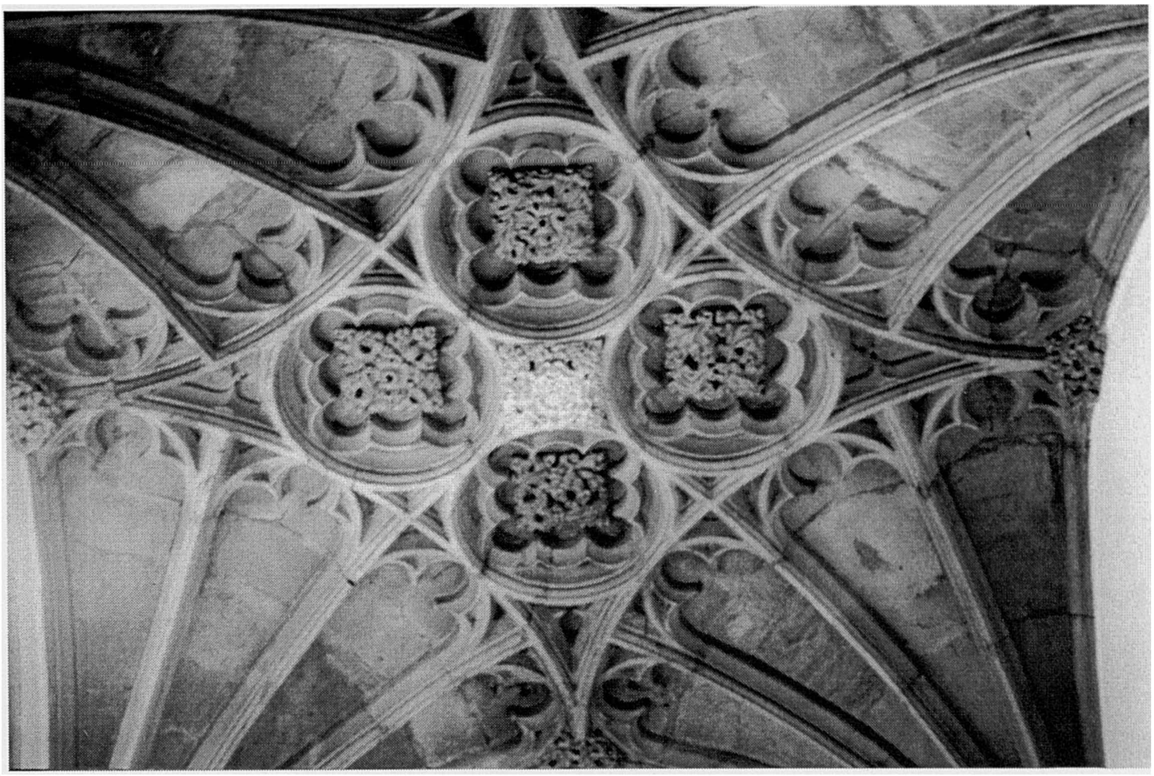


6.16B: Sherborne Abbey, crossing vault

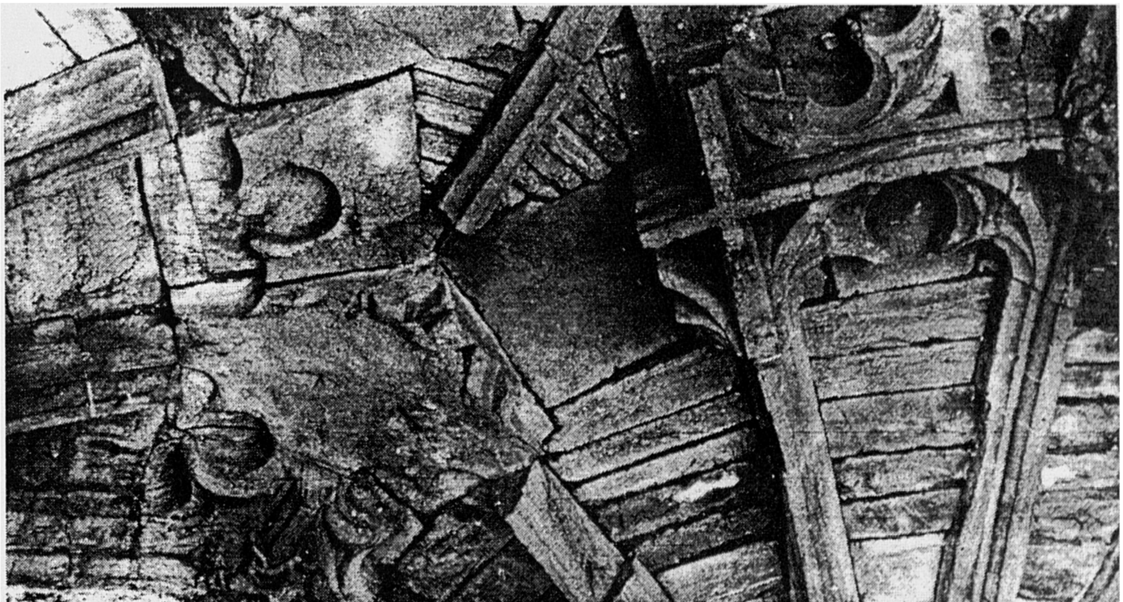


6.16A: Milton Abbey, crossing vault

FIGURE 6.17

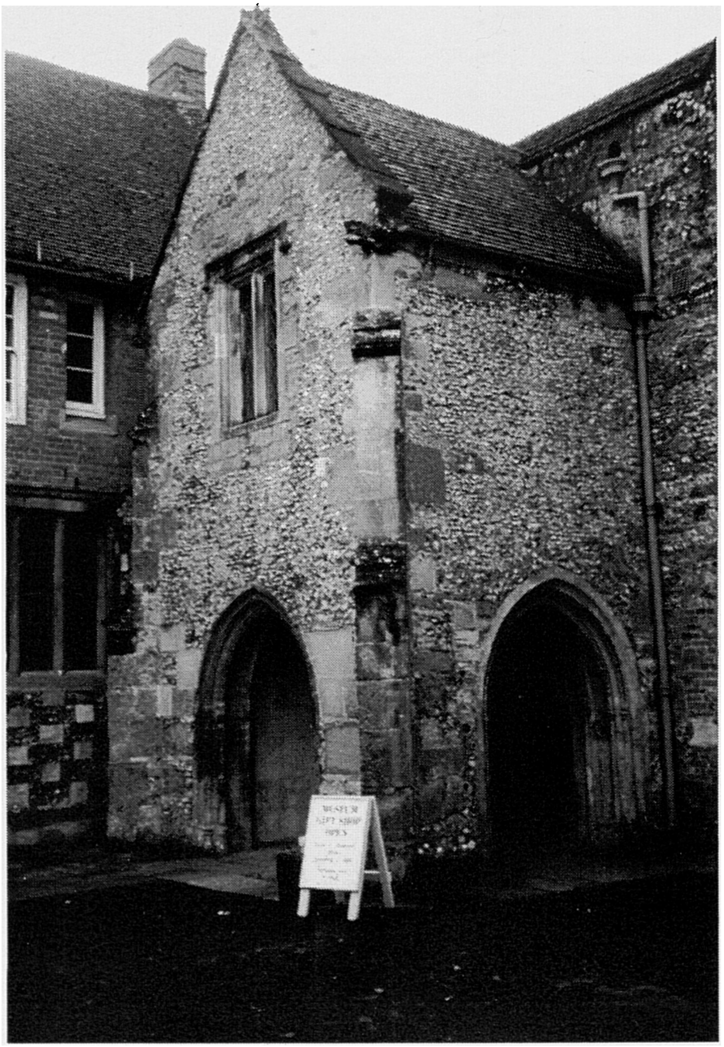


6.17A: Sherborne Abbey, Wykeham Chapel vault

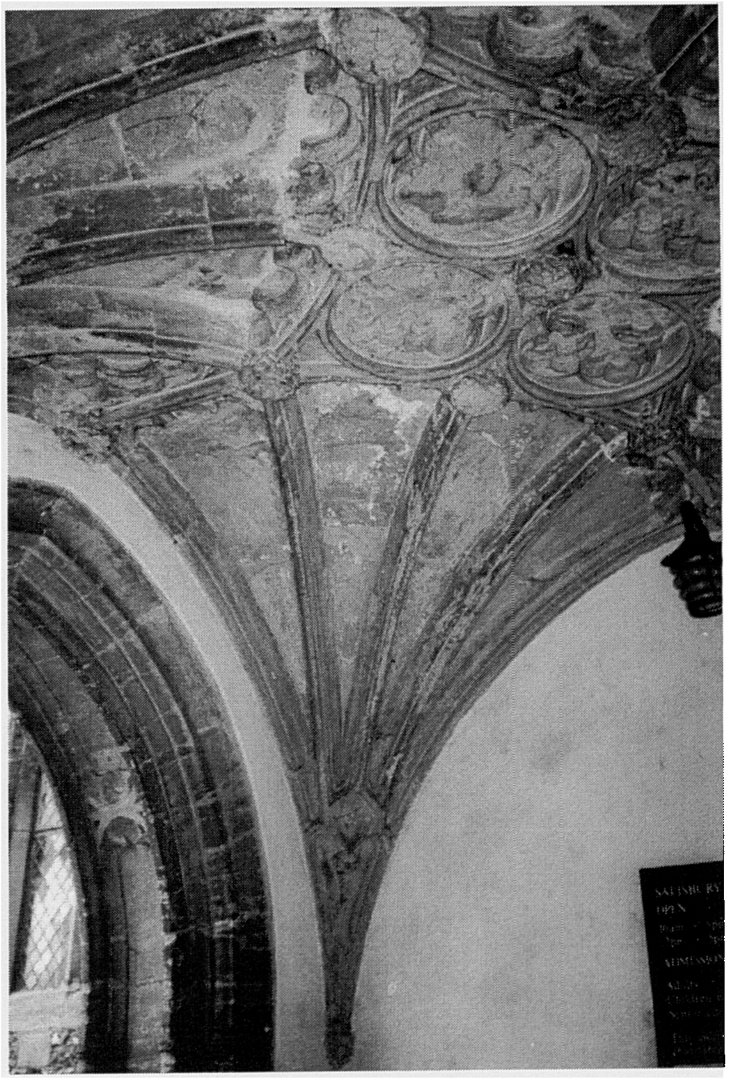


6.17B: Cerne Abbas, vault of porch to abbot's hall

FIGURE 6.18

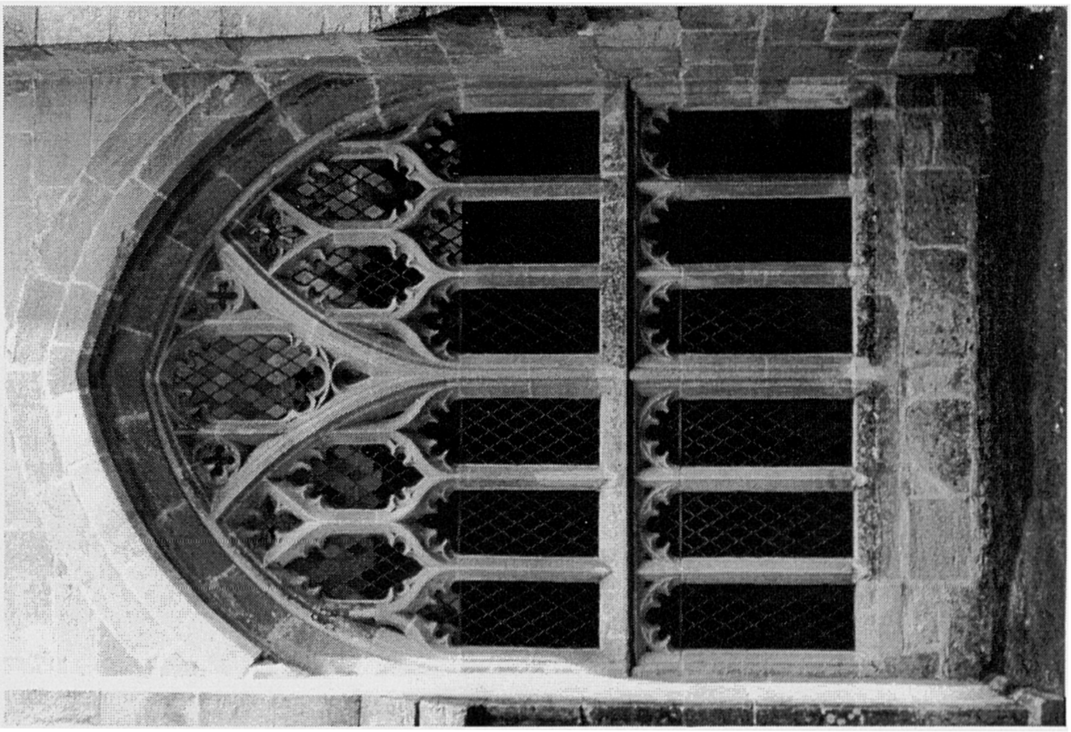


6.18A: Salisbury Cathedral Close, King’s House porch

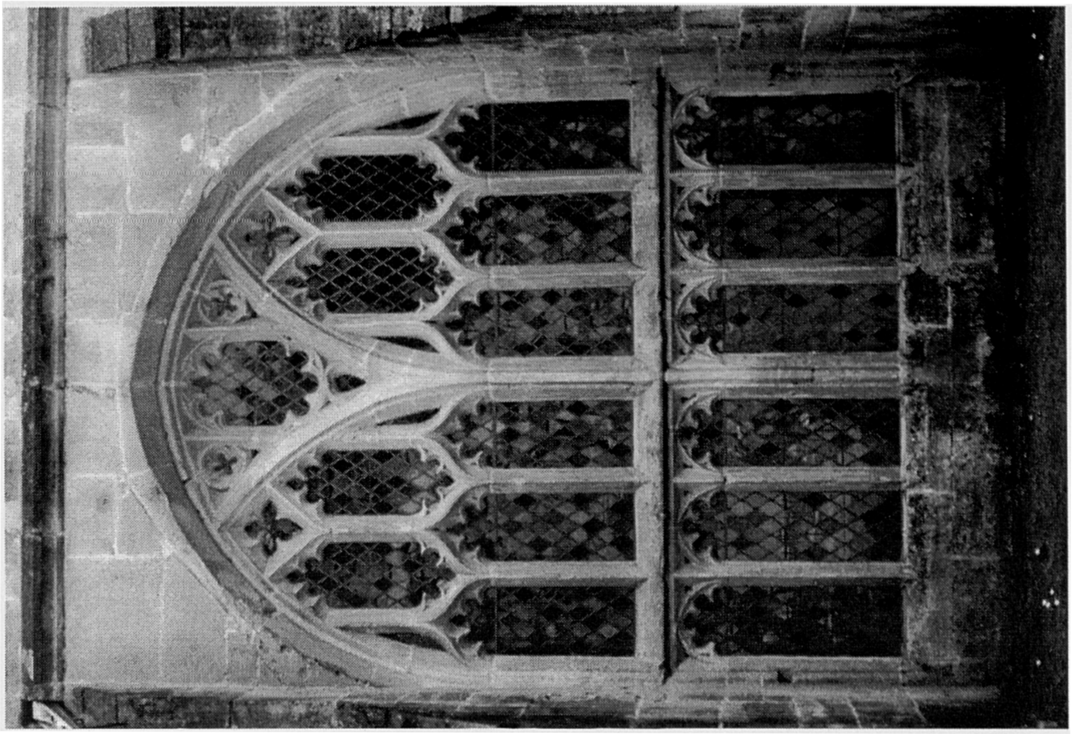


6.18B: Salisbury Cathedral Close, King’s House porch vault

FIGURE 6.19

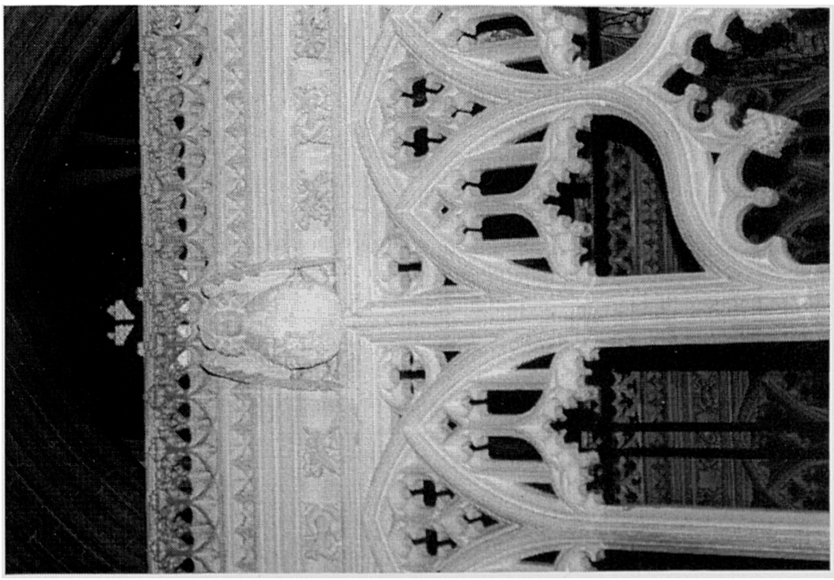


6.19A: Wells Cathedral, cloister east walk window detail

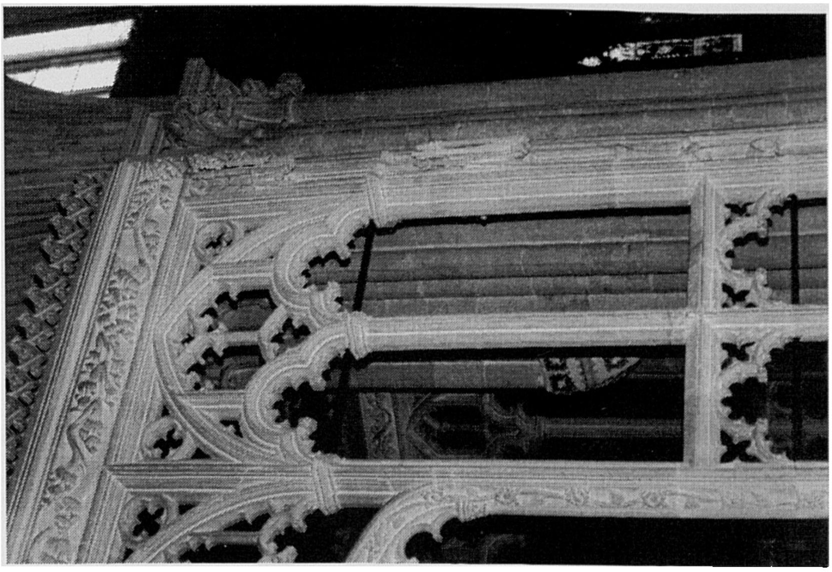


6.19B: Wells Cathedral, cloister south walk window detail

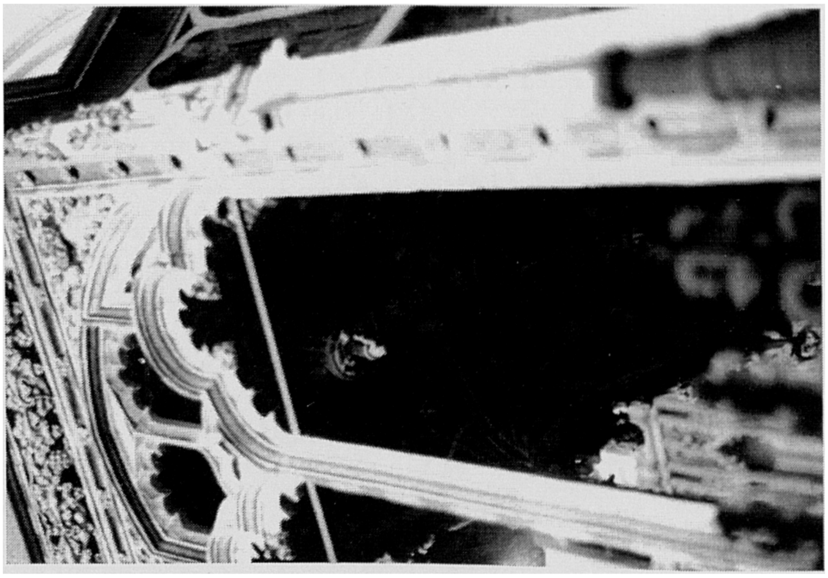
FIGURE 6.20



6.20A: Wells Cathedral , Hugh Sugar's Chantry Chapel



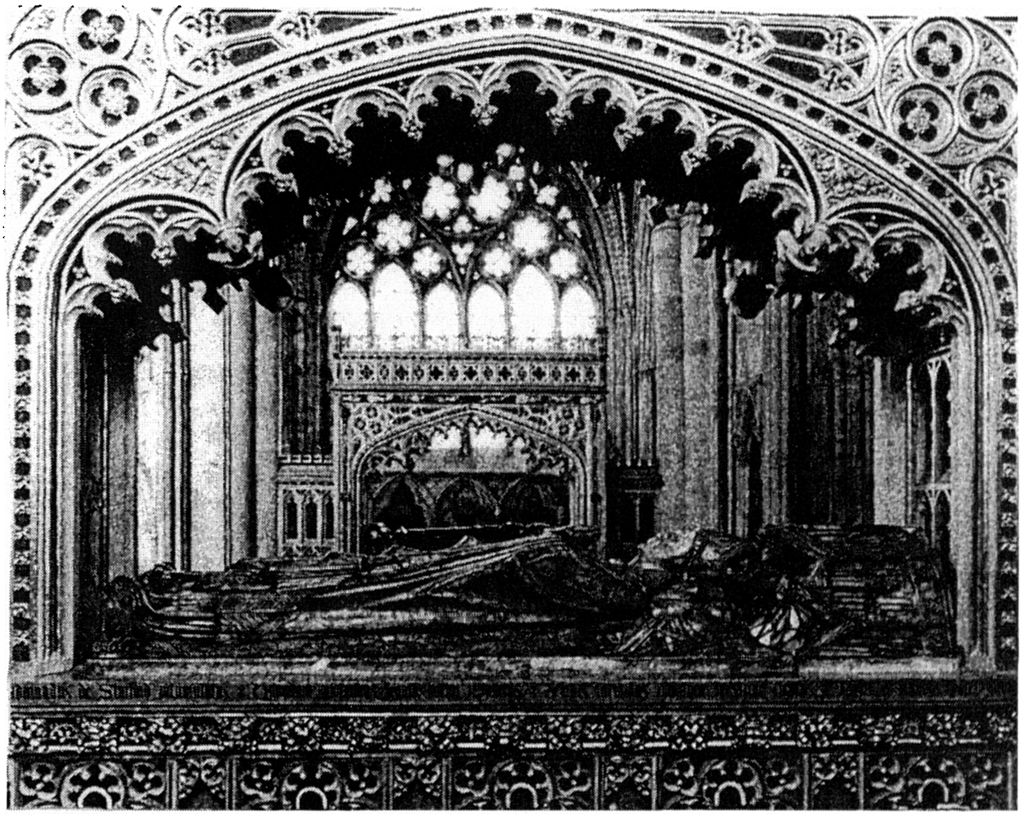
6.20B: Wells Cathedral, Bishop Bubwith's Chantry Chapel



6.20C: Wells Cathedral, Bishop Beckington's Chantry Chapel

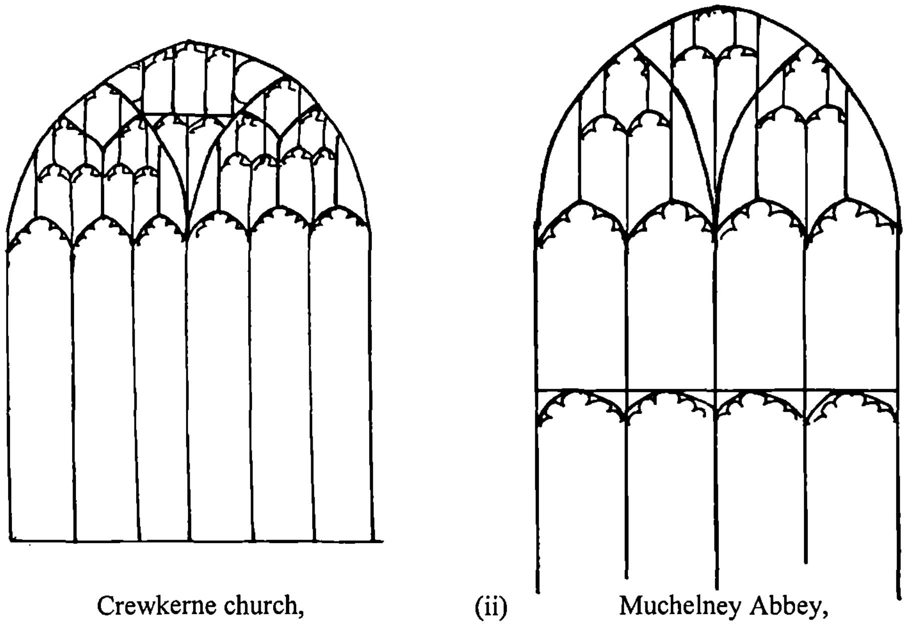
FIGURE 6.21

6.21A: Winchester Cathedral retrochoir, chantry chapels of Waynflete and Beaufort



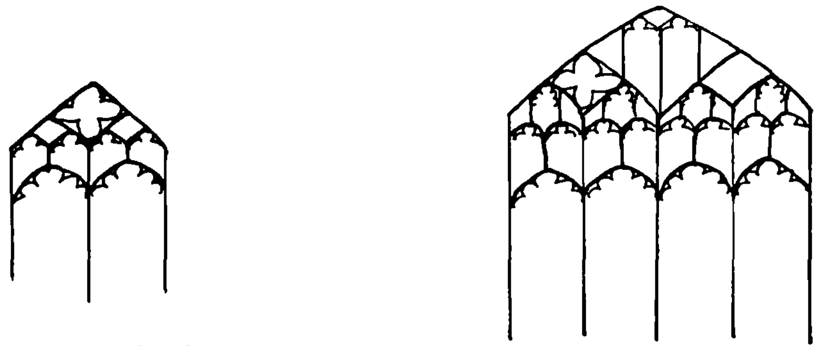
6.21B: Exeter Cathedral Lady chapel, chantry chapels of Stapledon and Bronescombe

FIGURE 6.22



(i) Crewkerne church, nave aisle

(ii) Muchelney Abbey, south cloister walk



(iii) Crewkerne church, nave clerestory

(iv) Sherborne Abbey, chancel aisle

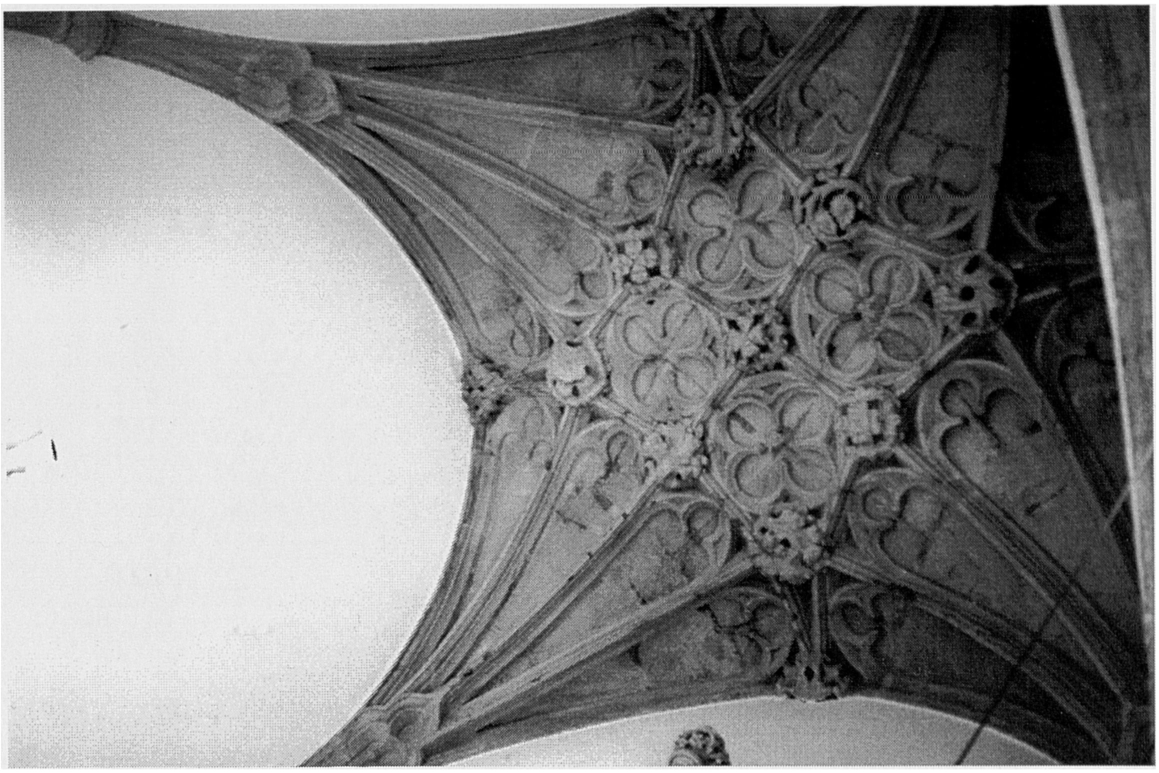
6.22: Crewkerne church and related tracery designs in the 15th century

FIGURE 6.23

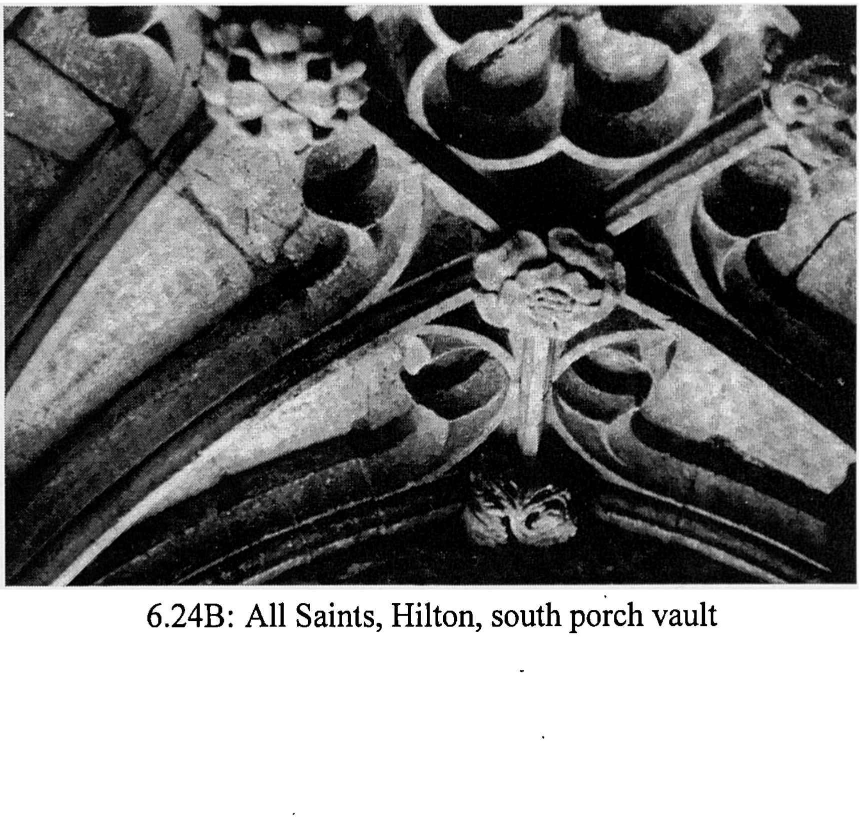
6.23A: Sherborne Abbey, north transept from west

6.23B: Crewkerne parish church, west front

FIGURE 6.24

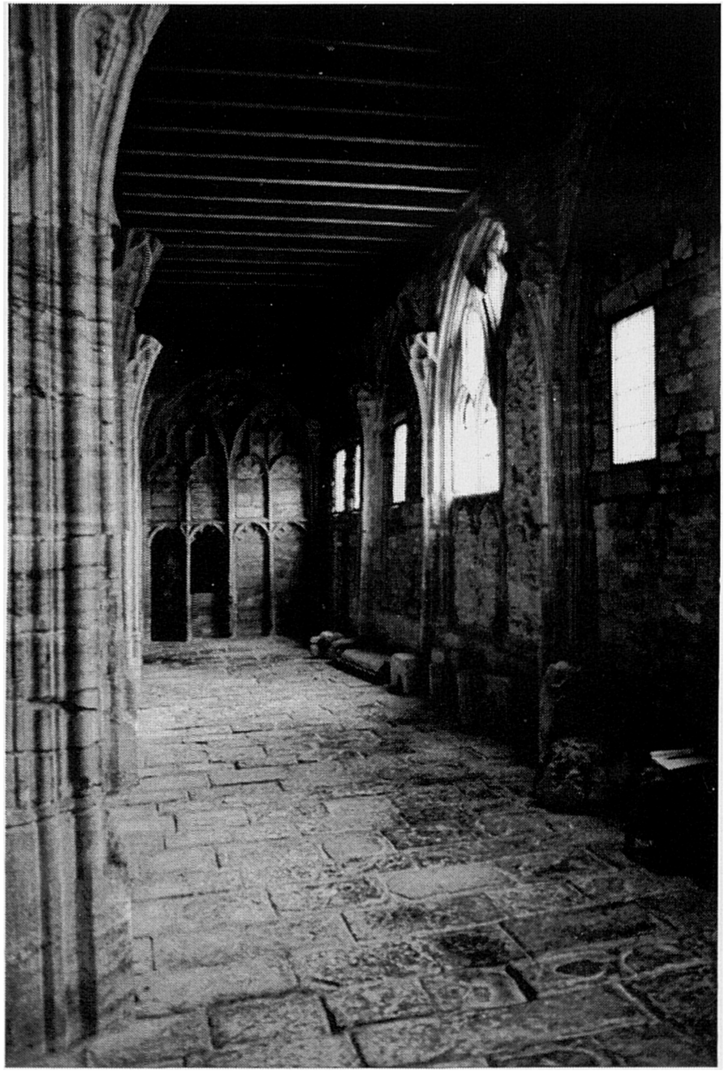


6.24A: Crewkerne parish church, south porch vault



6.24B: All Saints, Hilton, south porch vault

FIGURE 6.25

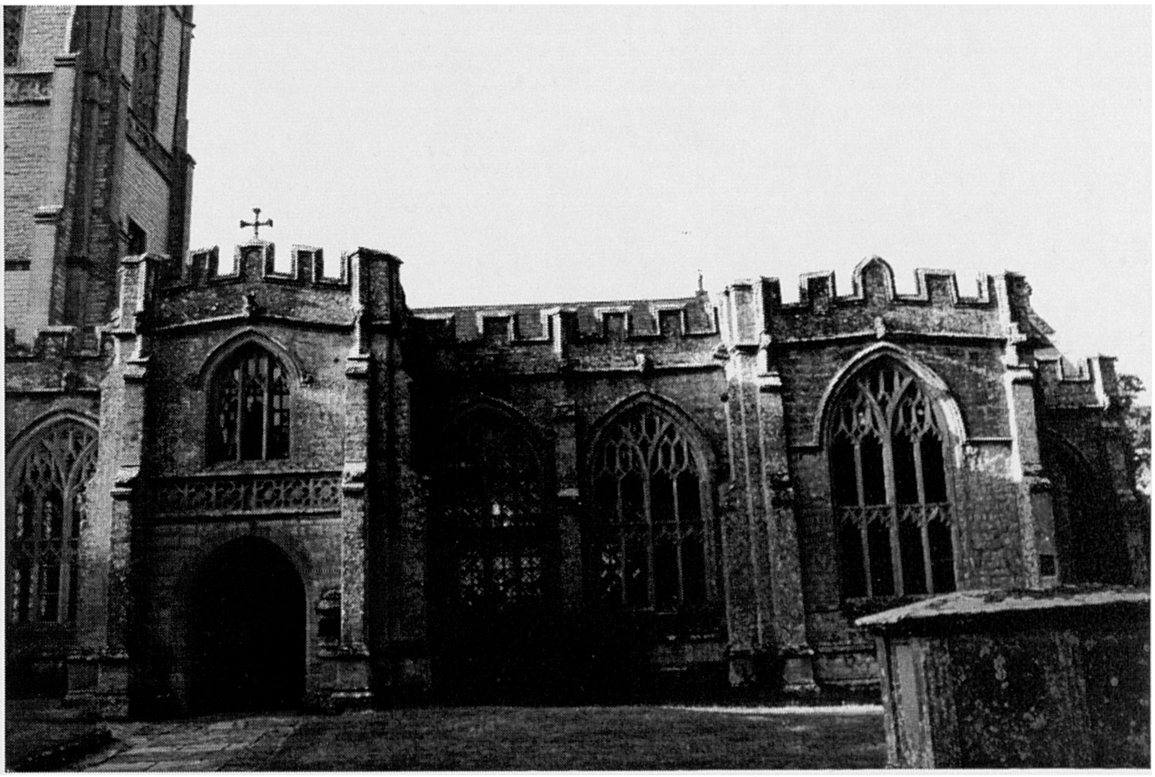


6.25A: Muchelney Abbey, south cloister walk

6.25B: Muchelney Abbey, fragments of cloister vault

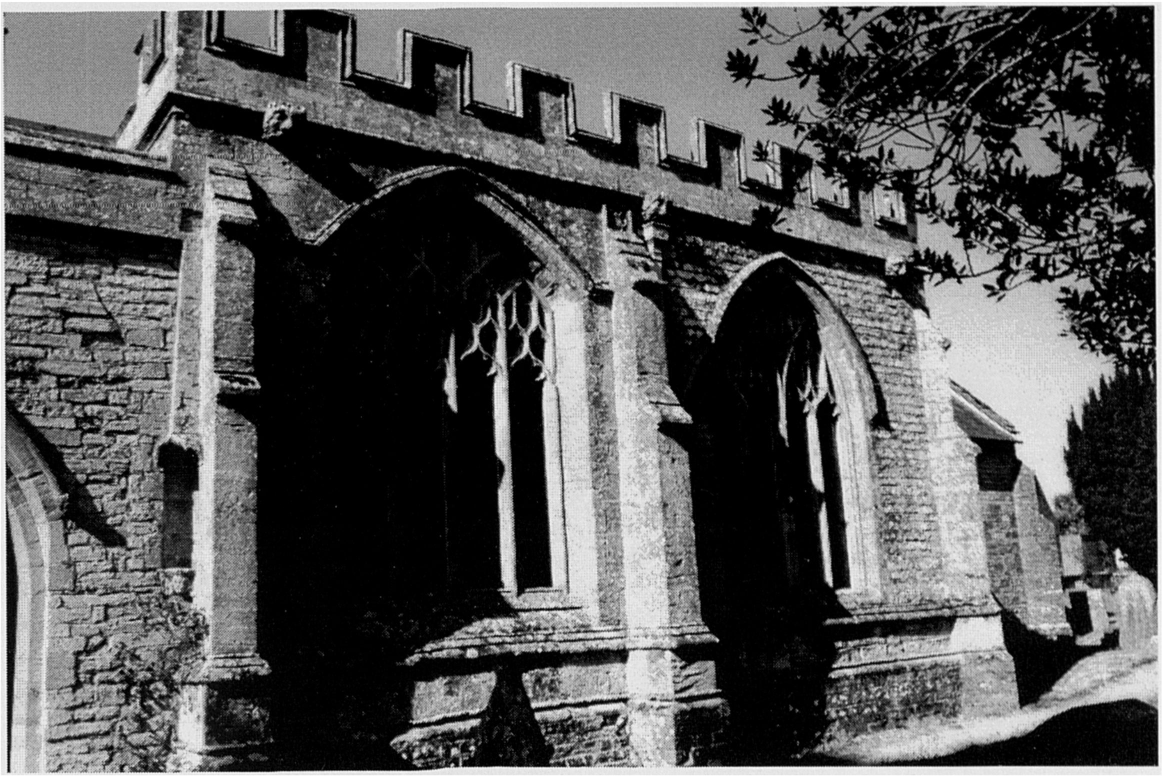
FIGURE 6.26

6.26A: All Saints, Langport, chancel and Heron aisle from south east

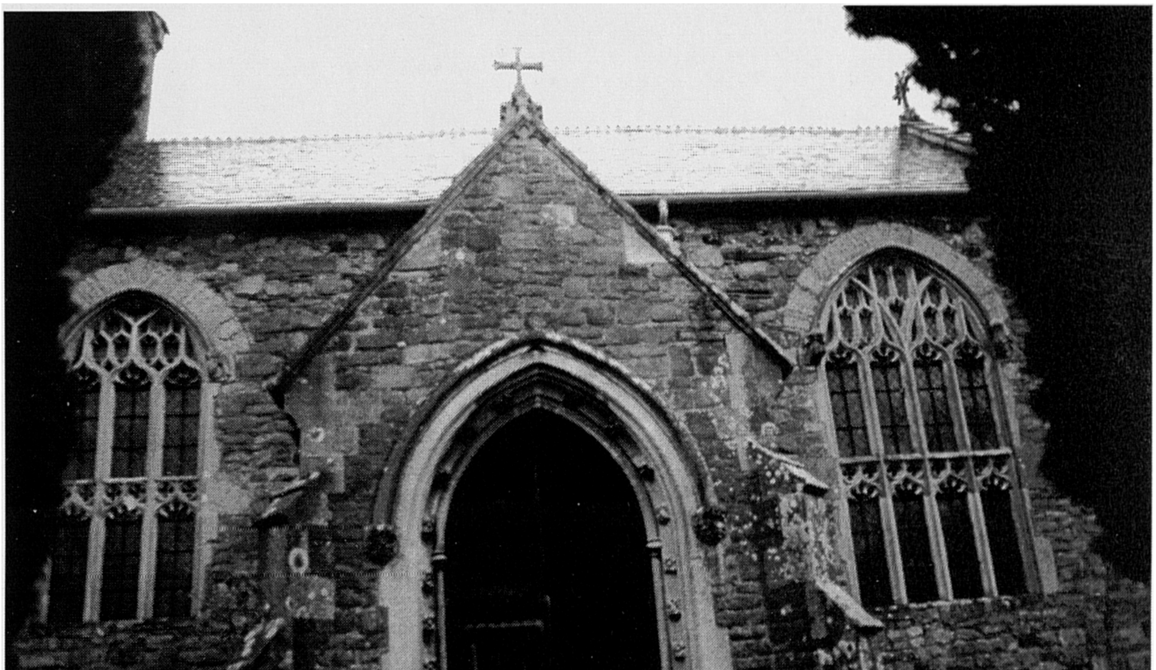


6.26B: Curry Rivel parish church, view from south

FIGURE 6.27



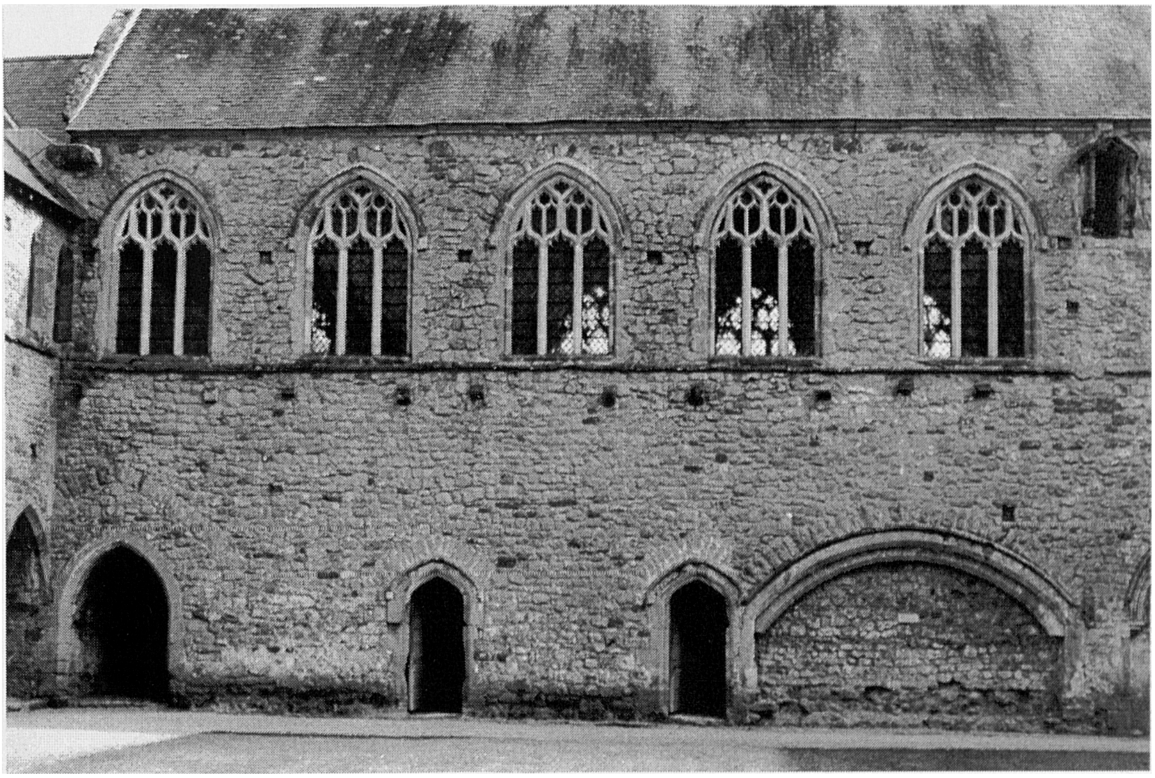
6.27A: Huish Episcopi, south chapel (exterior)



6.27B: Wootton Courtenay, view from south

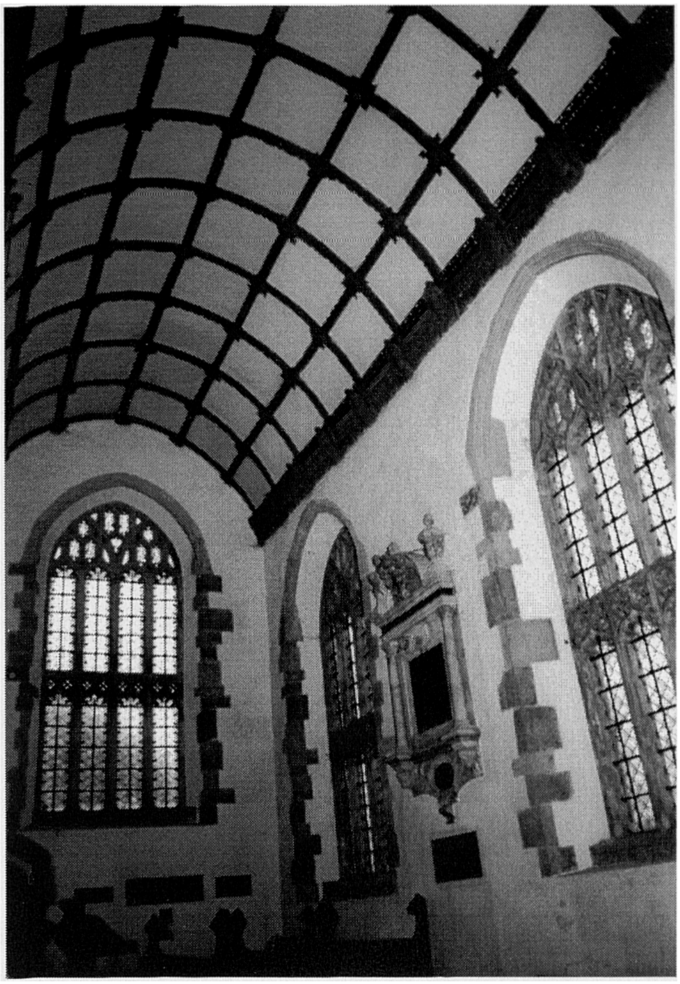
FIGURE 6.28

6.28A: Cleeve Abbey, refectory from south

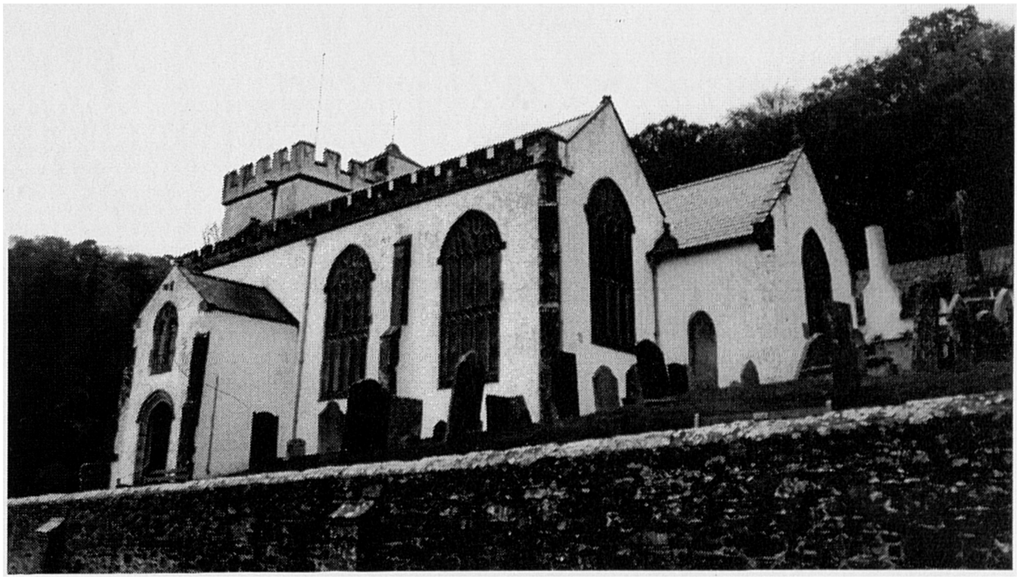


6.28B: Cleeve Abbey, refectory from north

FIGURE 6.29



6.29A: Selworthy parish church, south aisle (interior) looking east



6.29B: Selworthy parish church, view from south east

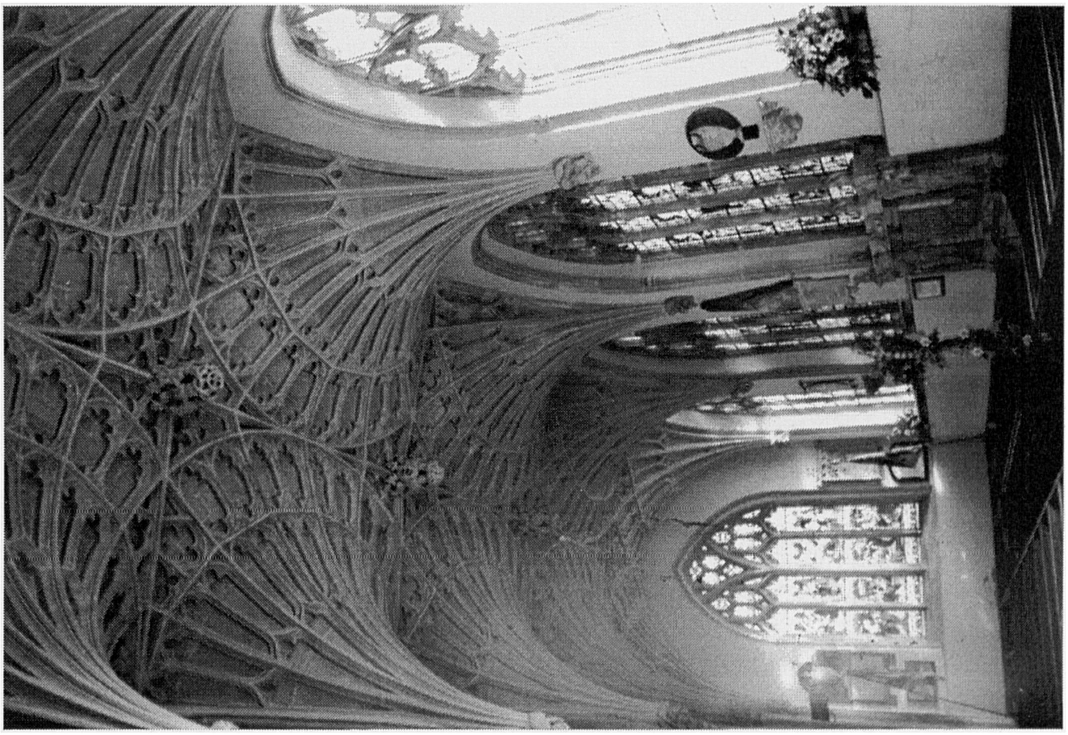
FIGURE 6.30

6.30A: Wells Cathedral precinct, Bishop's Eye

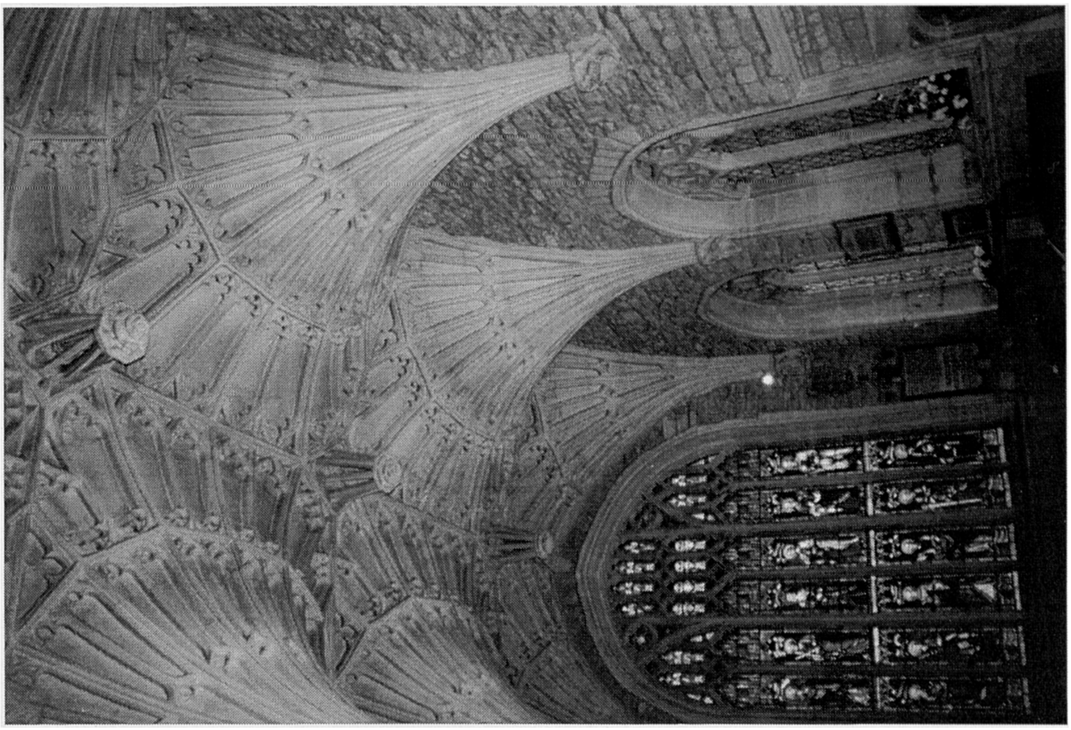
6.30B: Dunster Castle, Somerset, gatehouse window detail

6.30C: Muchelney Abbey, abbot's lodgings window detail

FIGURE 6.31

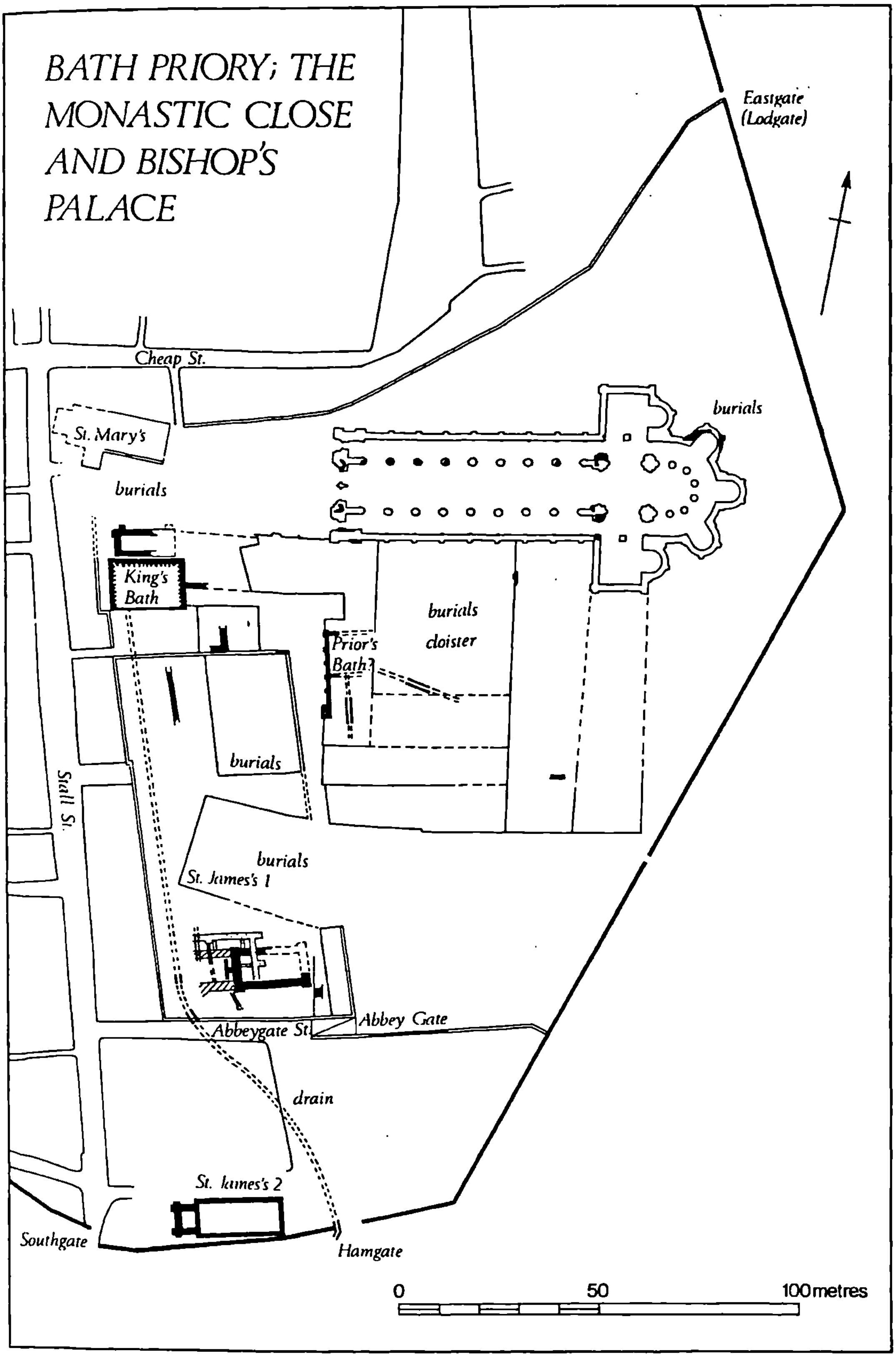


6.31A: Cullompton parish church, 'Lane Aisle' looking east



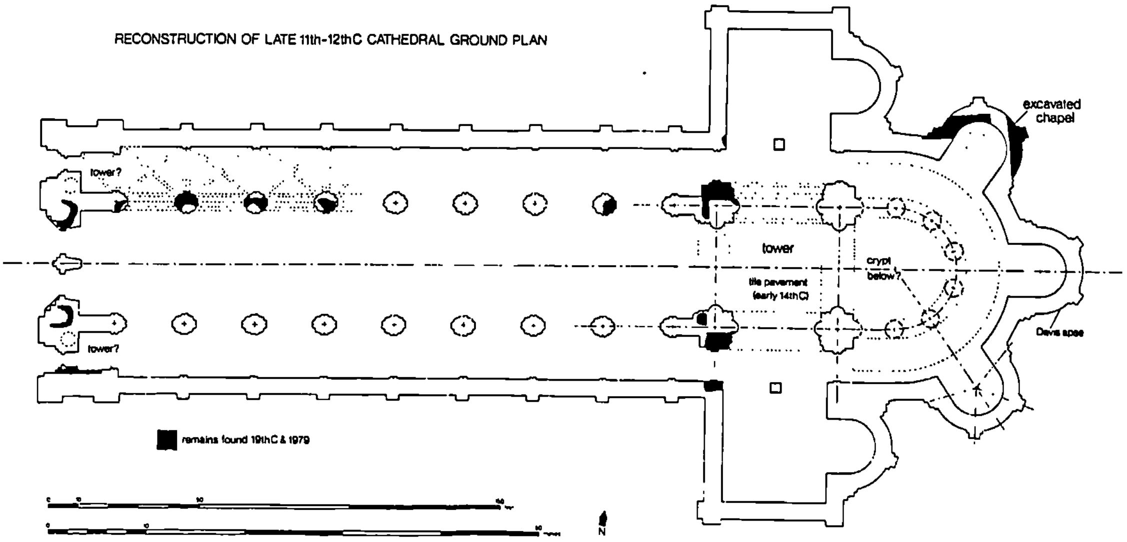
6.31B: Ottery St. Mary, 'Dorset Aisle' looking west

FIGURE 7.1

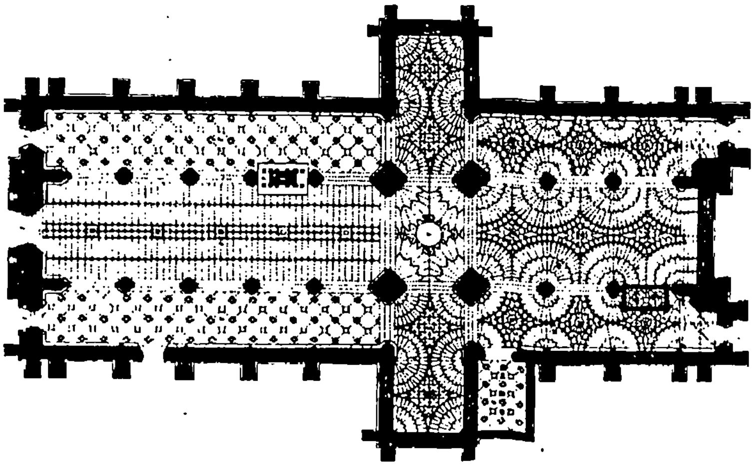


7.1: Bath Abbey, plan of the monastic close and bishop's palace after 1090
(The city wall in thick black lines, cathedral close double line, solid black are archaeologically attested, single lines are from post-medieval property boundaries)

FIGURE 7.2

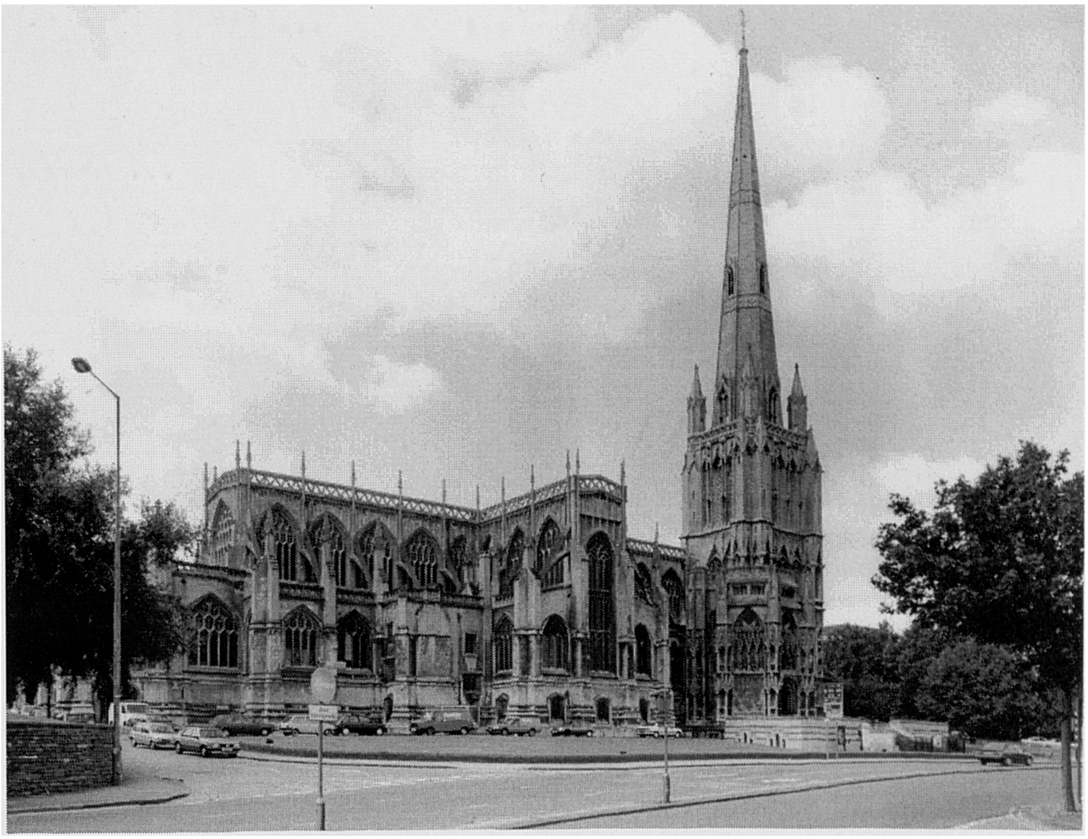


7.2A: Bath Abbey, reconstruction of late 11th- to 12th-century cathedral plan

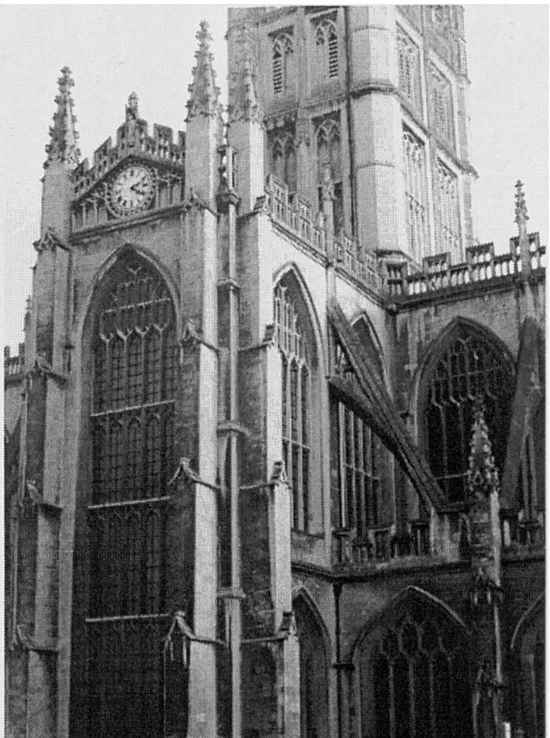


7.2B: Bath Abbey, plan of late medieval church

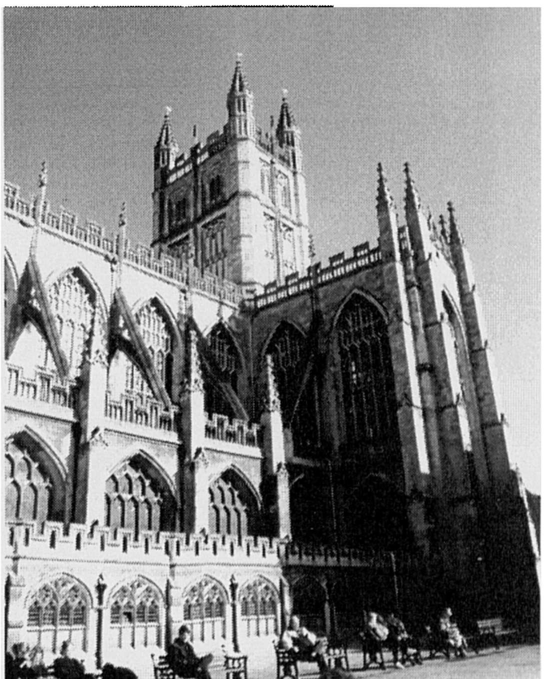
FIGURE 7.3



7.3A: St Mary Redcliffe, view from north east



7.3B: Bath Abbey, south transept



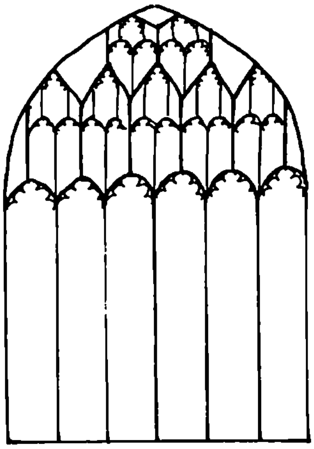
7.3C: Bath Abbey, view from south west

FIGURE 7.4

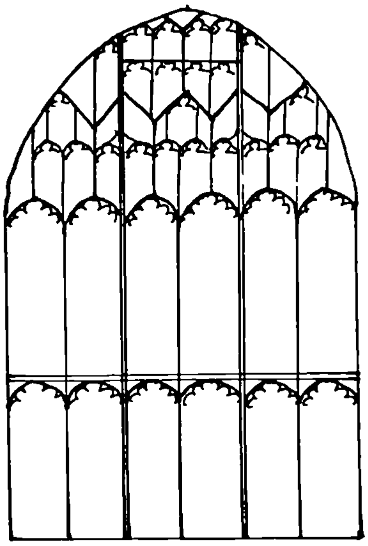
7.4A: St Mary Redcliffe, south transept looking south (int.)

7.4B: Bath Abbey, south transept looking south (int.)

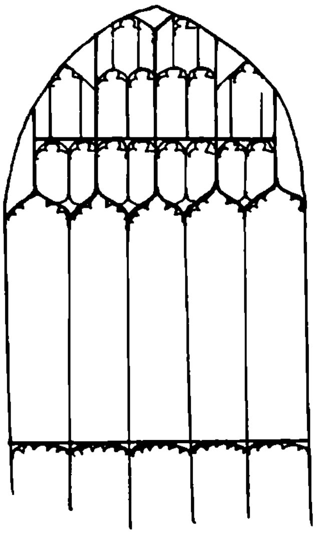
FIGURE 7.5



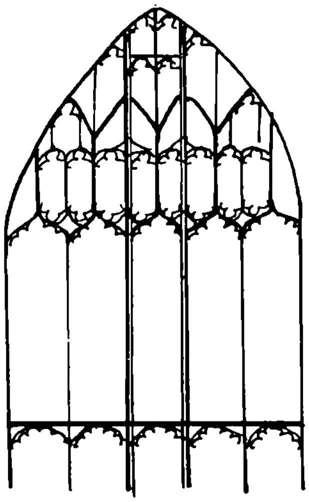
(i) St Mary Redcliffe, clerestory



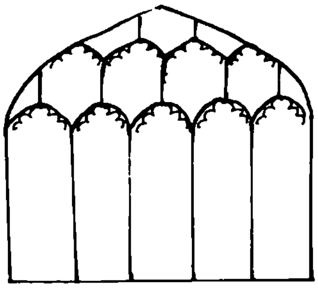
(ii) Sherborne Abbey, chancel clerestory



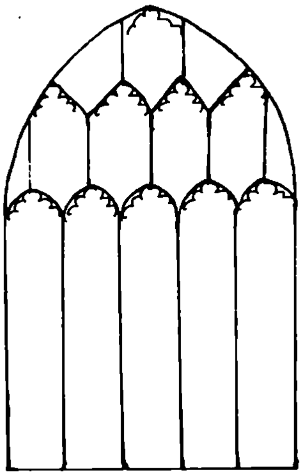
(iii) Bath Abbey, clerestory



(iv) Sherborne Abbey, nave clerestory



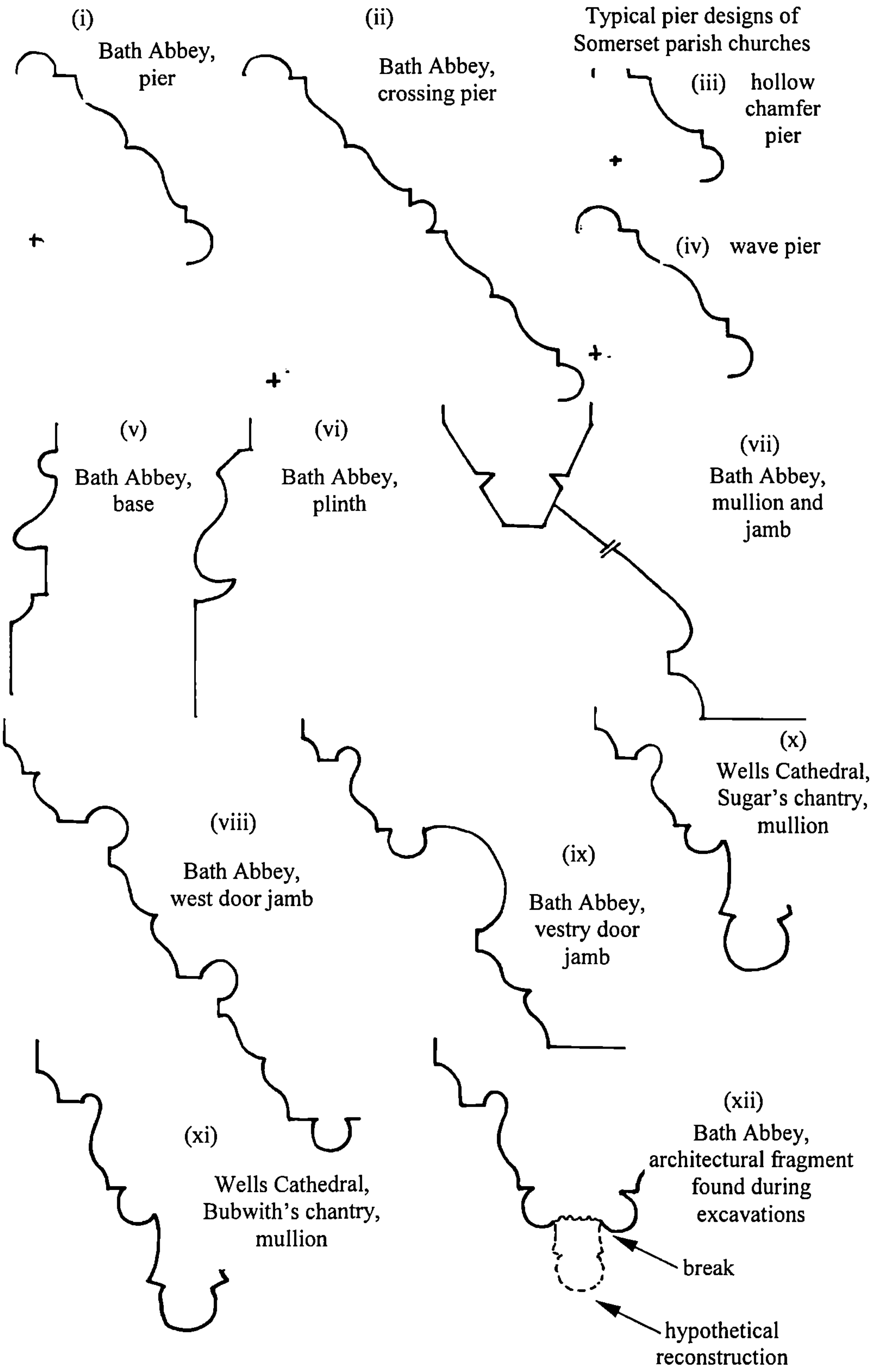
(v) Bath Abbey, aisle



(vi) St John's, Yeovil, aisle

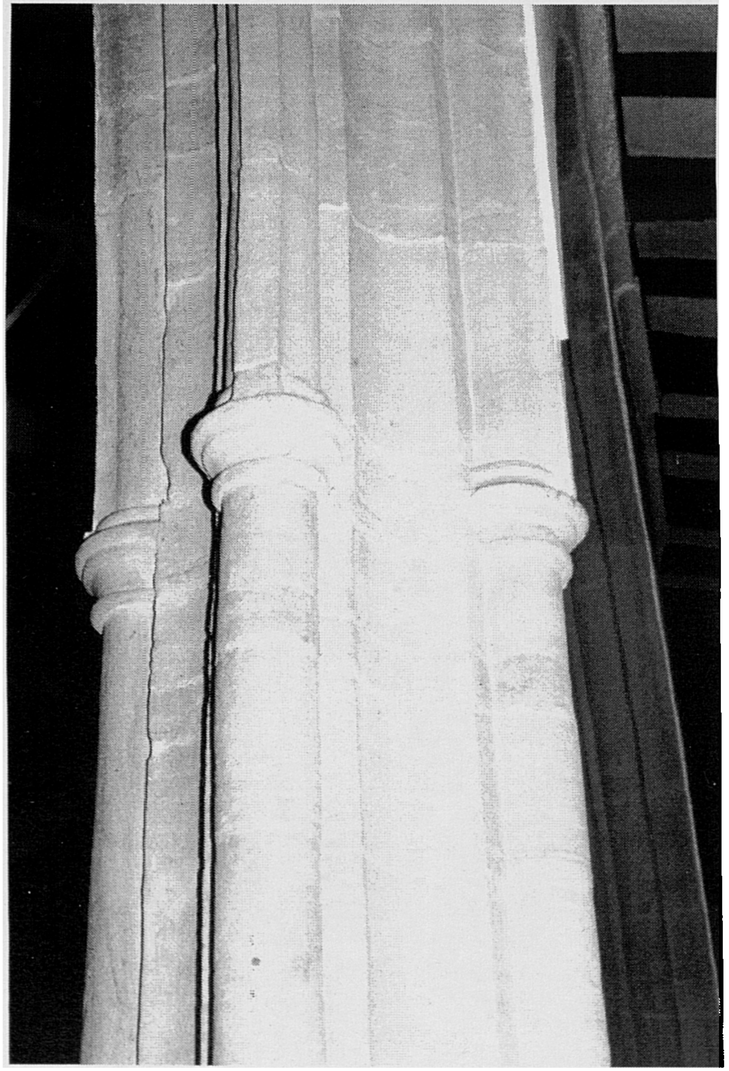
7.5: Tracery designs for Bath Abbey, and its antecedents

FIGURE 7.6



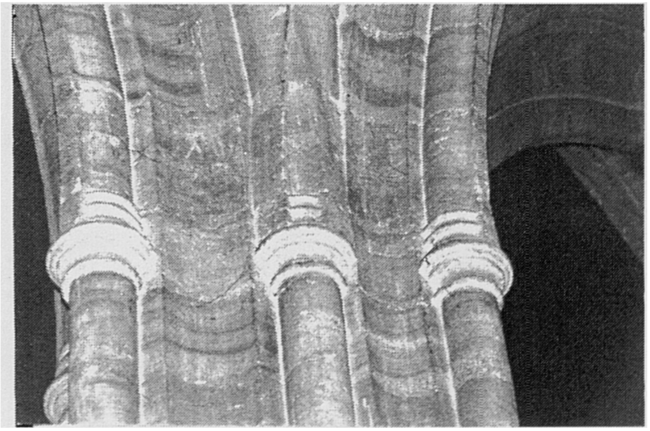
7.6: Bath Abbey mouldings

FIGURE 7.7



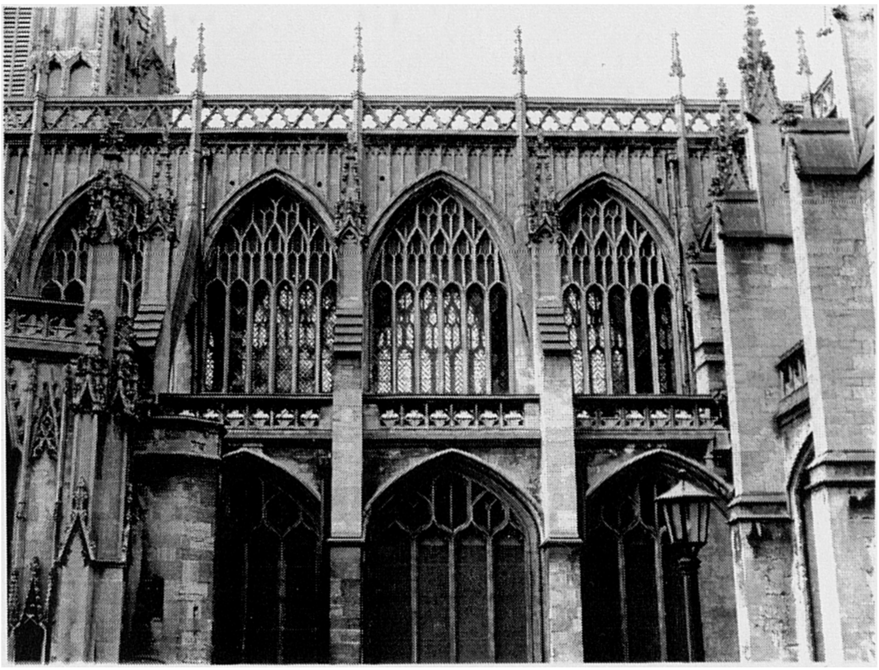
7.7A: Hinton St George parish church, detail of capital

7.7B: Bath Abbey, chancel arcade, detail of capital

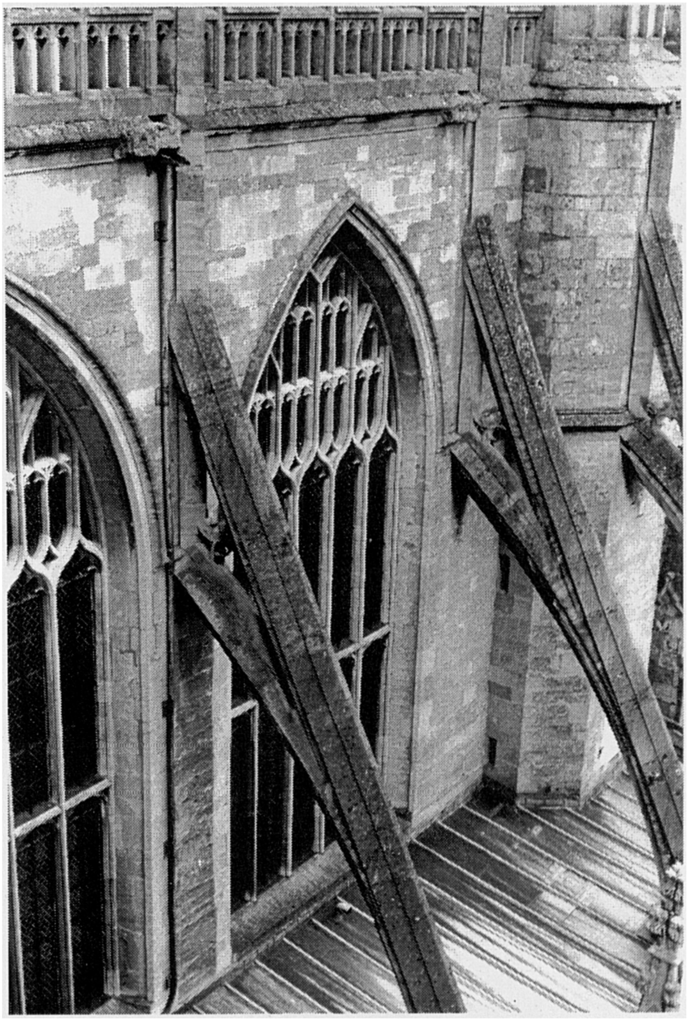


7.7C: St John’s, Yeovil, detail of capital from nave

FIGURE 7.8

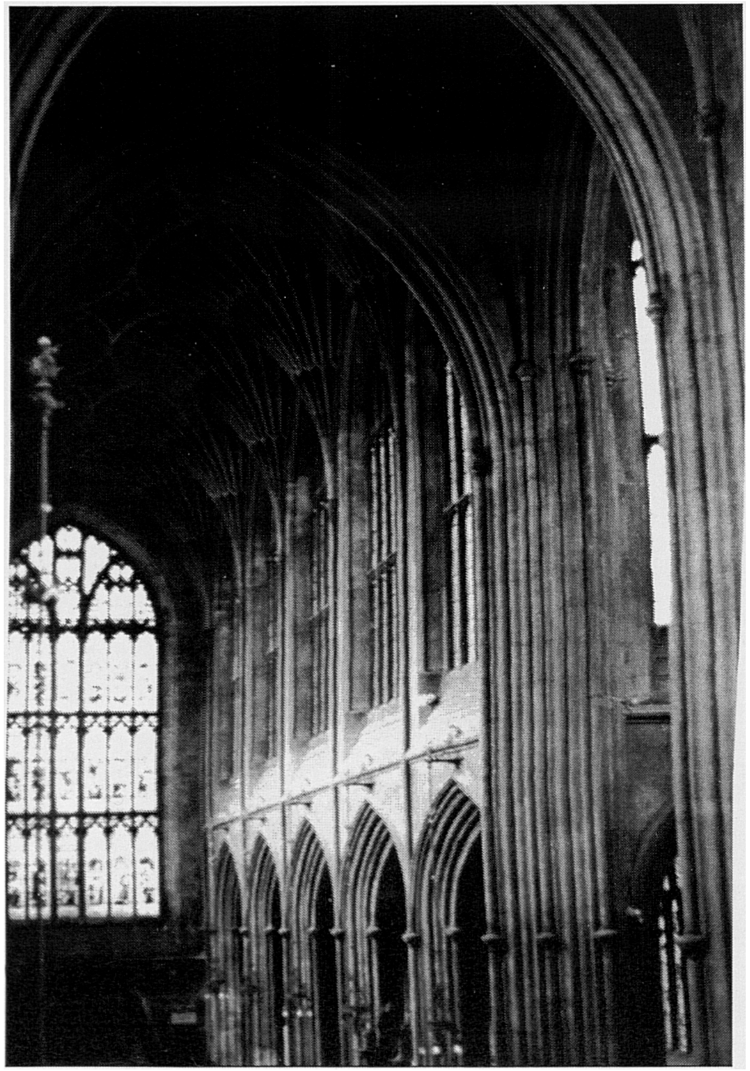


7.8A: St Mary Redcliffe, nave from south

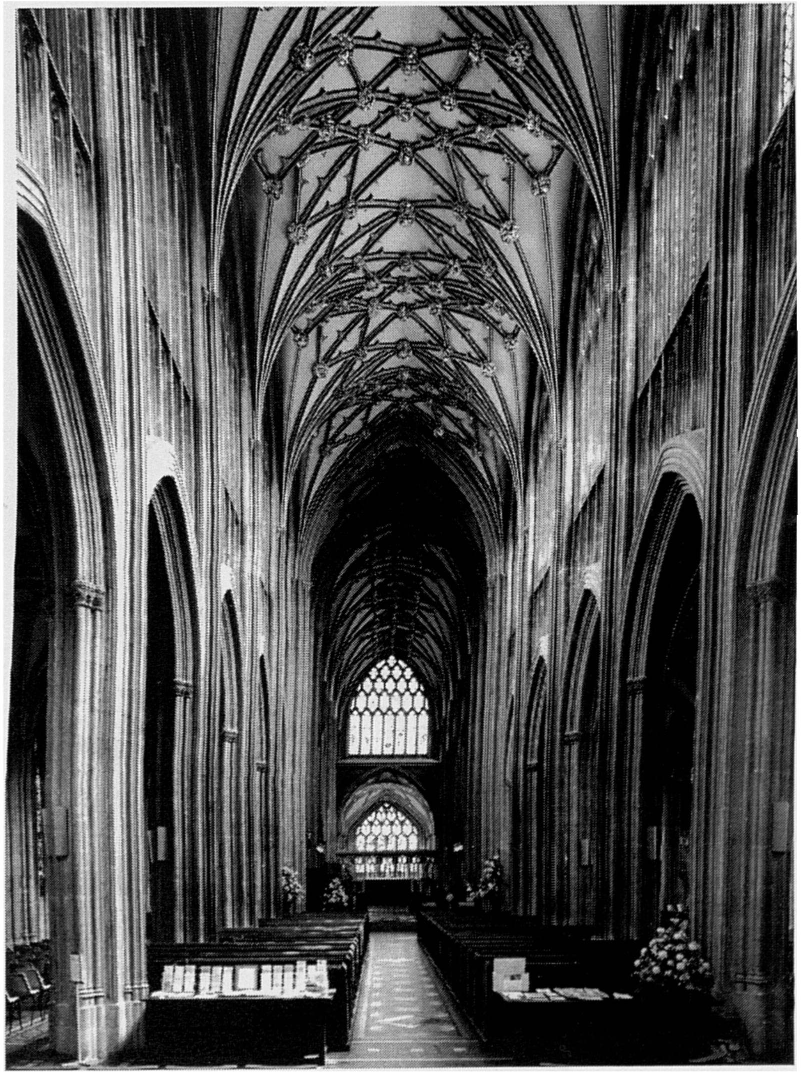


7.8B: Bath Abbey, chancel clerestory, south side

FIGURE 7.9

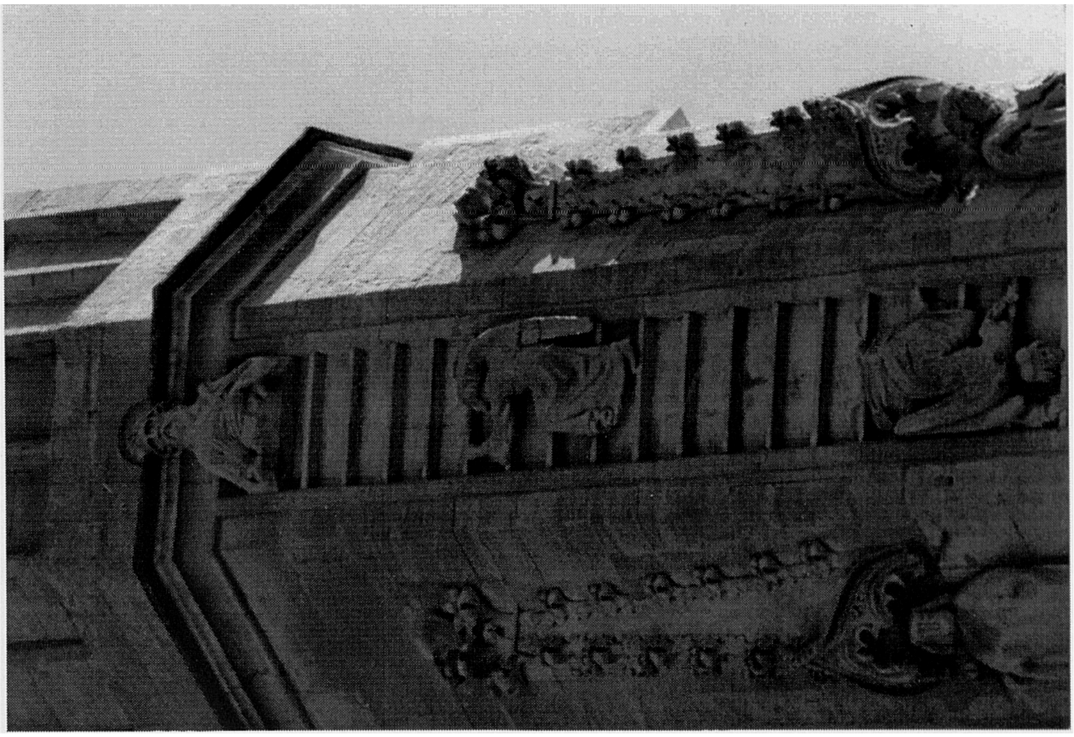


7.9A: Bath Abbey, interior looking west



7.9B: St Mary Redcliffe, interior looking east

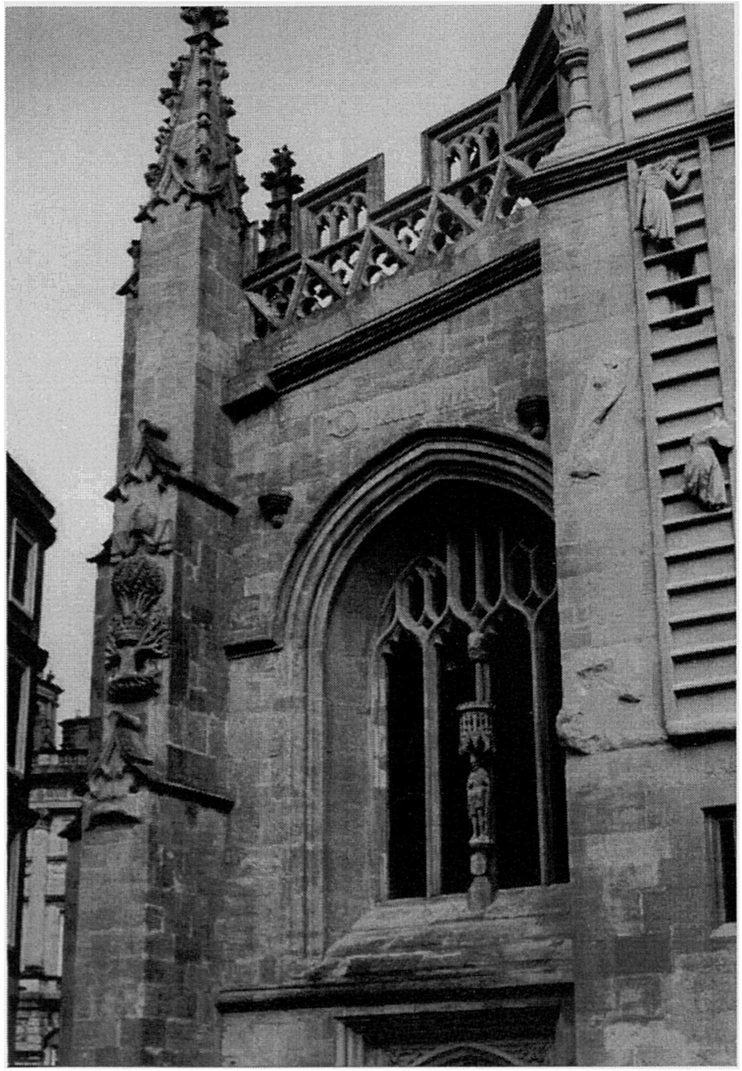
FIGURE 7.10



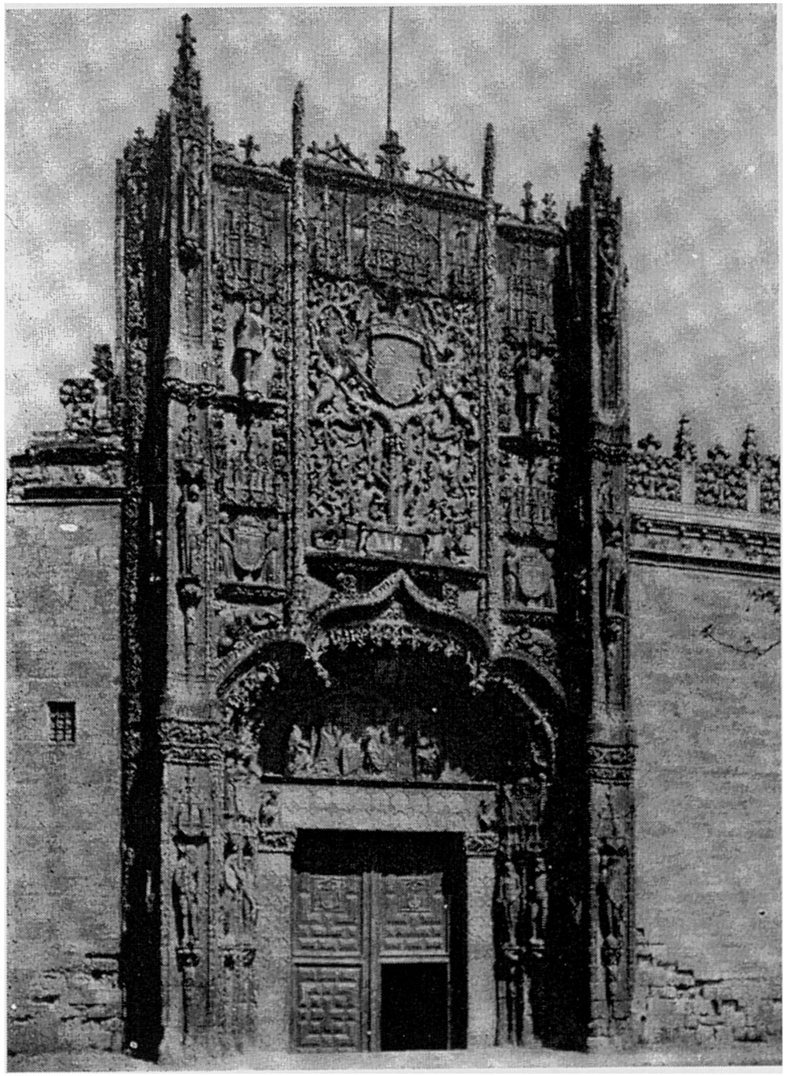
7.10B: Bath Abbey, west front detail

7.10A: Bath Abbey, west front

FIGURE 7.11

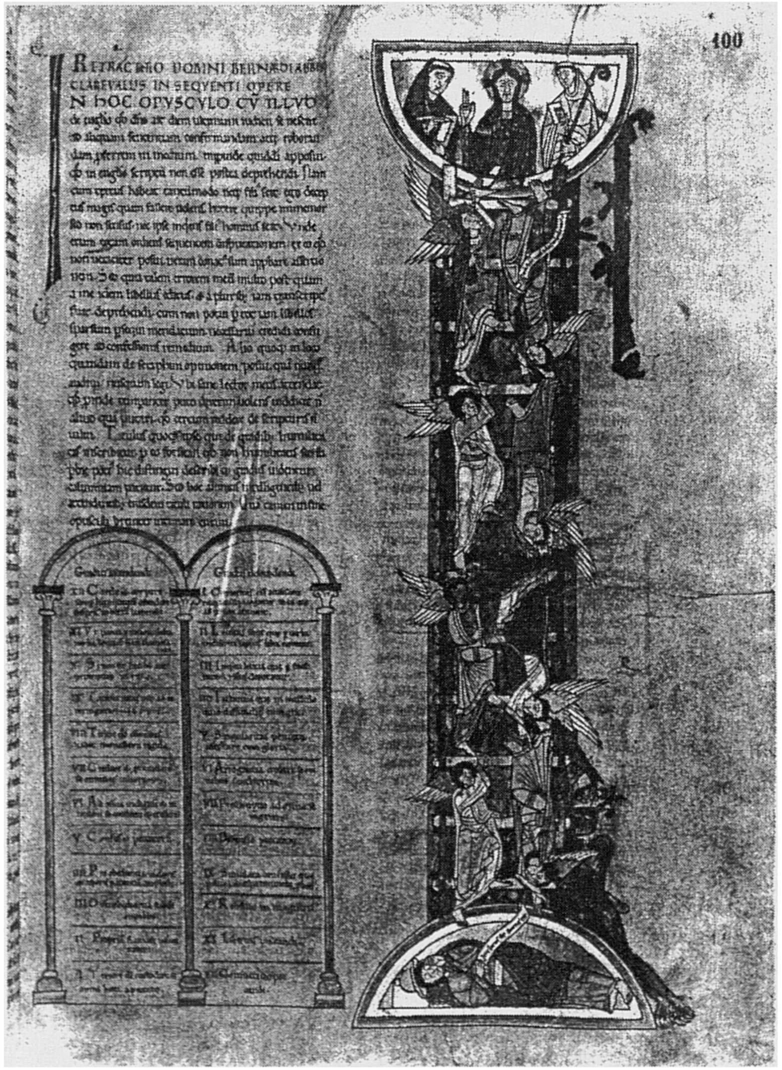


7.11A: Bath Abbey, west front, north aisle

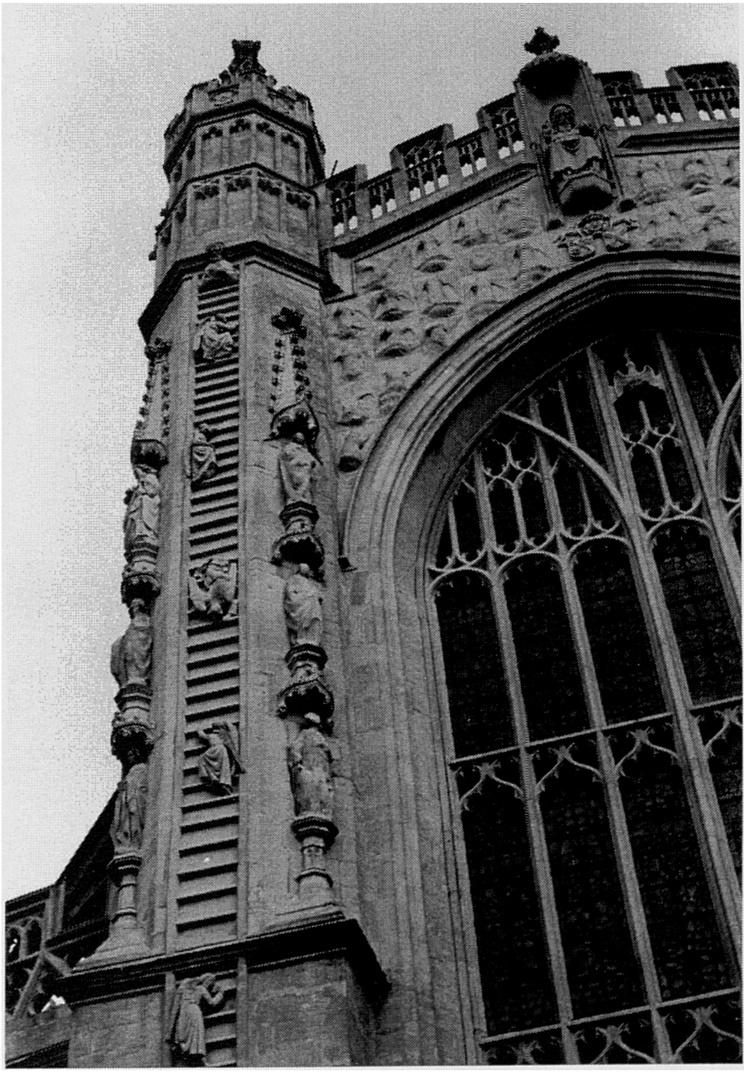


7.11B: San Gregorio Valladolid, Spain, west façade

FIGURE 7.12

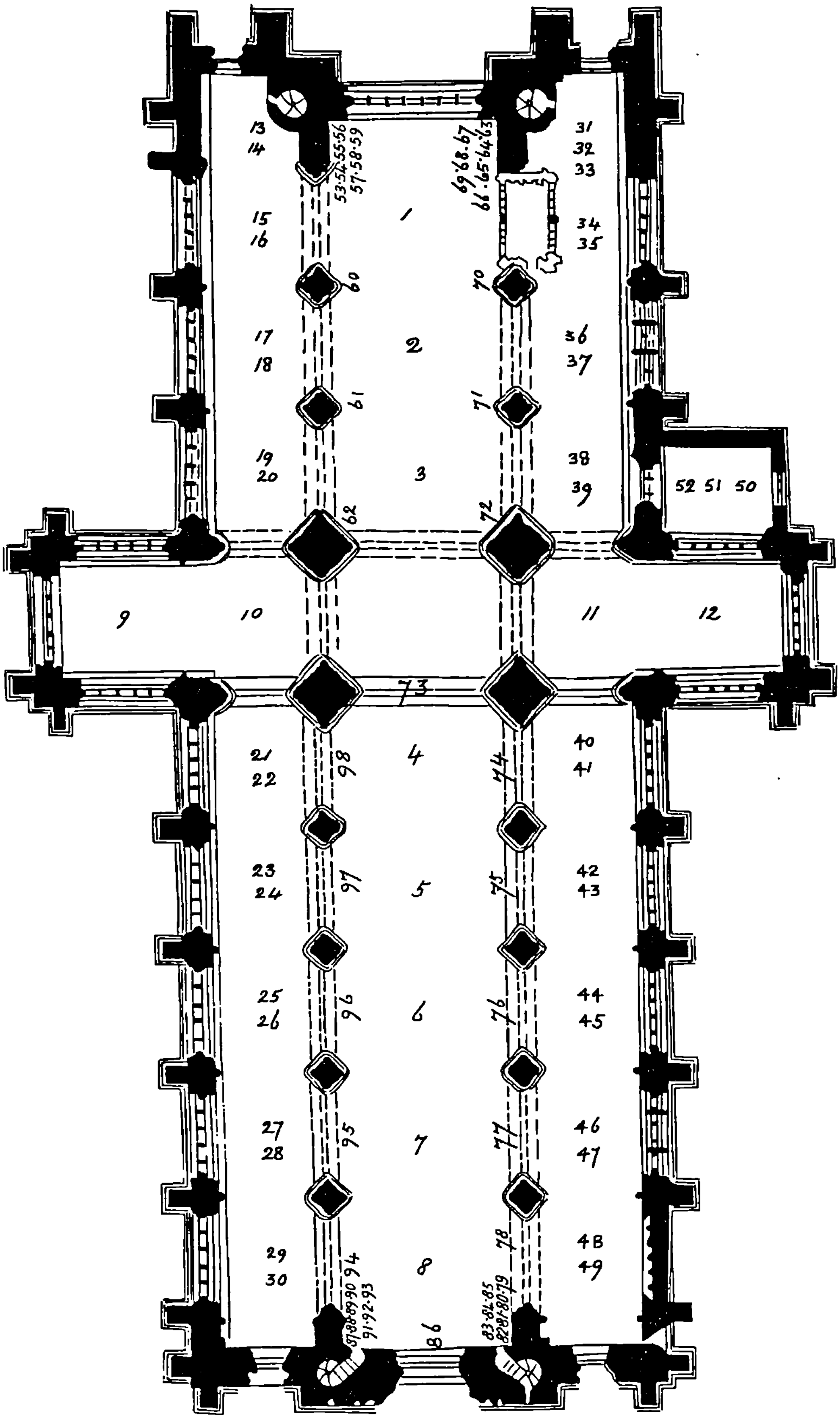


7.12A: Ladder Vision, Douai, Bib. Mun. Ms. 372, fol. 100



7.12B: Ladder Vision, Bath Abbey west front

FIGURE 7.13A



7.13A: Bath Abbey, plan, key to bosses and corbels (Britton 1887)

FIGURE 7.13B

BOSSES

CHOIR, NAVE AND TRANSEPT

1. Royal Arms. temp. James I
2. Cardinal Adrian Castello
3. Bath Monastery

NAVE

4. Arms of the City of Bath
5. Bishop Montague of Bath and Wells
6. Montague impaling Monthermer
7. City Arms
8. Arms of the See of Bath

NORTH TRANSEPT

9. Bath Monastery
10. Uncertain

SOUTH TRANSEPT

11. King Edgar
12. Rev. C. Kemble

NORTH AISLE

13. Uncertain
14. Lord Willoughby de Broke
15. Bath Monastery
16. Cardinal de Castello
17. Shaftesbury Abbey
18. Uncertain
19. King Edgar
20. Prior Birde
21. Royal Arms (Victoria)
22. G. Moger Esq (Mayor of Bath)
23. Sir William Tite MP
24. Colonel Hogg MP
25. Earl of Cork and Orrery
26. Alderman Hunt
27. Duchess of Cleveland
28. Dr. Dalrymple
29. Mayor Allen MP
30. Neville Grenville Esq.

SOUTH AISLE

31. Rev. C. Kemble
32. Lord A. Harvey Bishop of Bath and Wells
33. R.S. Blaine Esq. Mayor
34. Cardinal de Castello
35. Badge of Lord Willoughby de Broke
36. Cardinal de Castello
37. Pelican
38. Cardinal de Castello
39. Bath Monastery
40. Lord Auckland, Bishop of Bath and Wells
41. William Long Esq.
42. Thomas Gill Esq.
43. Rd. Stothert Esq.
44. Frederick Shum Esq.
45. Sir William Jolliffe, Bart.
46. Jerom Murch Esq.
47. Sir Charles Stlye, Bart.
48. G. Tugwell, Esq.
49. Colonel Thornton

VESTRY

50. Sir Nicholas Saltern
51. Bath Monastery
52. Hall of Bradford, Wilts.

CORBELS AND POINTS OF ARCHES

NORTH SIDE

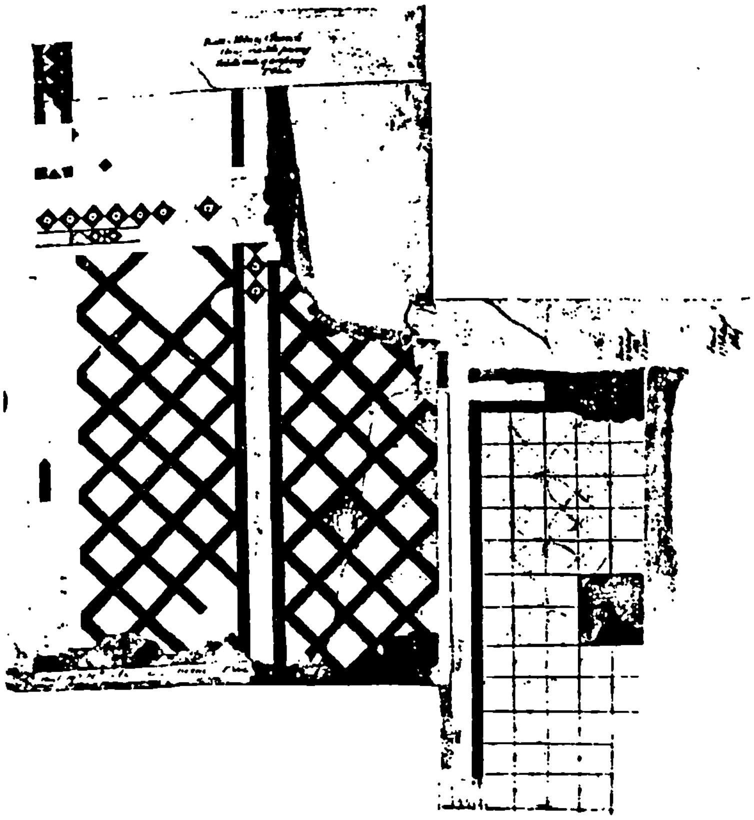
53. Jerom Murch
54. Lord Chelsea
55. Lord Grey de Wilton
56. Bath Monastery
57. Glastonbury Abbey
58. Shaftesbury Abbey
59. Uncertain
60. Bath Monastery
61. Ven. Arch. Brown
62. Chapman

SOUTH SIDE

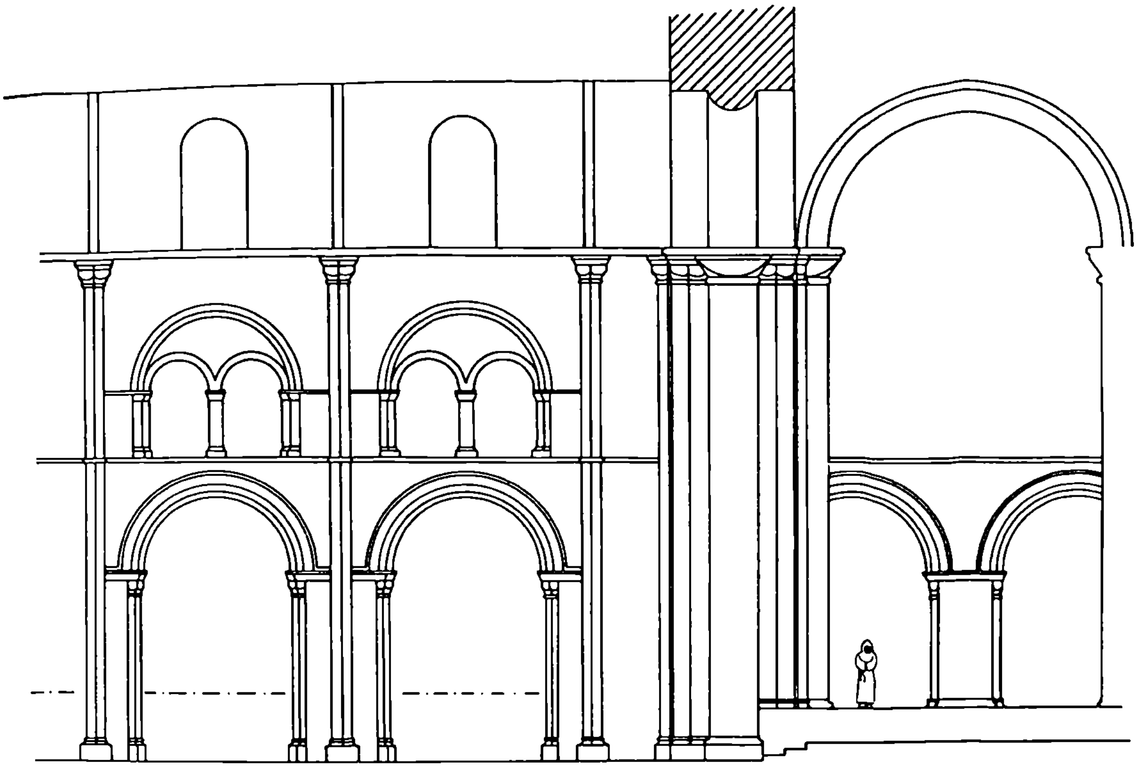
63. Bath Monastery
64. William Long
65. Fred Shun
66. Thomas Gill
67. King Edgar
68. Uncertain
69. Prior Birde
70. Uncertain
71. Uncertain
72. Uncertain
73. Rev. C. Kemble
74. Uncertain
75. Earl of Northampton
76. Uncertain
77. Uncertain
78. Montague
79. Uncertain
80. Uncertain
81. Uncertain
82. Uncertain
83. Duke of Cleveland KG
84. G. Langton
85. Uncertain
86. S. Brooke
87. Uncertain
88. Uncertain
89. Uncertain
90. Uncertain
91. H.D. Skirne of Warleigh
92. Sir William Miles, Bart.
93. Earl Manvers
94. Monthermer
95. Crest of Montague
96. Uncertain
97. Crest of Lord Burghley
98. Uncertain

7.13B: Key to Britton's plan of bosses and corbels (Britton, 1887)

FIGURE 7.14

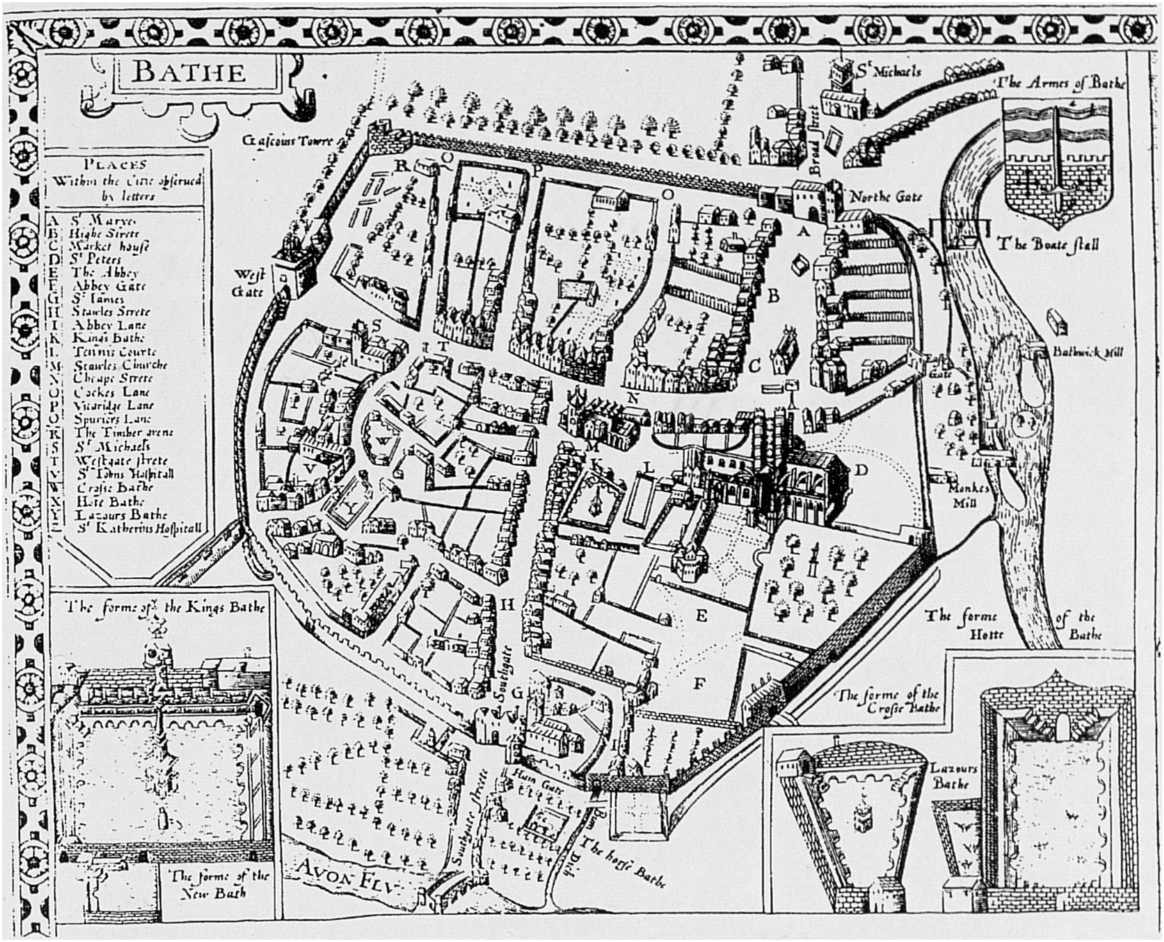


7.14A: Bath Abbey, tile floor in crossing, watercolour by J.T.Irvine

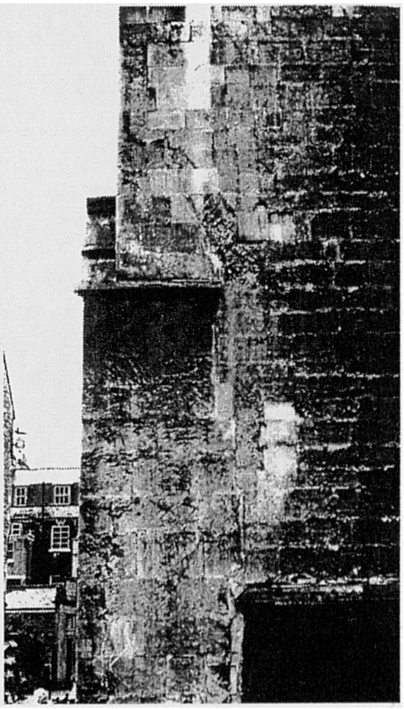


7.14B: Bath Abbey, drawn reconstruction of internal elevation of Romanesque church

FIGURE 7.15

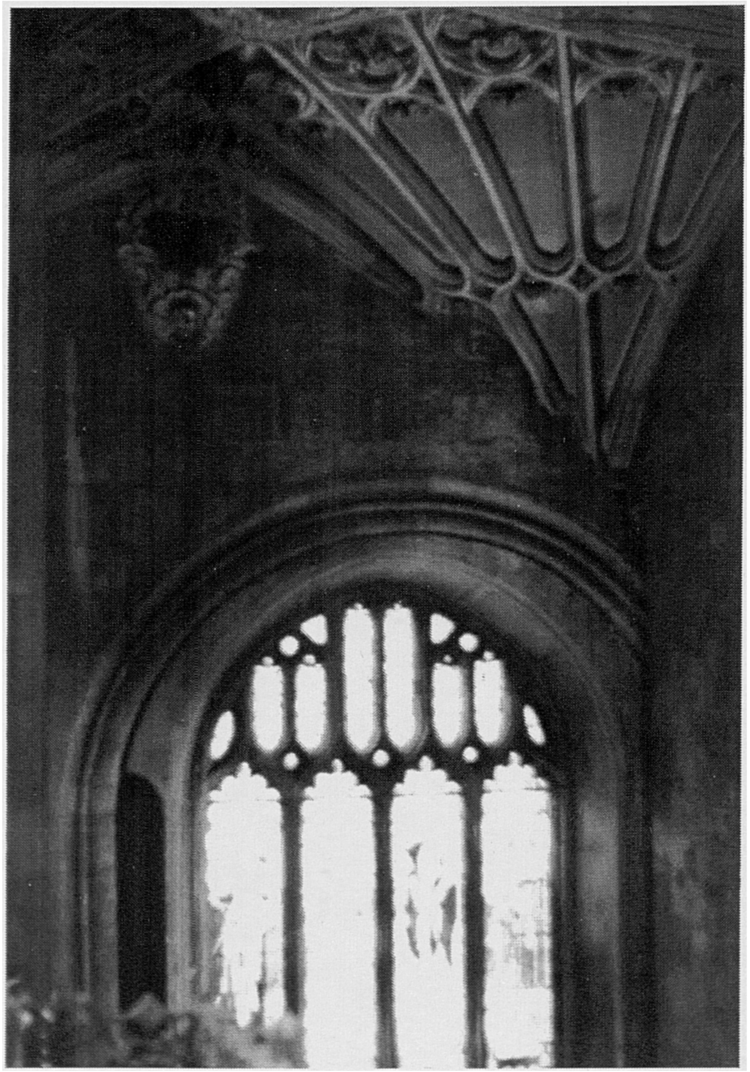


7.15A: Bath, plan by John Speed *c.*1590 (published in 1610)

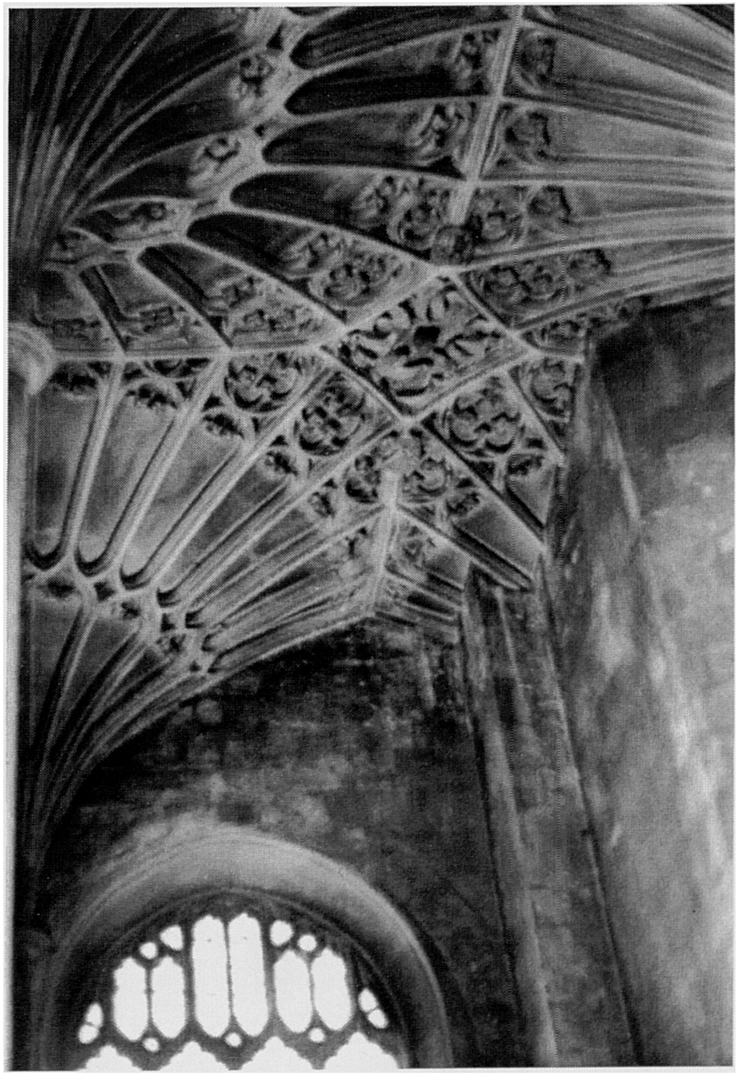


7.15B: Bath Abbey, north east buttress detail showing springing of transept arcade arch

FIGURE 7.16

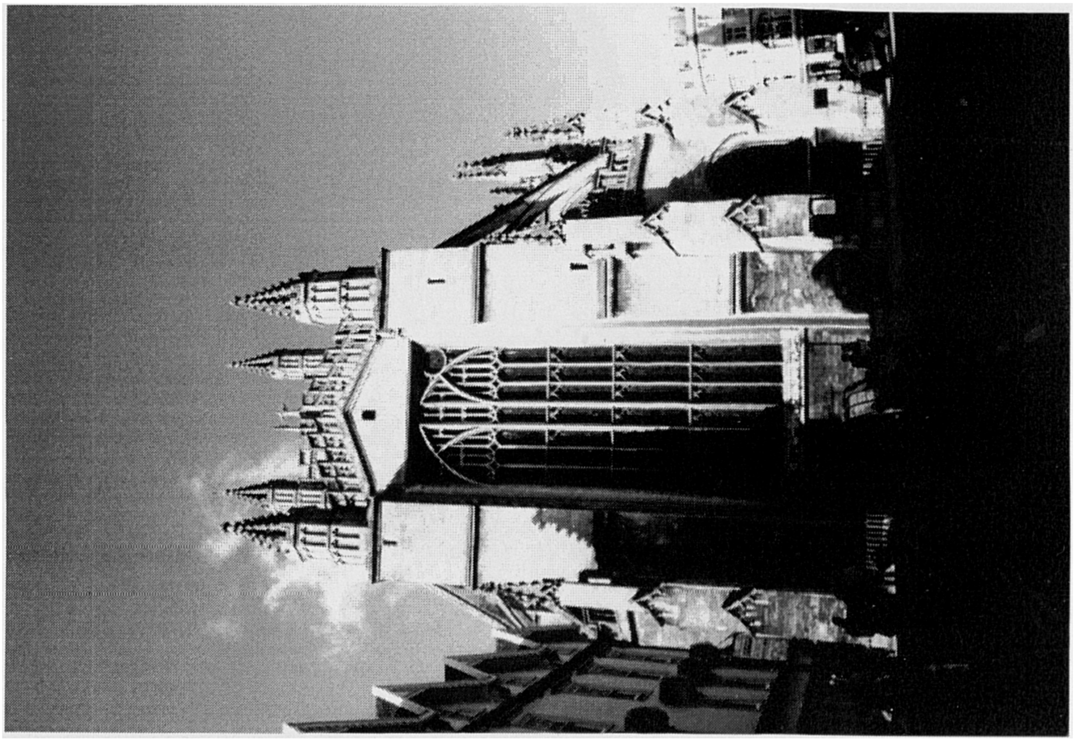


7.16A: Bath Abbey, east end of (north) choir aisle (int.)
(showing junction of Romanesque and late medieval fabric)



7.16B: Bath Abbey, east end of (south) choir aisle (int.)
(showing junction of Romanesque and late medieval fabric)

FIGURE 7.17


7.17A: Bath Abbey, east end exterior view

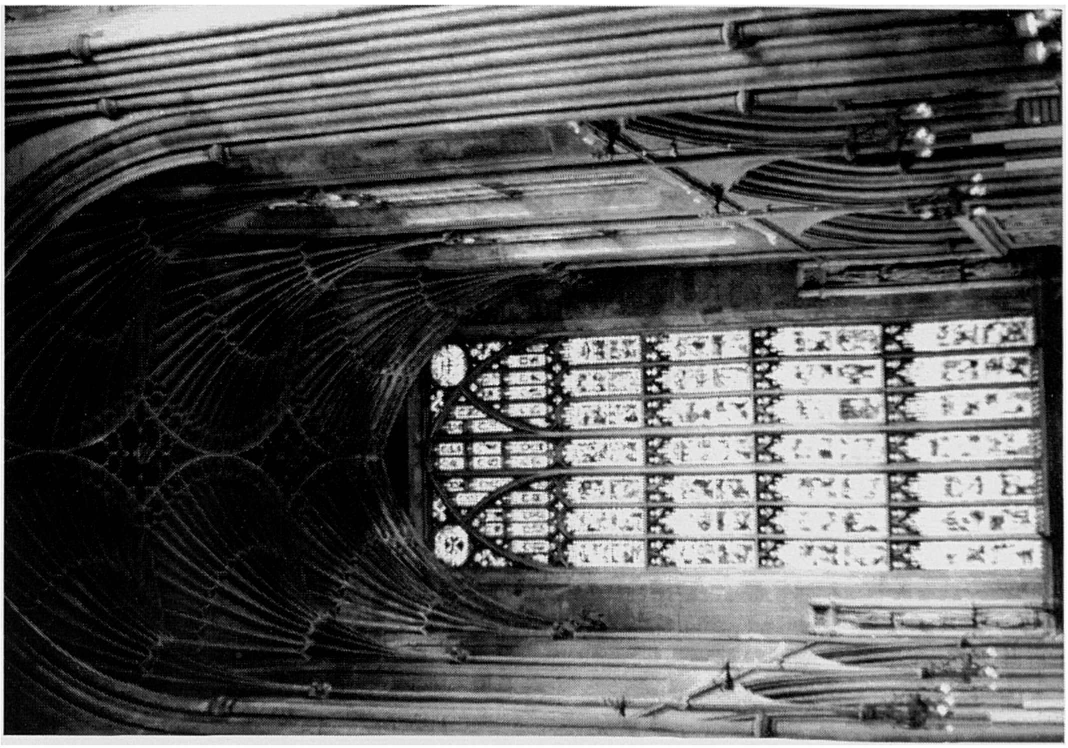
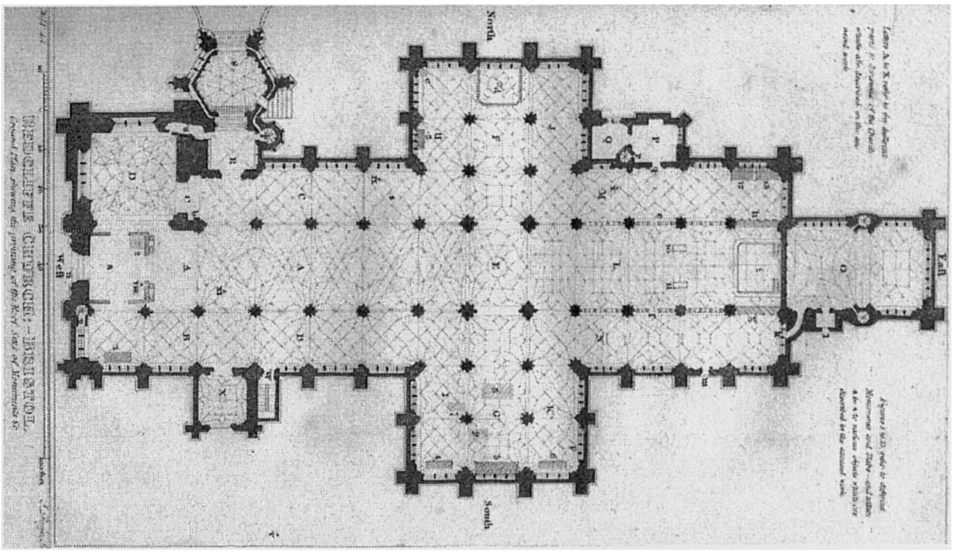
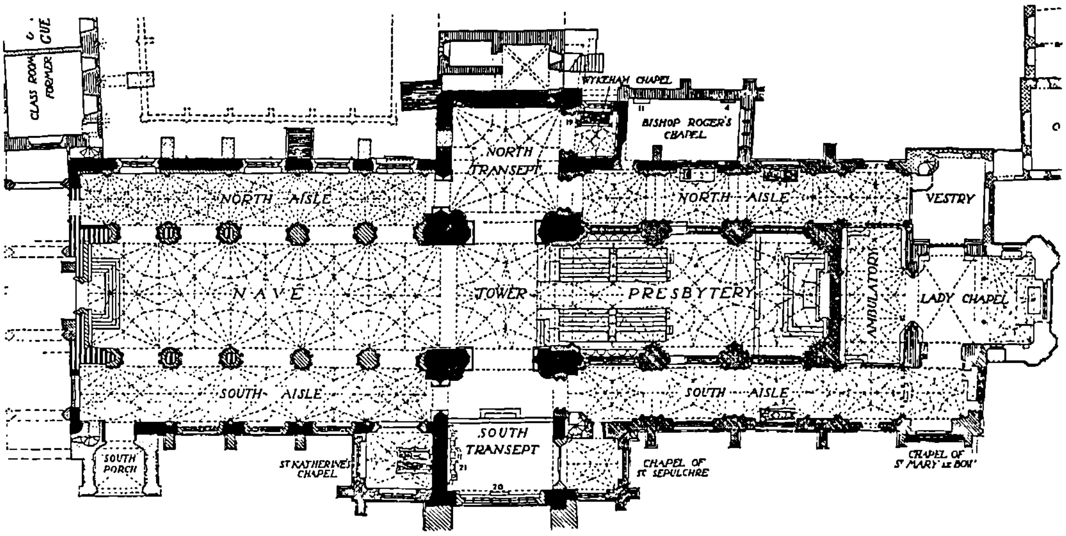

7.17B: Bath Abbey, east end interior view

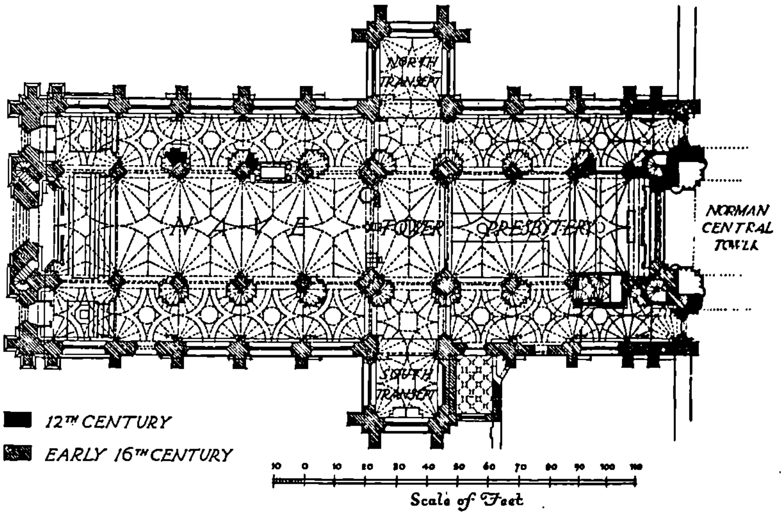
FIGURE 7.18



7.18A: St Mary Redcliffe, plan

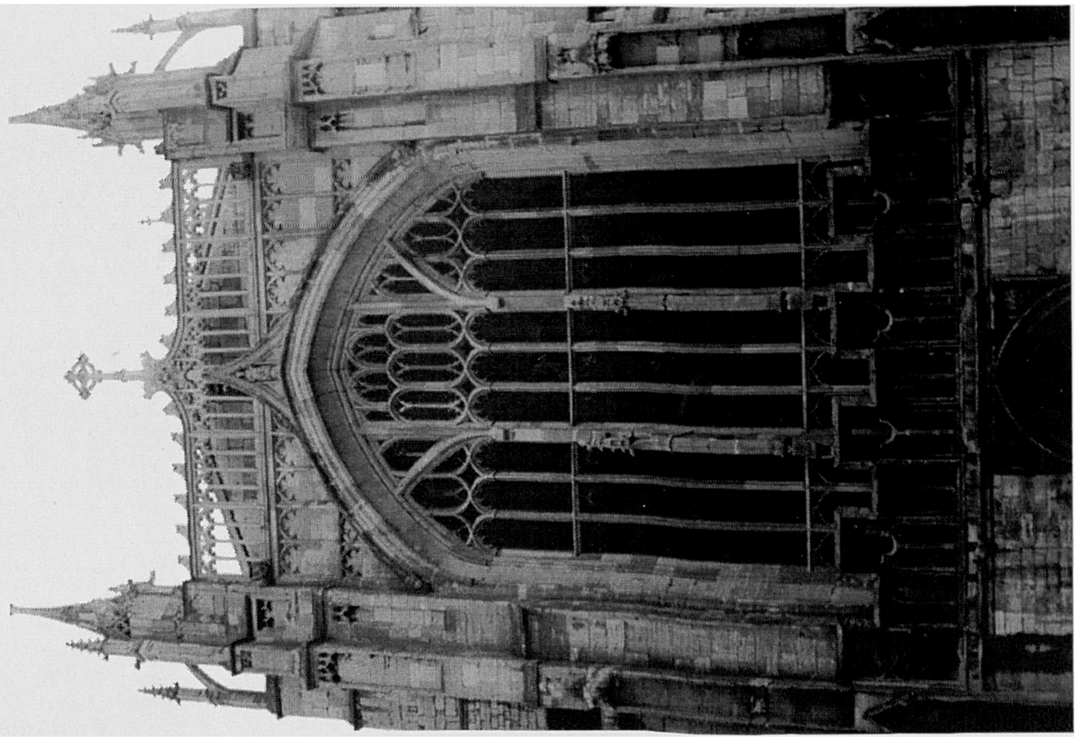


7.18B: Sherborne Abbey, plan

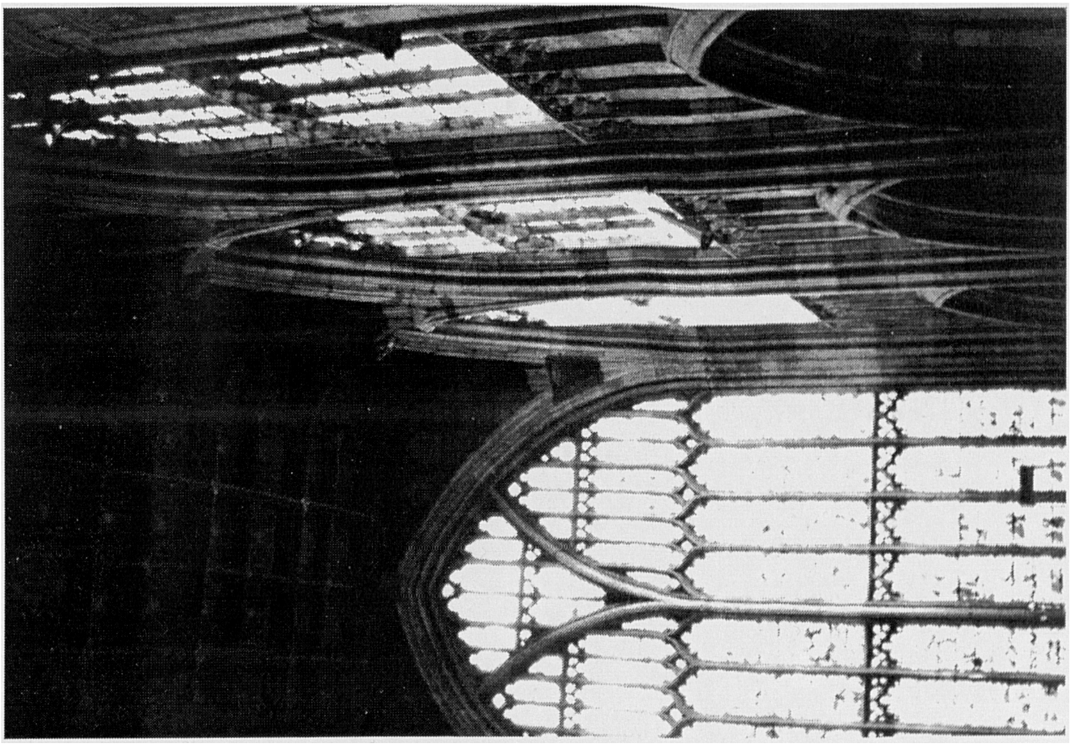


7.18C: Bath Abbey, plan

FIGURE 7.19

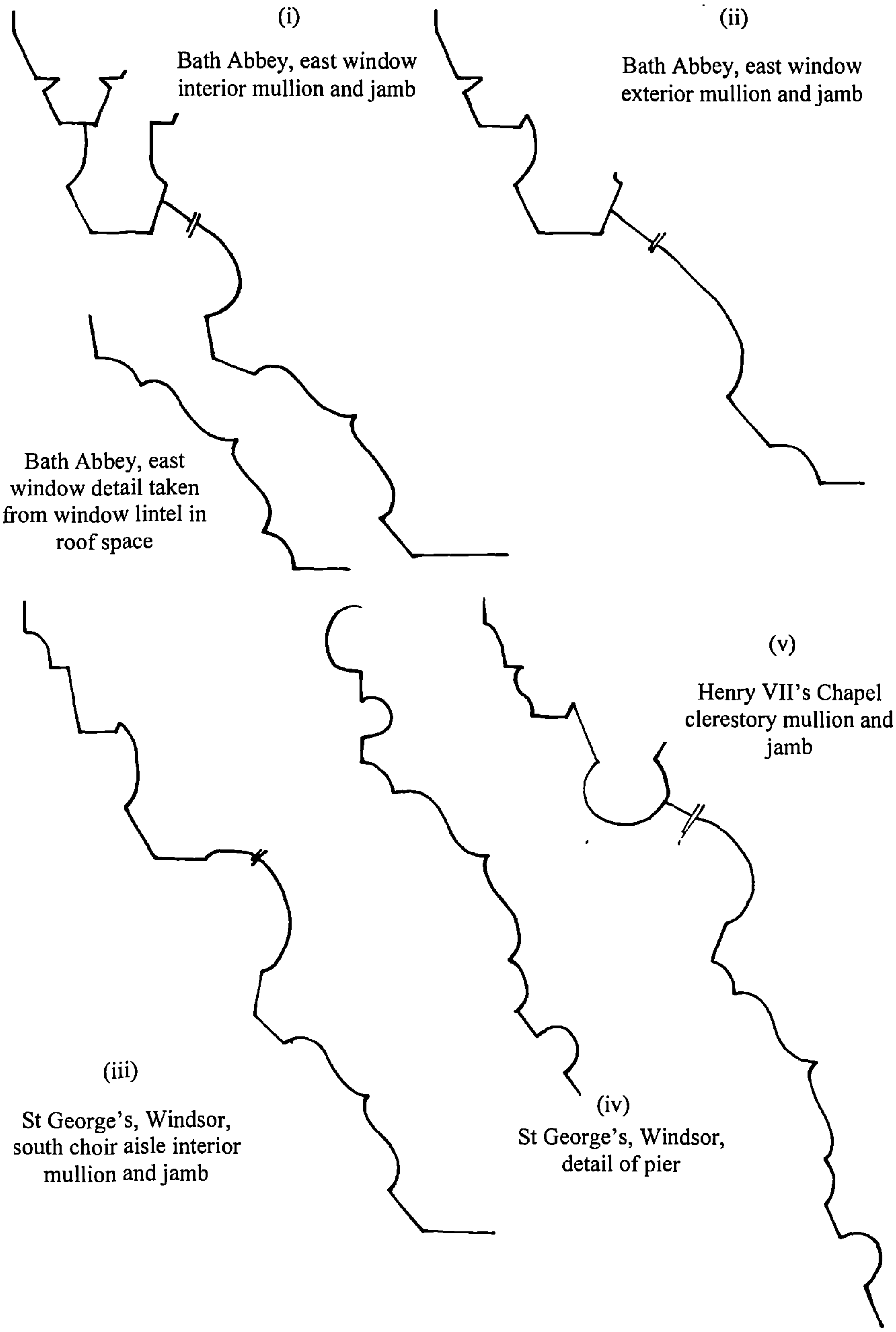


7.19B: Gloucester Cathedral, west window



7.19A: Great Malvern Priory, chancel looking east

FIGURE 7.20



(i)
Bath Abbey, east window interior mullion and jamb

(ii)
Bath Abbey, east window exterior mullion and jamb

Bath Abbey, east window detail taken from window lintel in roof space

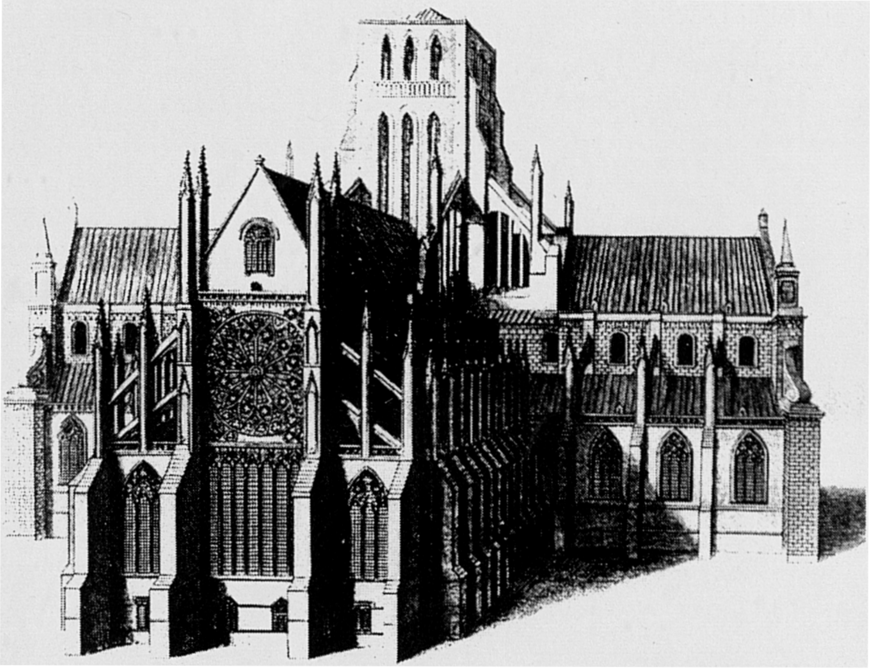
(iii)
St George's, Windsor, south choir aisle interior mullion and jamb

(iv)
St George's, Windsor, detail of pier

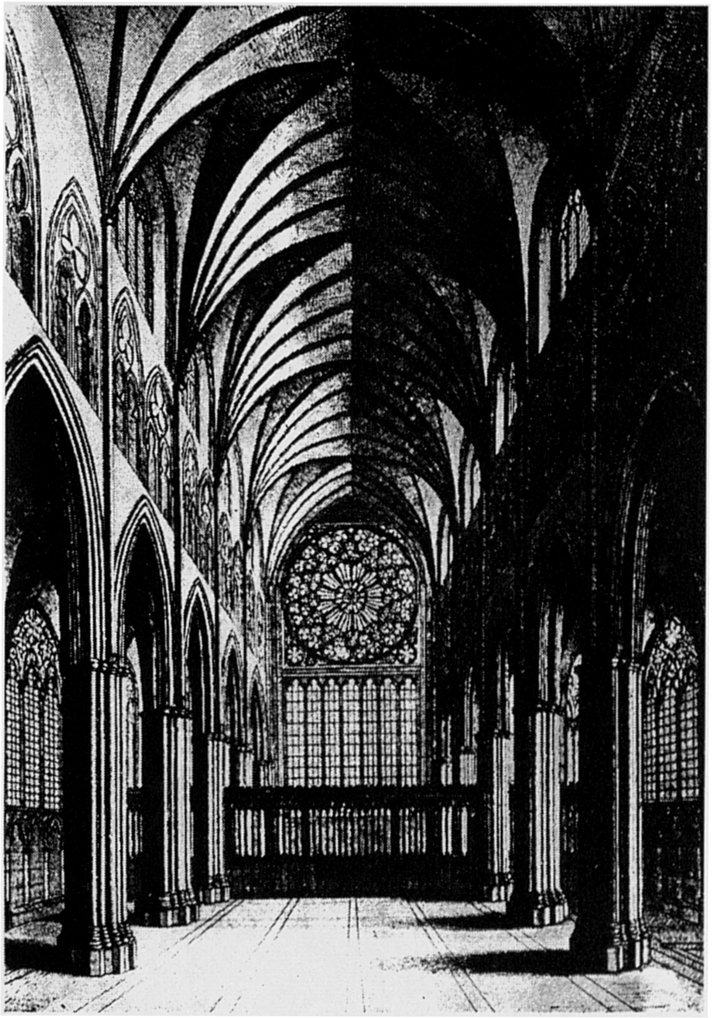
(v)
Henry VII's Chapel clerestory mullion and jamb

7.20: Comparative mouldings, sounk double ogees and window jambs

FIGURE 7.21

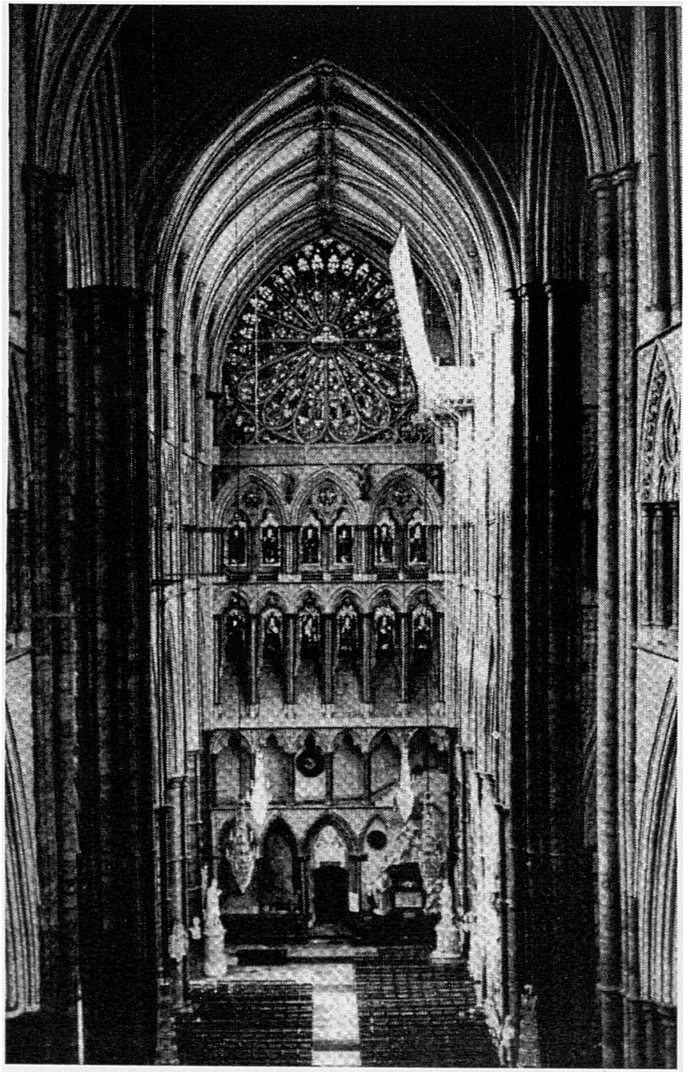


7.21A Old St Paul's Cathedral, Hollar view from east (exterior)

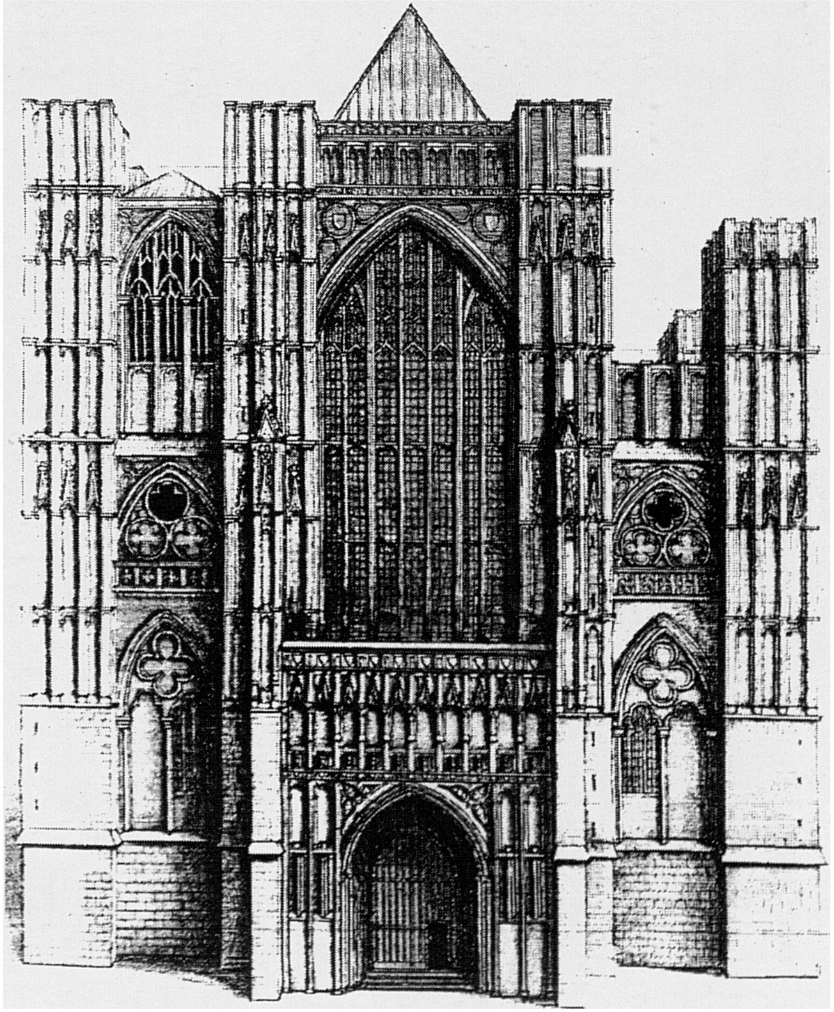


7.21B: Old St Paul's Cathedral, Hollar view from east (interior)

FIGURE 7.22

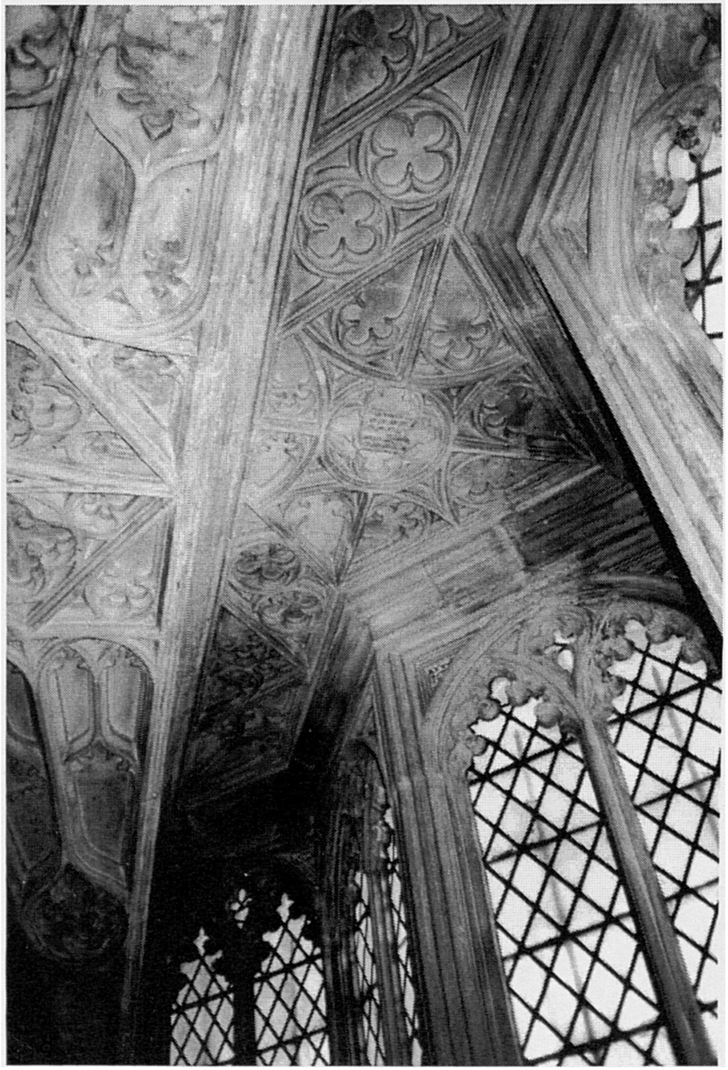


7.22A: Westminster Abbey, south transept view south

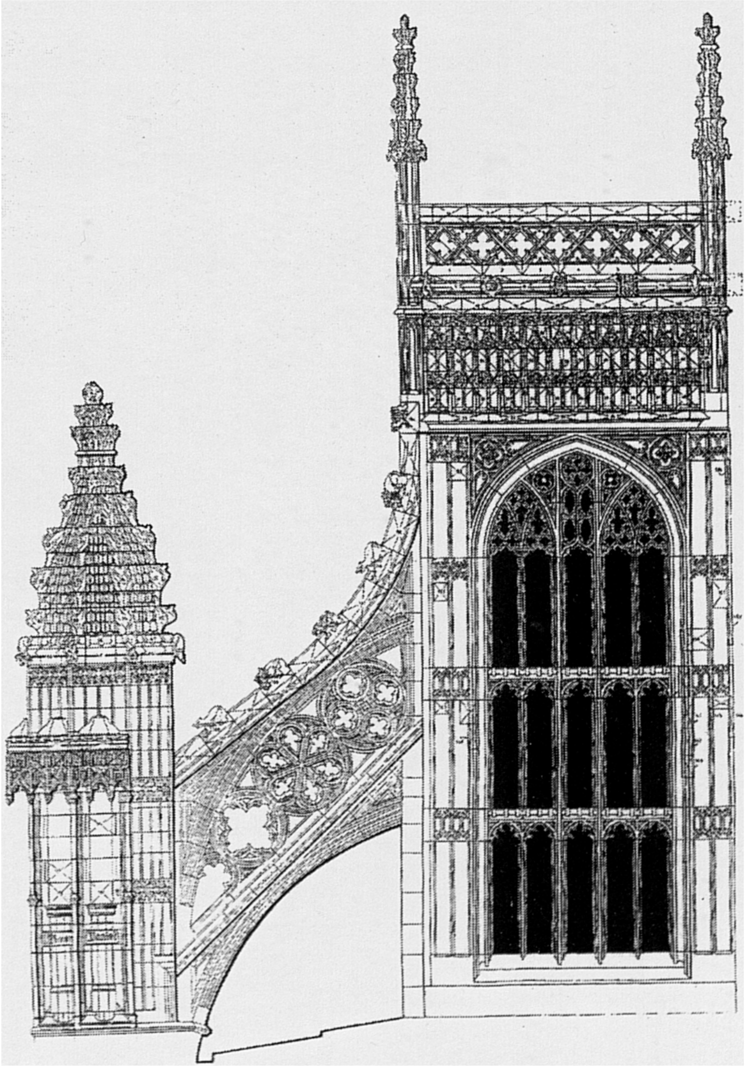


7.22B: Westminster Abbey, Hollar engraving of west front

FIGURE 7.23

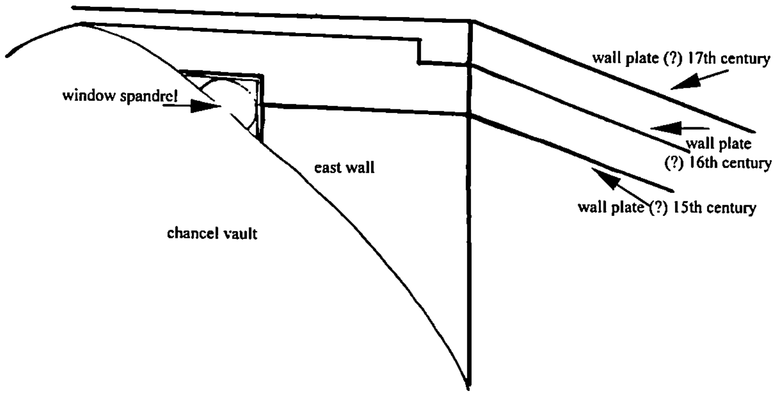


7.23A: Westminster Abbey, Henry VII's Chapel, window detail, north aisle

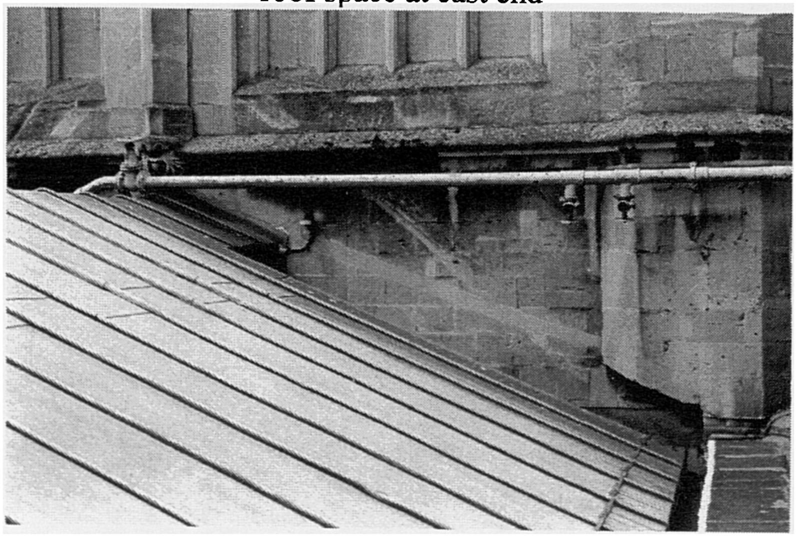


7.23A: Westminster Abbey, Henry VII's Chapel, drawing of exterior elevation of clerestory

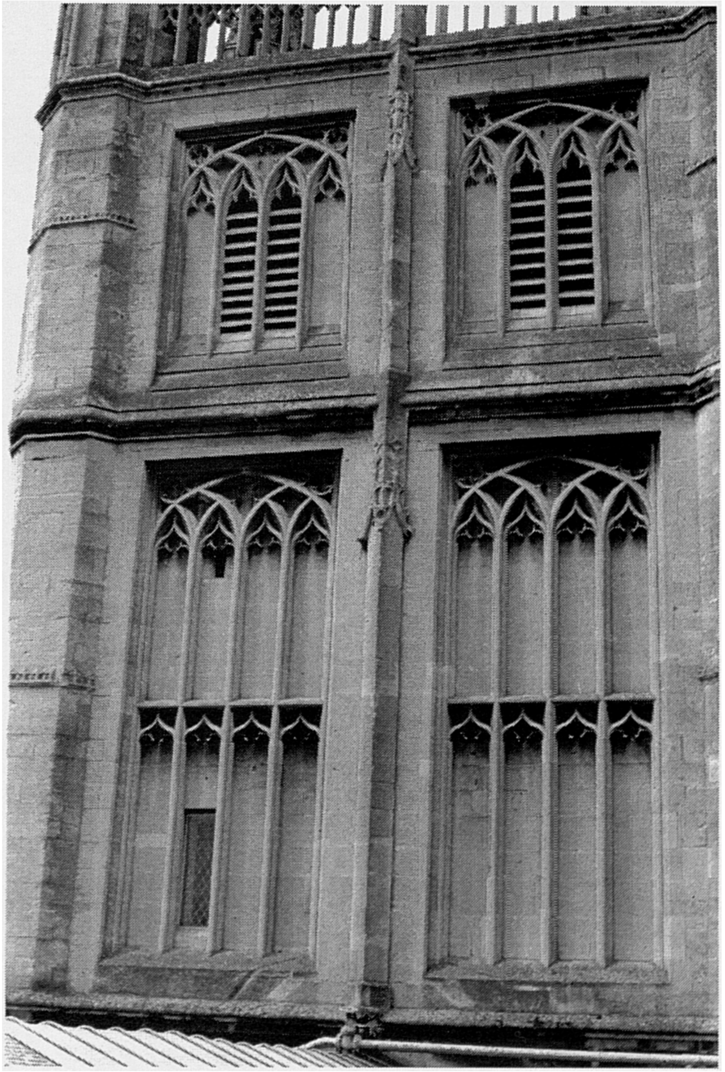
FIGURE 7.24



7.24A: Bath Abbey, drawing of wall plates inside chancel roof space at east end

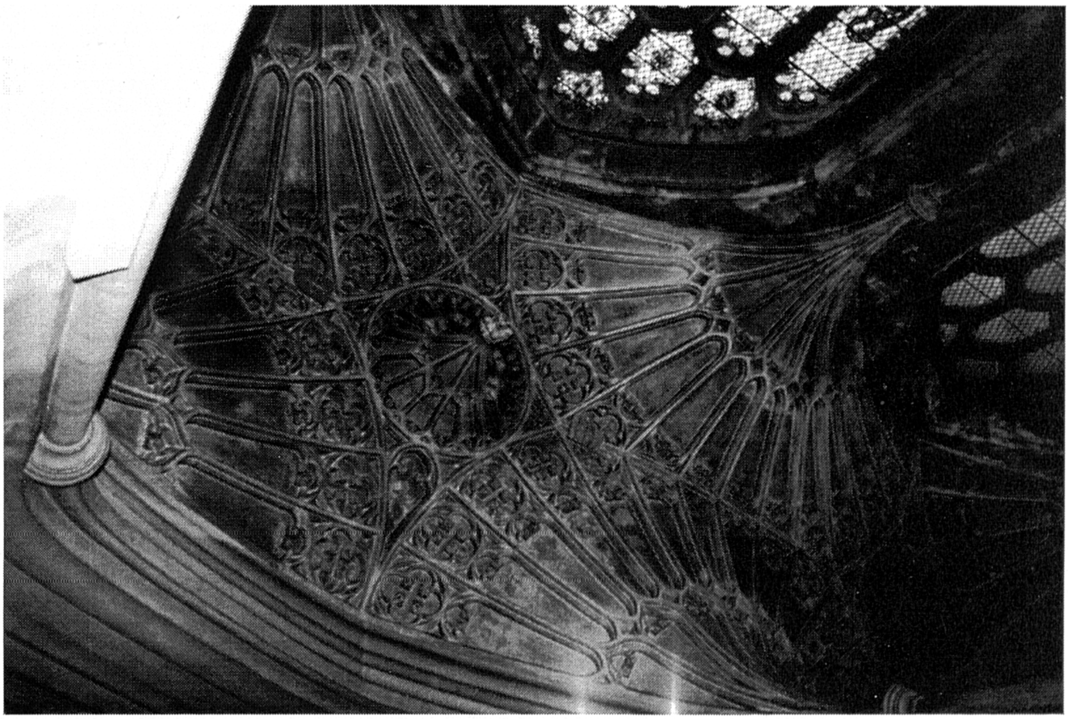


7.24B: Bath Abbey, east side of tower showing roof scars

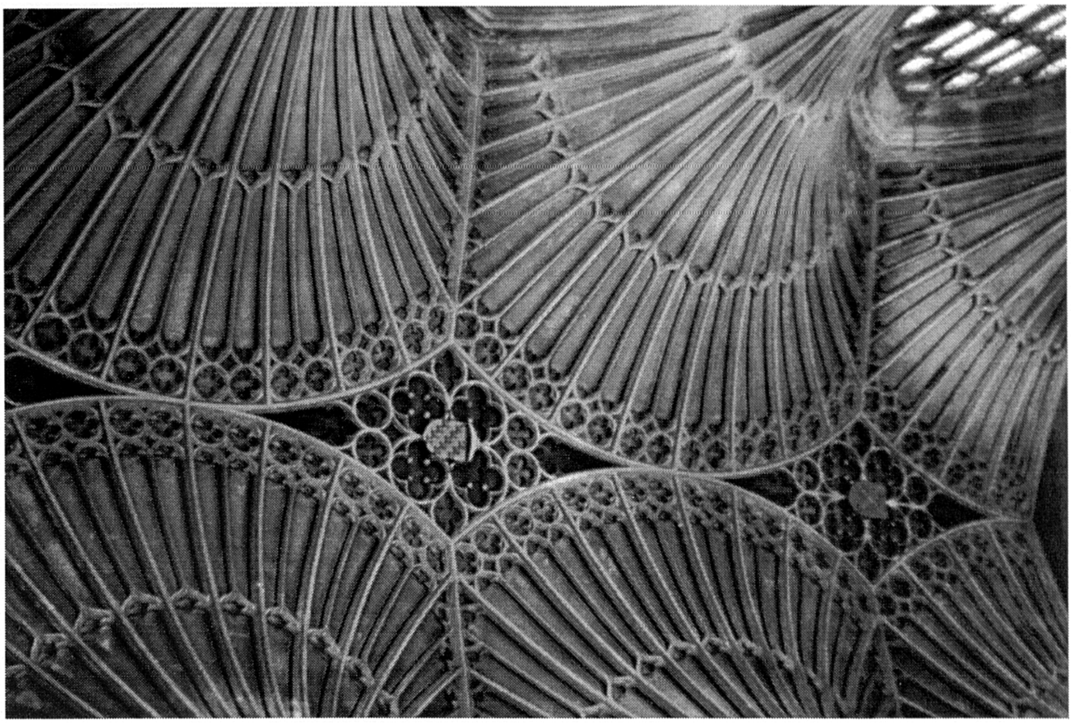


7.24C: Bath Abbey, south side of tower showing roof scars

FIGURE 7.25

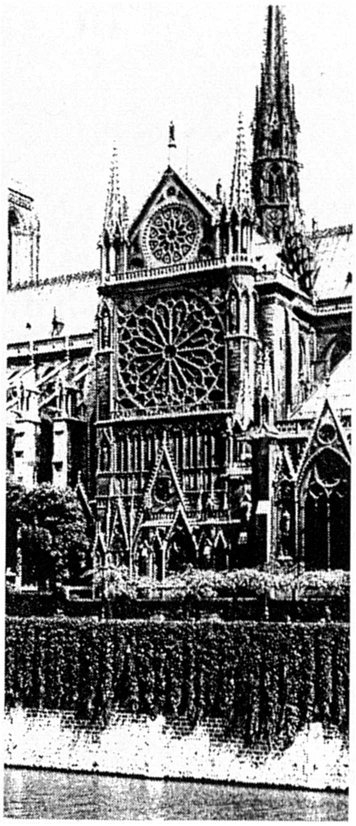


7.25A: Bath Abbey, chancel aisle vault

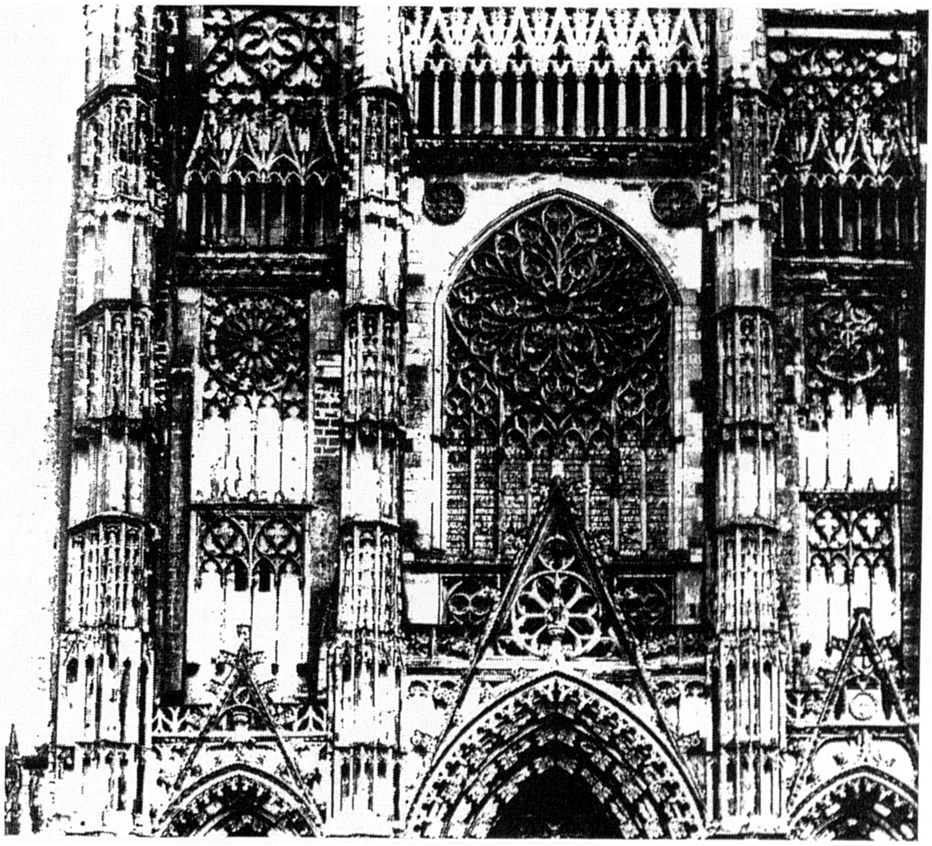


7.25B: Bath Abbey, chancel high vault

FIGURE 7.26

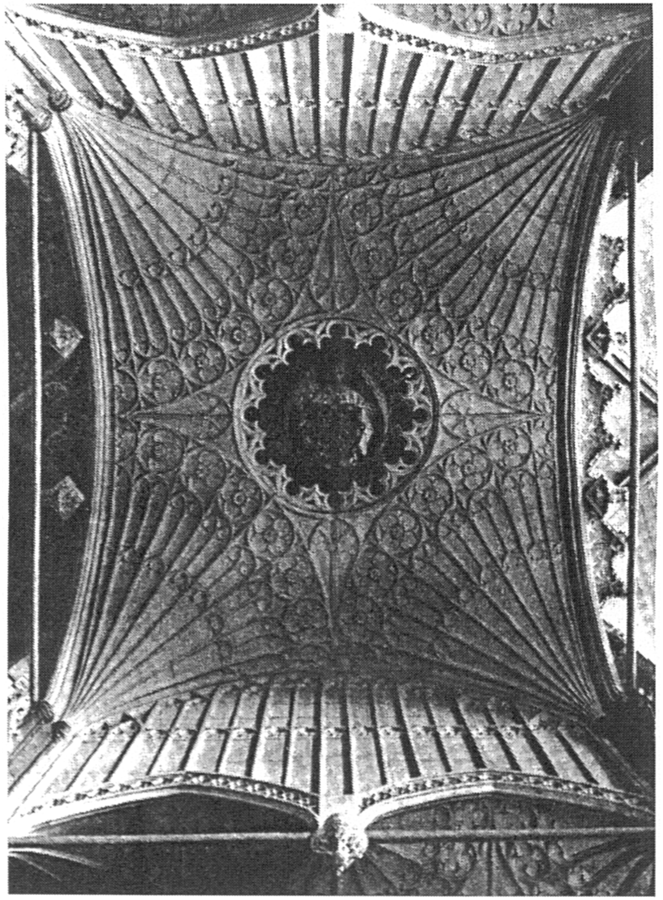


7.26A: Notre-Dame Cathedral, Paris, south transept rose window

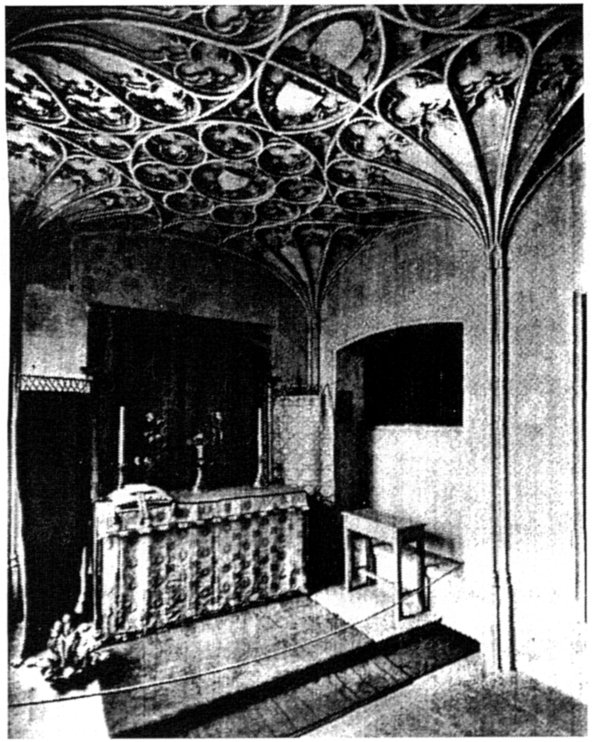


7.26B: Tours Cathedral, France, west front tracery detail

FIGURE 7.27



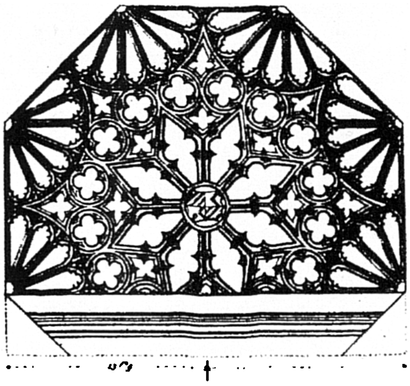
7.27A: Winchester Cathedral, Cardinal Beaufort's Chantry Chapel



7.27B: Canterbury Cathedral, Henry IV's Chantry Chapel

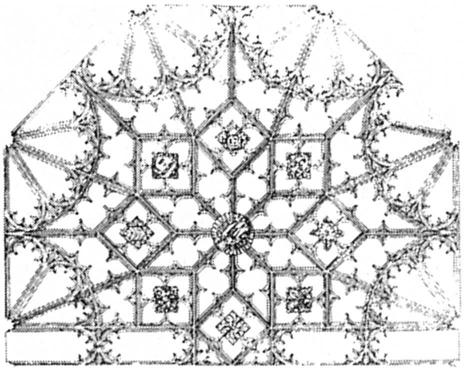
FIGURE 7.28

7.28A: Winchester Cathedral, Bishop Waynflete's Chantry Chapel

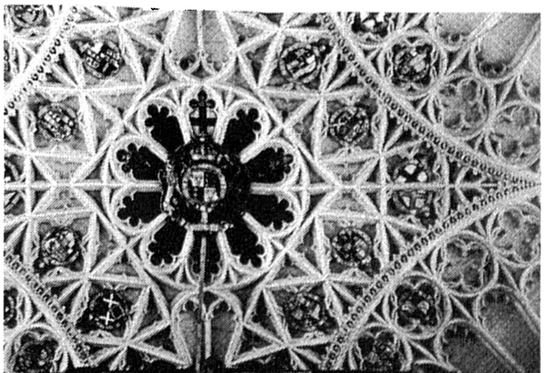


7.28B: Windsor, St. George's Chapel, Urswick Chapel

7.28C: Windsor, St. George's Chapel, Urswick Chapel

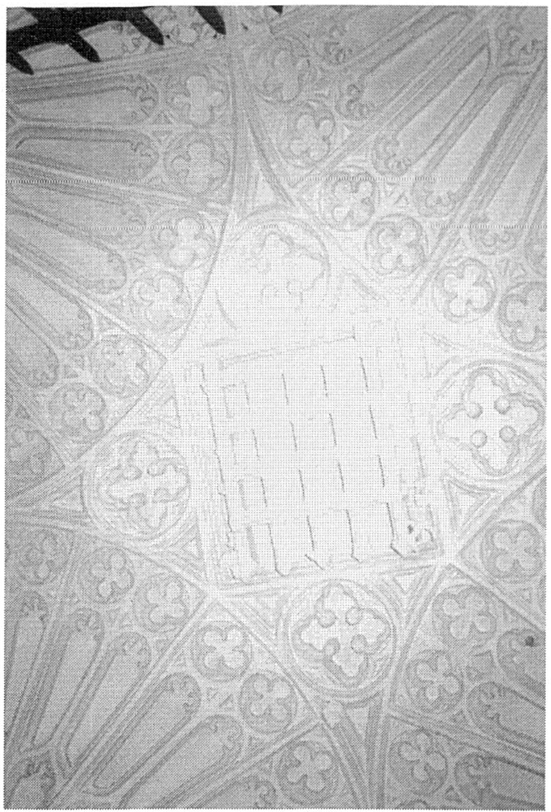


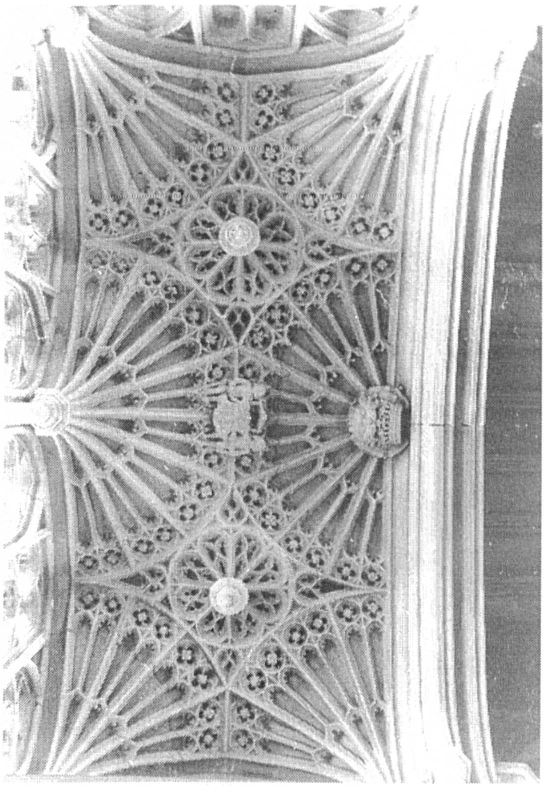
7.28D: Hereford Cathedral, Bishop Audley's Chapel

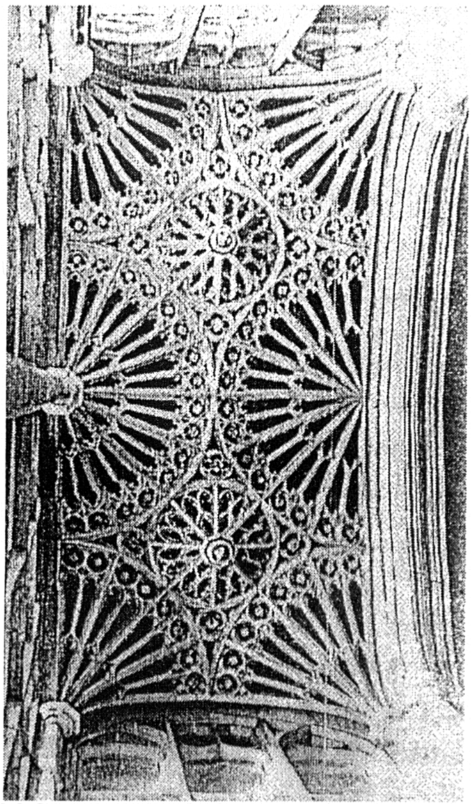


7.28E: Windsor, St. George's Chapel, crossing

FIGURE 7.29


7.29A: Henry VII's Chapel, vestibule to aisles


7.29B: Cardinal College (Christ Church), Oxford, hall bay window


7.29C: Hampton Court Palace, hall bay window

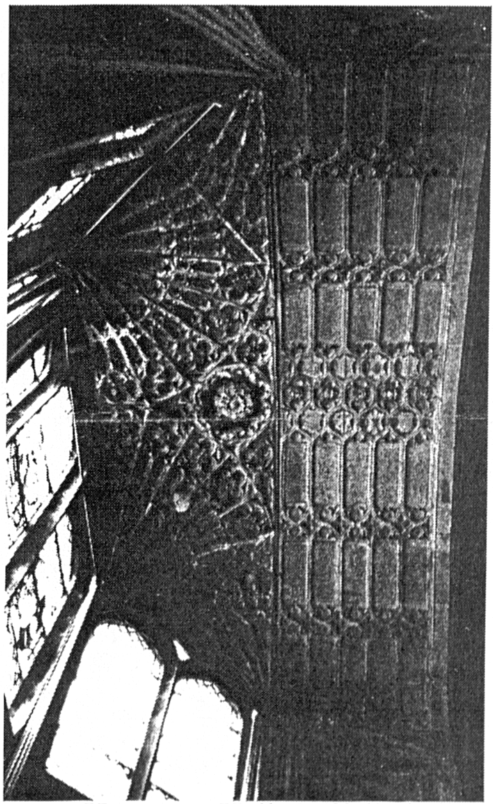
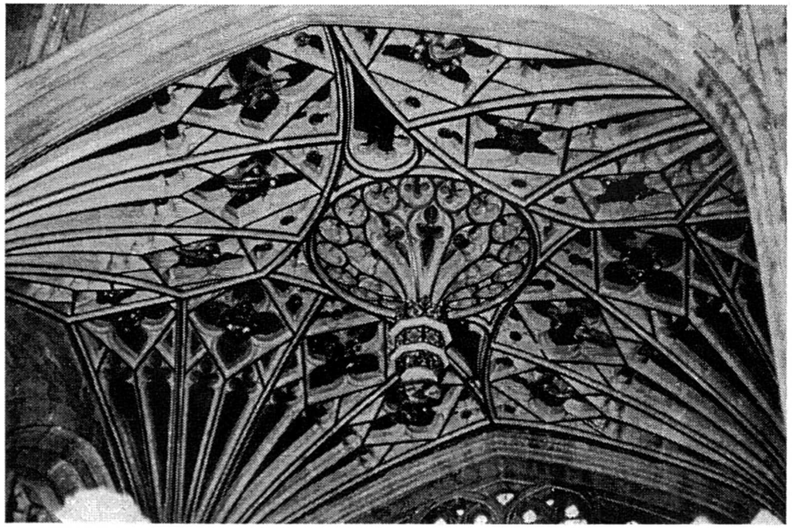
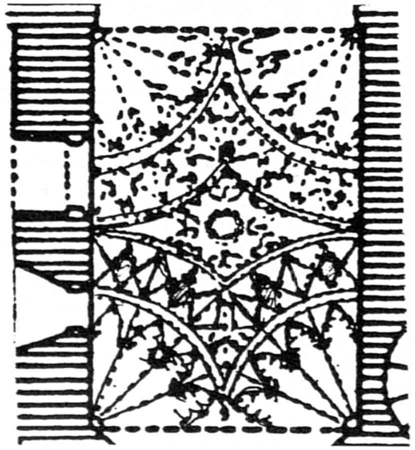

7.29D: Hengrave Hall, Suffolk, hall bay window

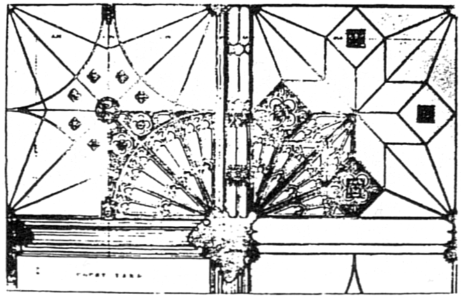
FIGURE 7.30



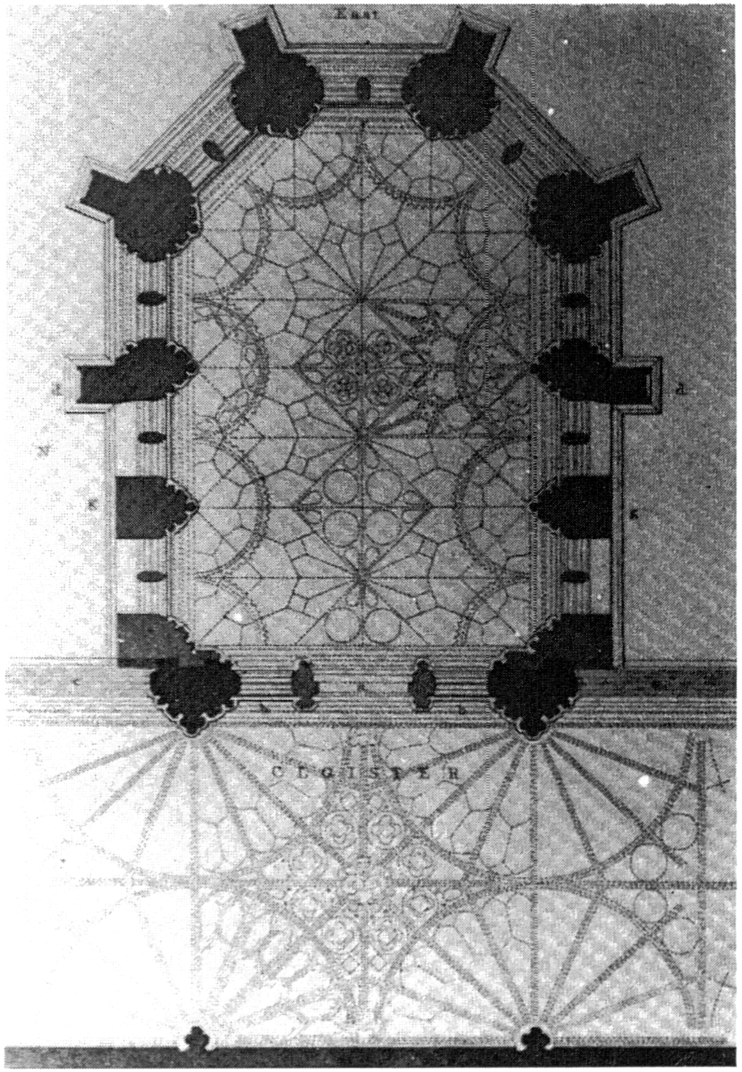
7.30A: Eton College Chapel, Lupton's Chapel



7.30C: Corpus Christi College Oxford, gatehouse

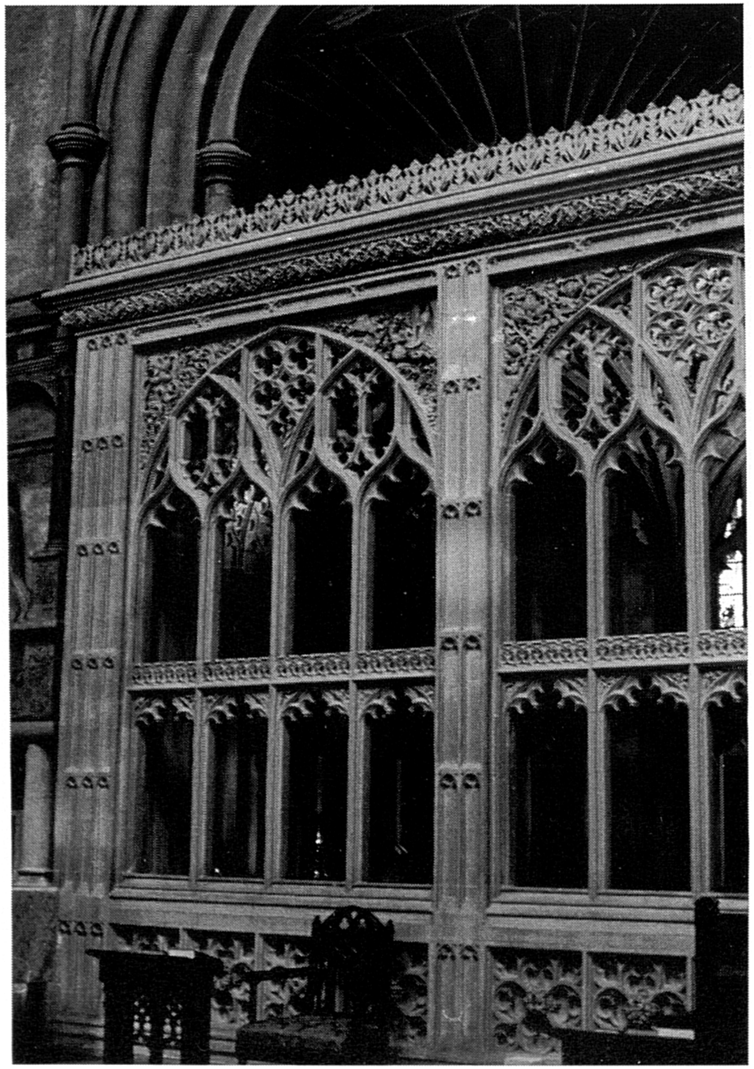


7.30D: Westminster, St Stephen's Chapel, cloister

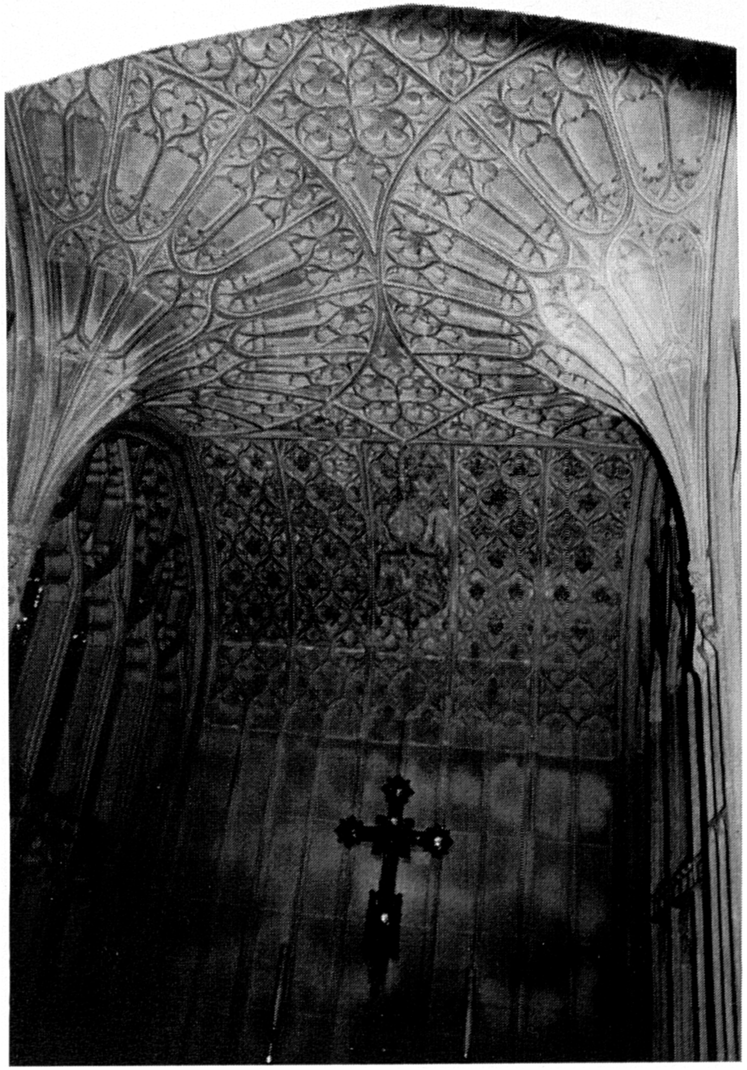


7.30C: Westminster, St Stephen's Chapel, cloister chapel

FIGURE 7.31

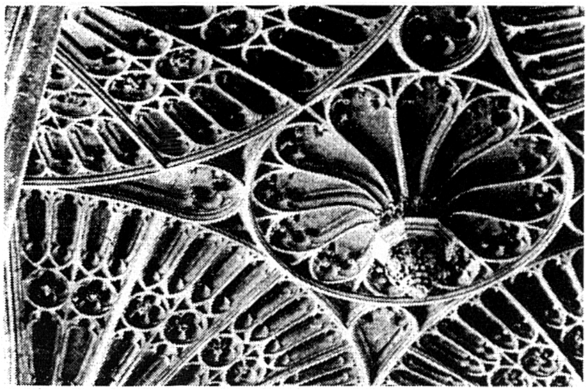


7.31A: Bath Abbey: Prior Birde's Chantry Chapel (ext.)

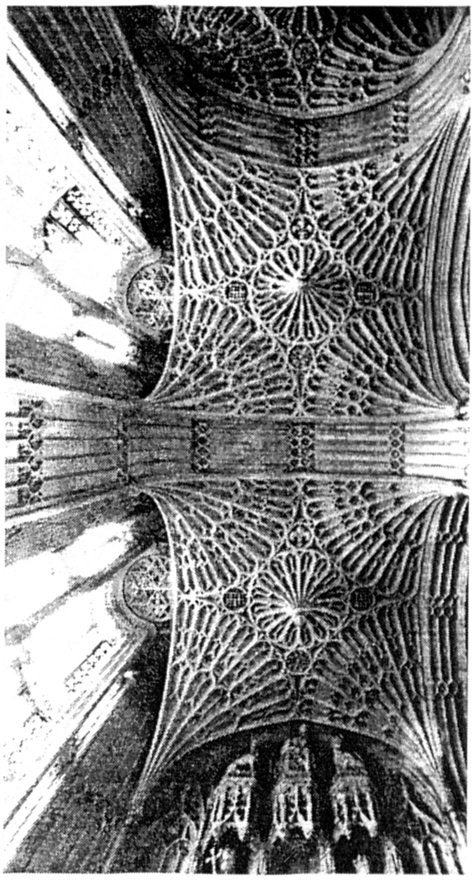


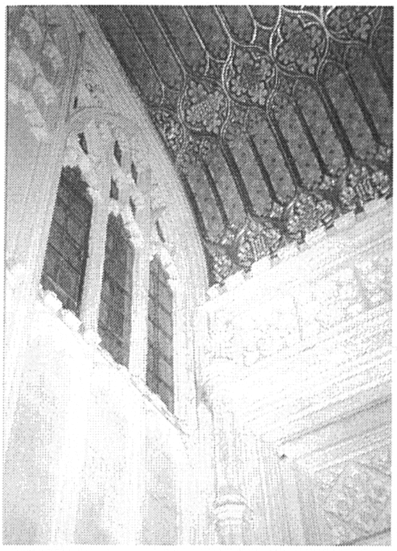
7.31B: Bath Abbey: Prior Birde's Chantry Chapel (int.)

FIGURE 7.32



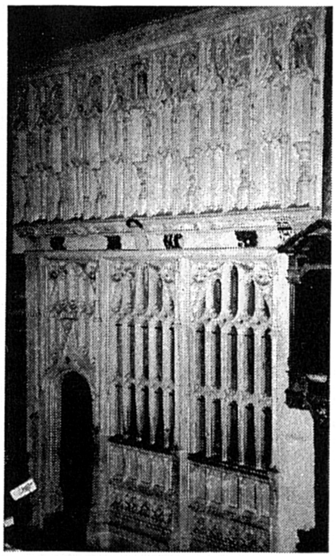
7.32A: Evesham, St Lawrence, chapel of St Clement

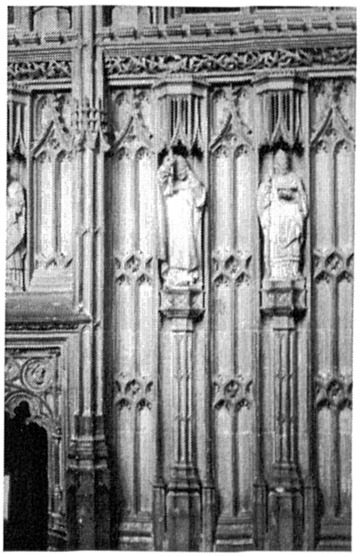




7.32C: Henry VII's Chapel, entrance bay

7.32B: Henry VII's Chapel, aisles

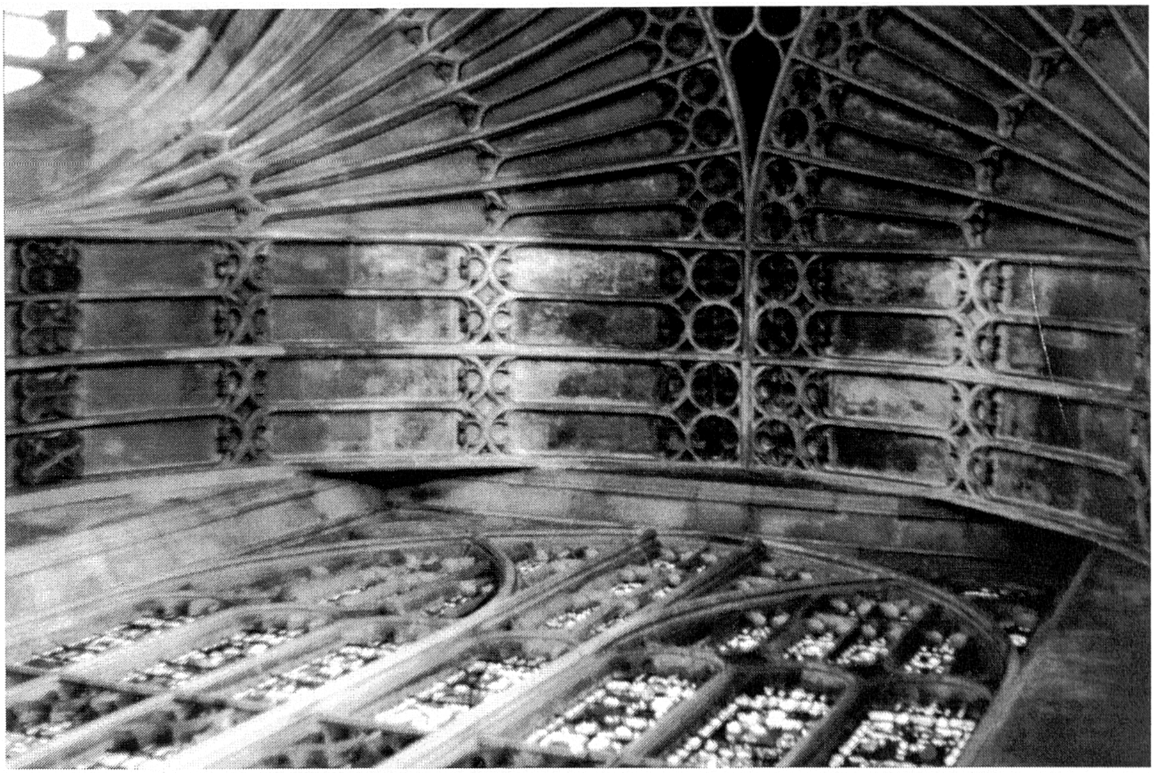




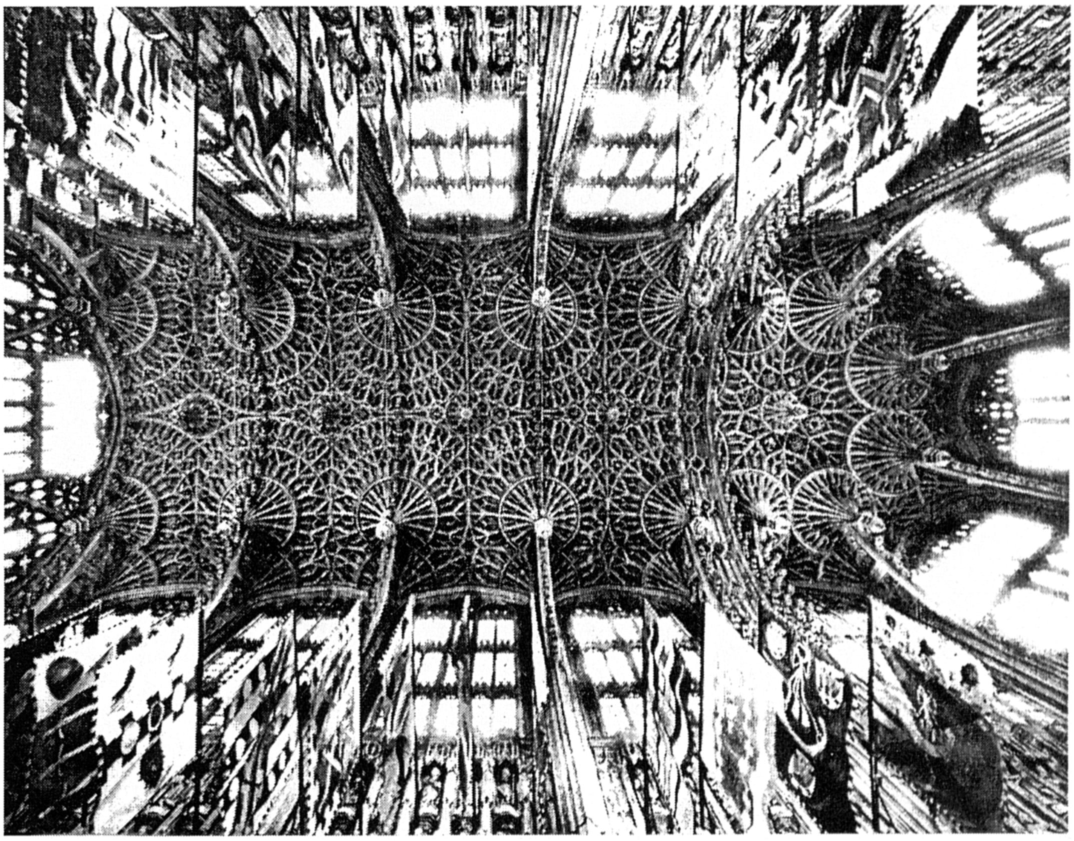
7.32D: Westminster, Abbot Islip's chantry

7.32E: Winchester Cathedral, Fox's chantry

FIGURE 7.33

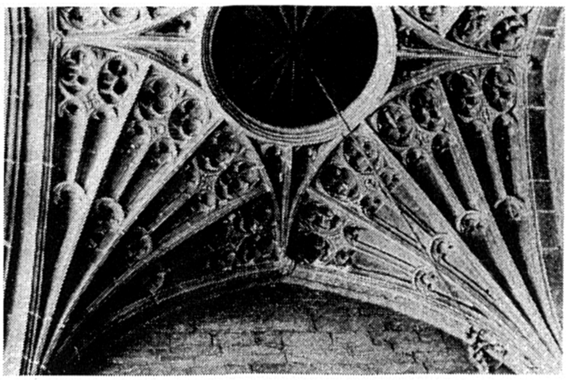


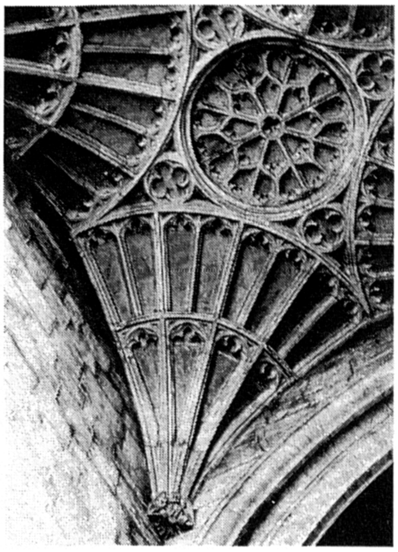
7.33A: Bath Abbey, junction of east window and high vault

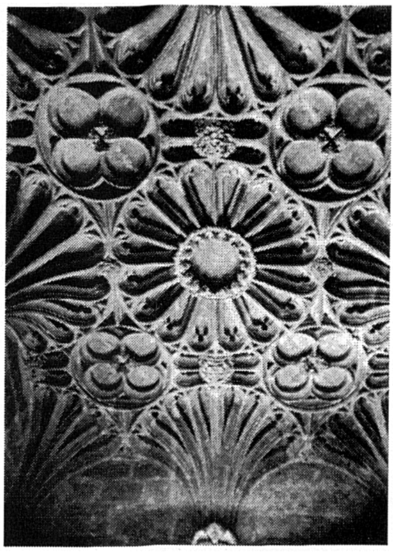


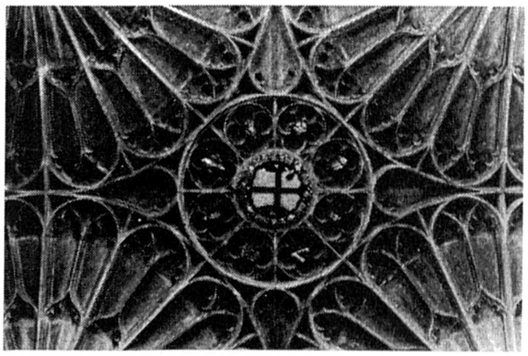
7.33B: Westminster Abbey, Henry VII's Chapel high vault

FIGURE 7.34


7.34A: St Andrews, Mells, west tower


7.34B: St James, Taunton, west tower


7.34C: St Andrew's, Mells, s.porch


7.34E: St George's Chapel, nave aisle

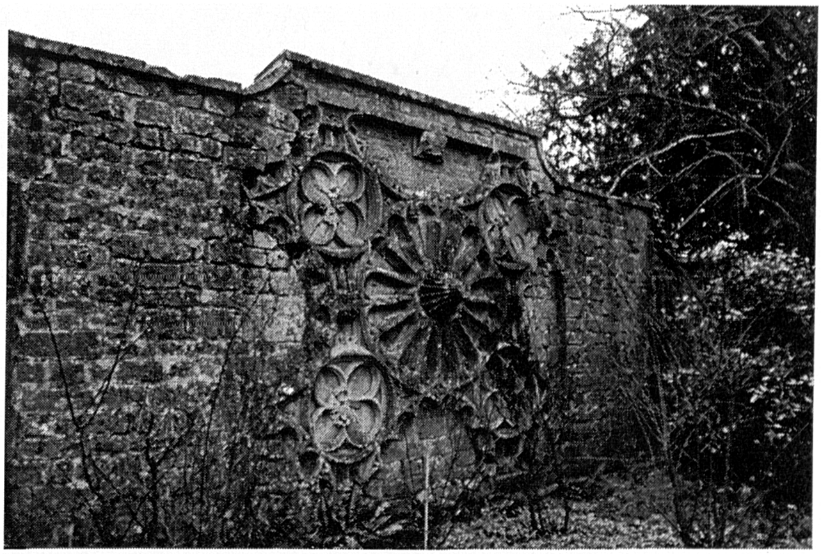
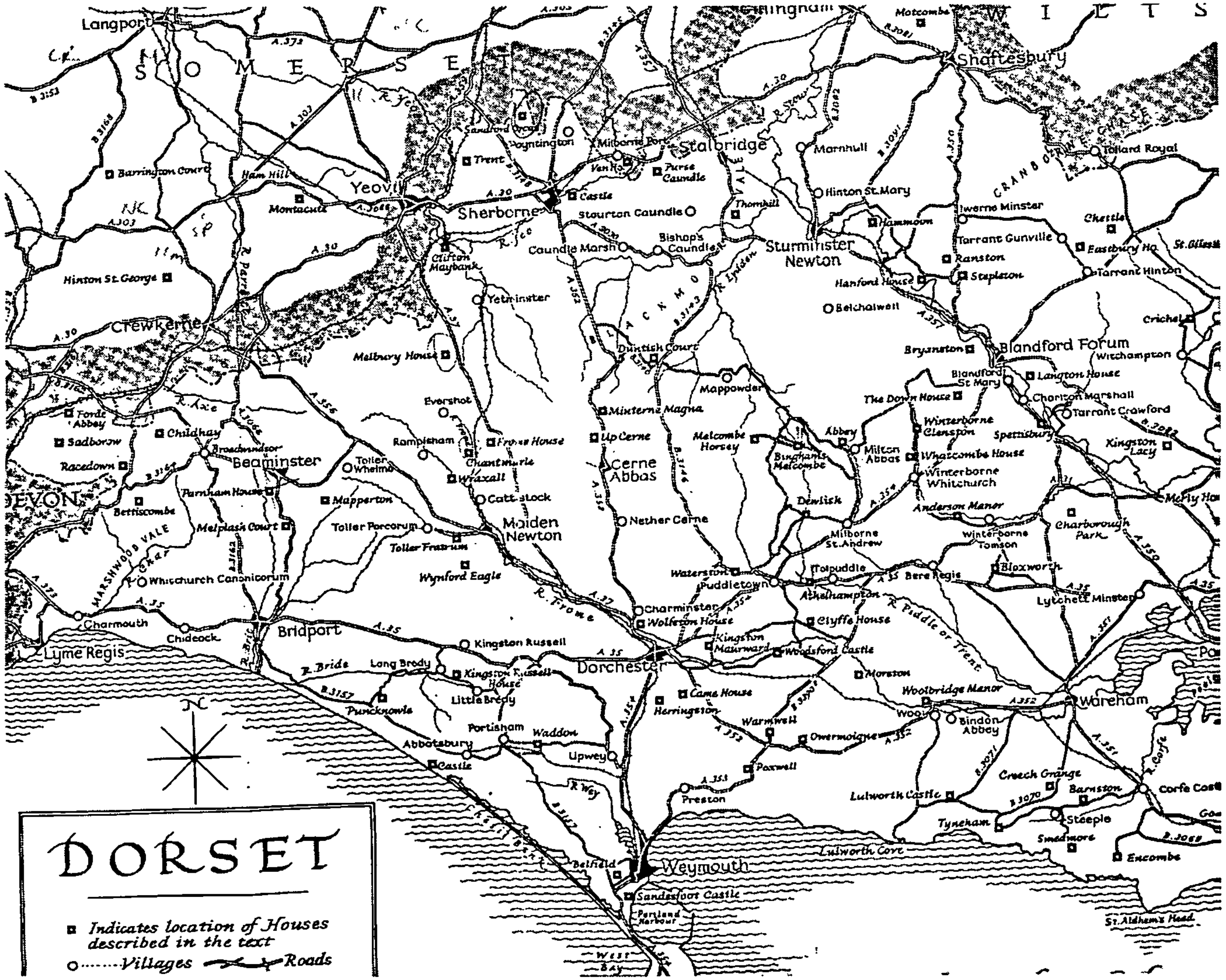
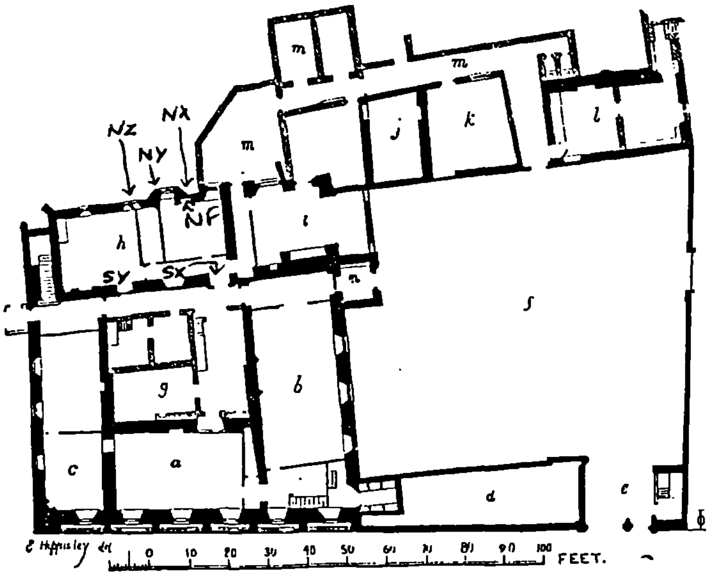

7.34D: St John's Doulting, south porch vault, (placed in garden wall in 19th century)

FIGURE 8.1



8.1: Plan of Dorset and its border with Somerset, showing location of domestic architecture

FIGURE 8.2



Ground-plan of the Deanery.

a. Hall or Chamber on the Ground Floor, now the Dining Room.

b. Elizabethan or later Hall, either added or rebuilt.

c. Site of Kitchen, now the Dean's Study; the Buttery and Pantry were between this and the Servants' Staircase at the corner; the State Staircase was external, at the same corner.

d. Offices along the wall of the Outer Court, under a terrace.

e. Gate-house.

f. Outer Court.

g. Inner Court, partly built over by modern buildings.

h, i. Offices under the Great Hall.

j, k. Cellars or Store-rooms.

l. Store-rooms, but having rather the appearance of having been a Chapel.

m, m, m. Modern Offices.

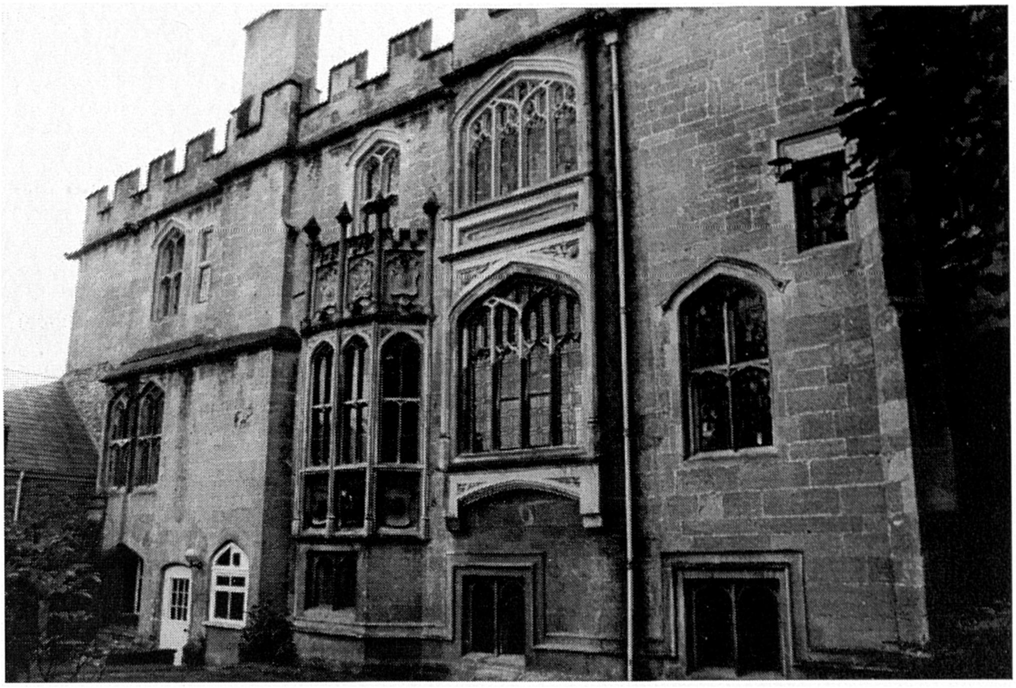
n. Porch.

SX: SOUTH ORIEL SEE FIG 8.3B, 8.4
NX: NORTH LIGHT SEE FIG
NY }
NZ } NORTH ORIELS SEE FIG 8.3A

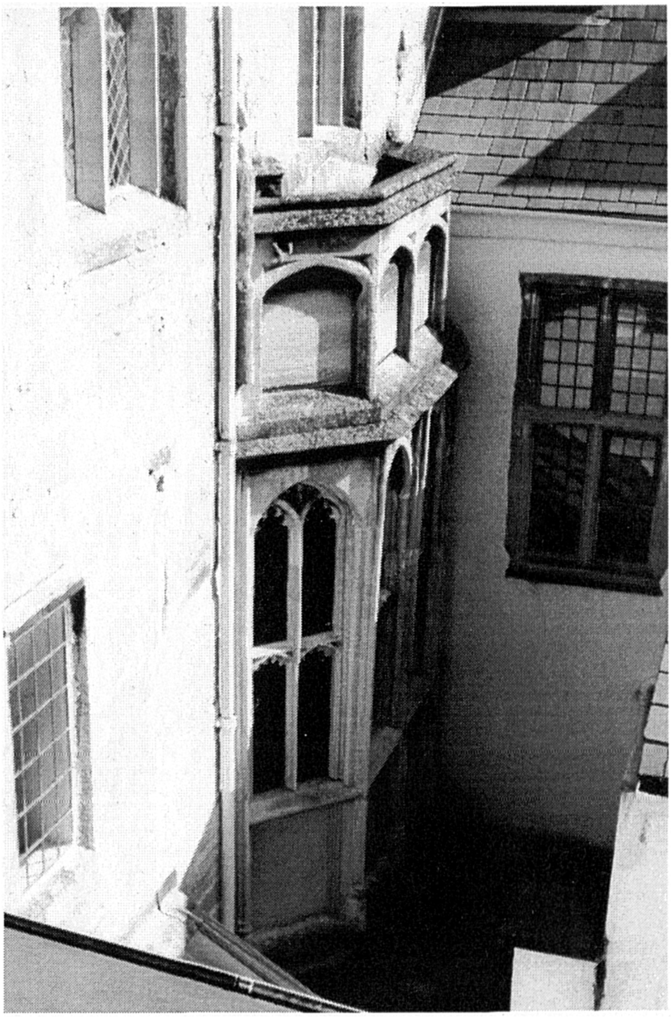
NF: FIREPLACE

8.2: Wells Cathedral, the deanery, plan of the ground floor

FIGURE 8.3

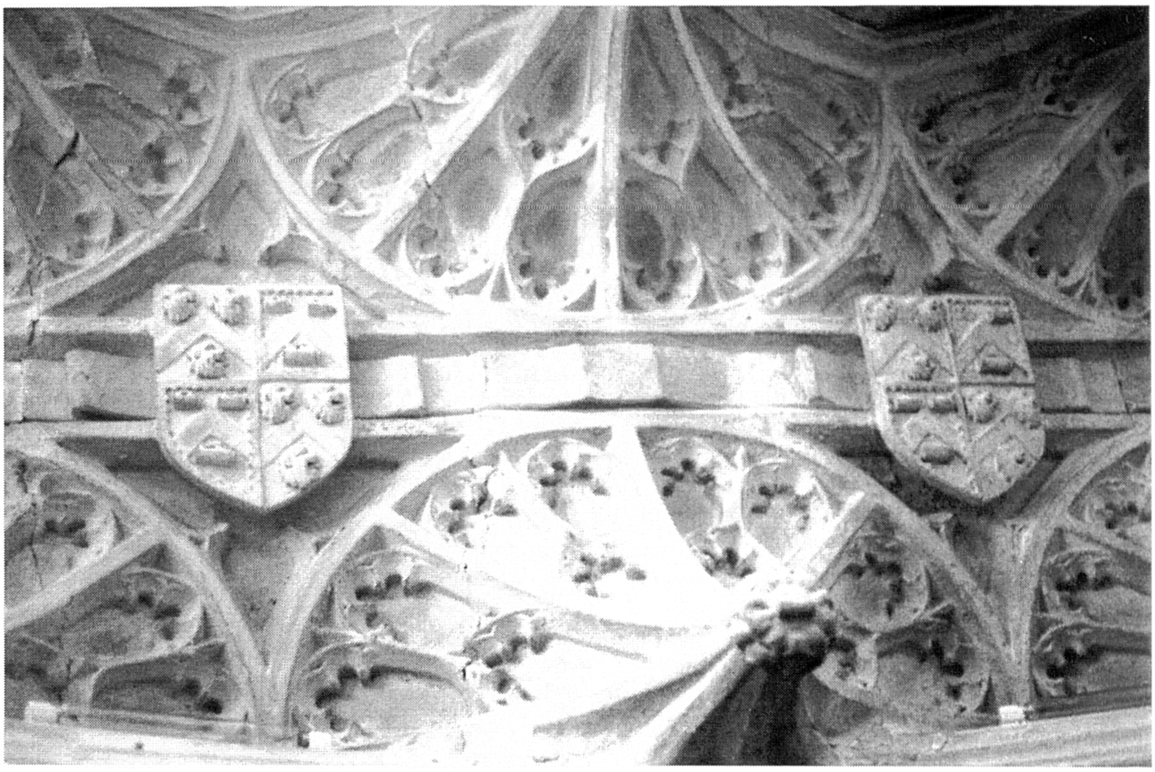


8.3A: Wells Cathedral, the deanery, north façade (exterior)



8.3B: Wells Cathedral, the deanery, north side (exterior)

FIGURE 8.4



8.4A: Wells Cathedral, the deanery, south oriel window vault (SX on plan - fig. 8.2)

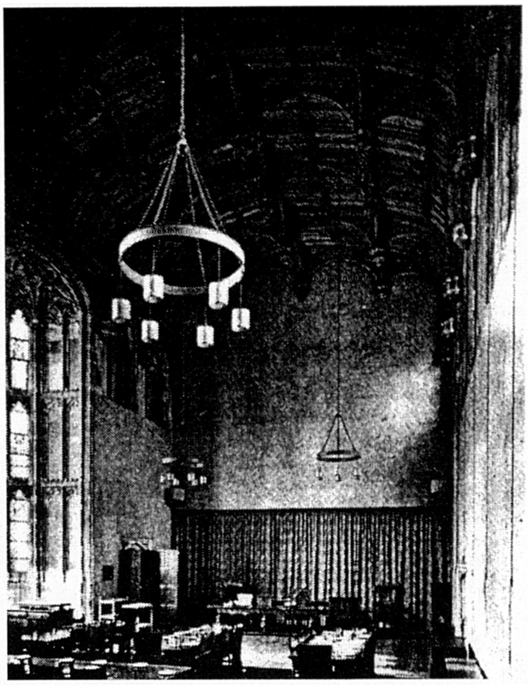
8.4B: Wells Cathedral, the deanery, south oriel window detail (SX on plan – fig 8.2)

FIGURE 8.5

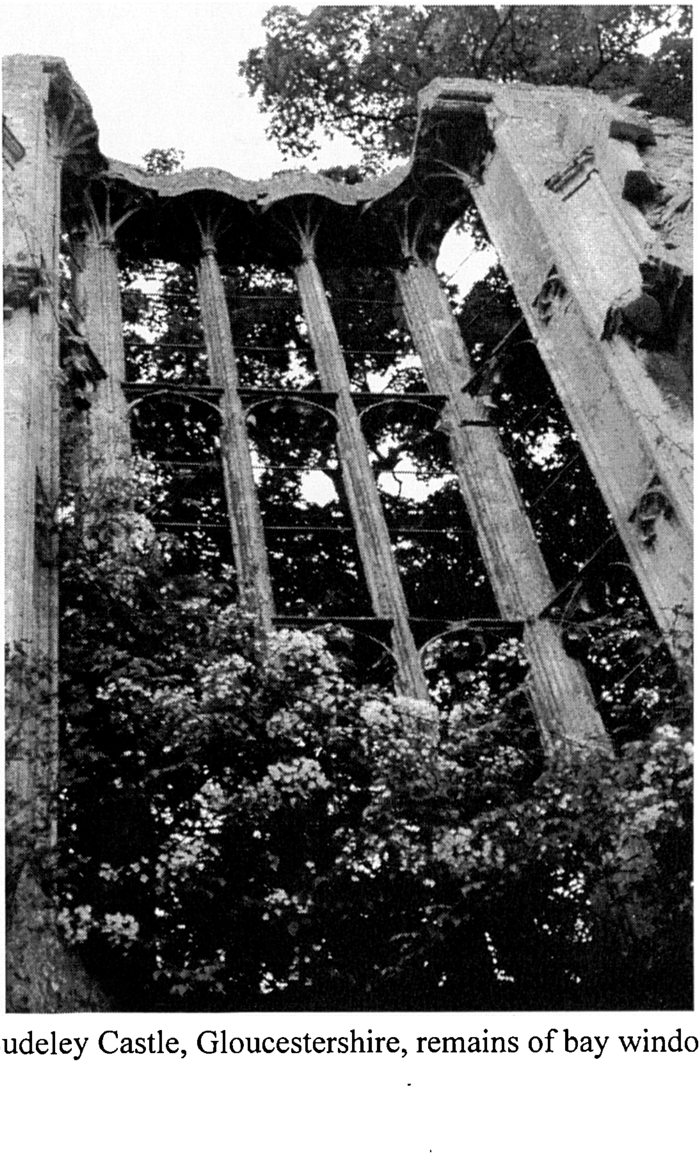
8.5A: Wells Cathedral, the deanery, window (NY on plan)

8.5B: Wells Cathedral, the deanery, window (NZ on plan)

FIGURE 8.6



8.6A: Eltham Hall, hall and bay



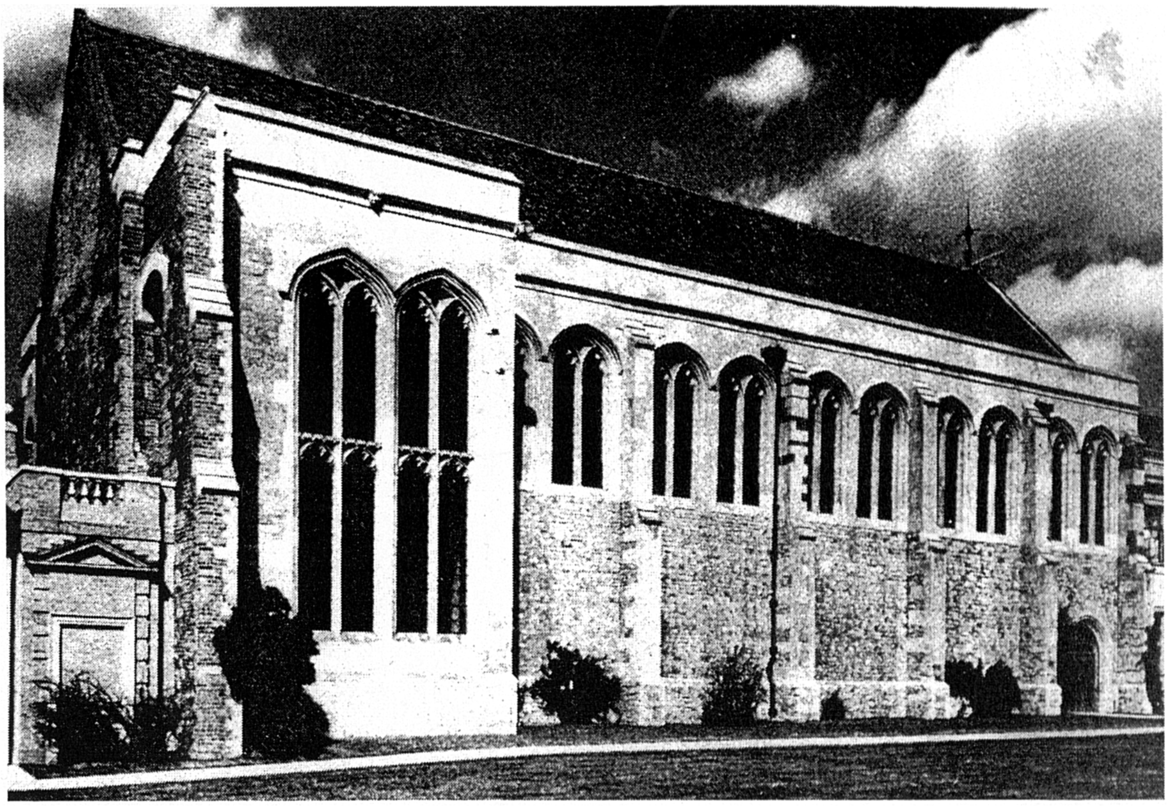
8.6B: Sudeley Castle, Gloucestershire, remains of bay window in hall

FIGURE 8.7

8.7A: Christchurch Priory, Hampshire, chantry (south of Lady chapel)

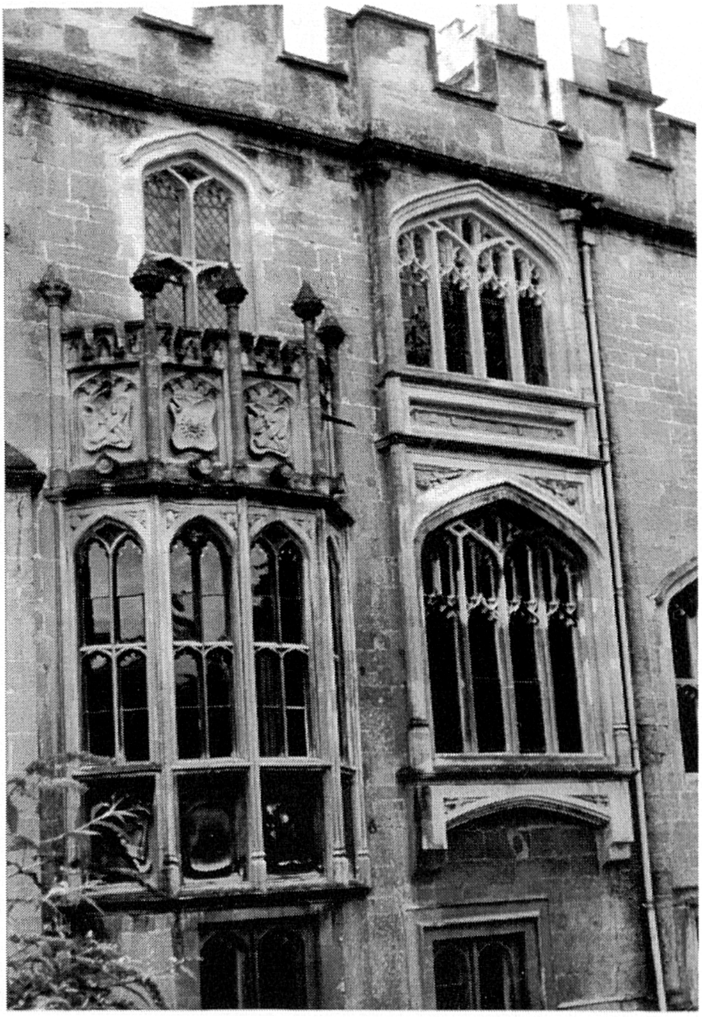
8.7B: Bromham parish church, Wiltshire, tomb of Elizabeth Beauchamp

FIGURE 8.8

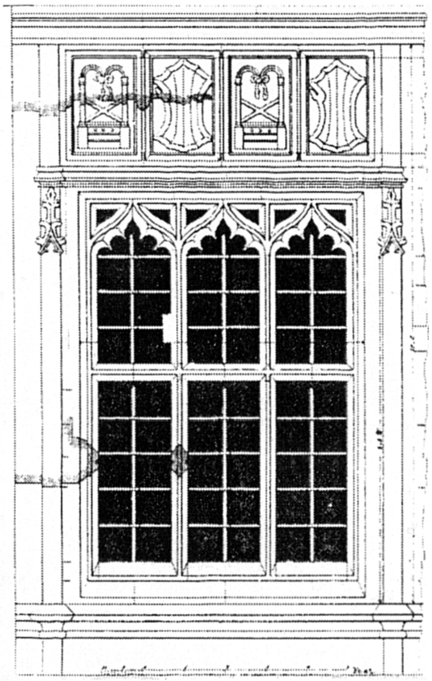


8.8: Eltham Palace, great hall

FIGURE 8.9



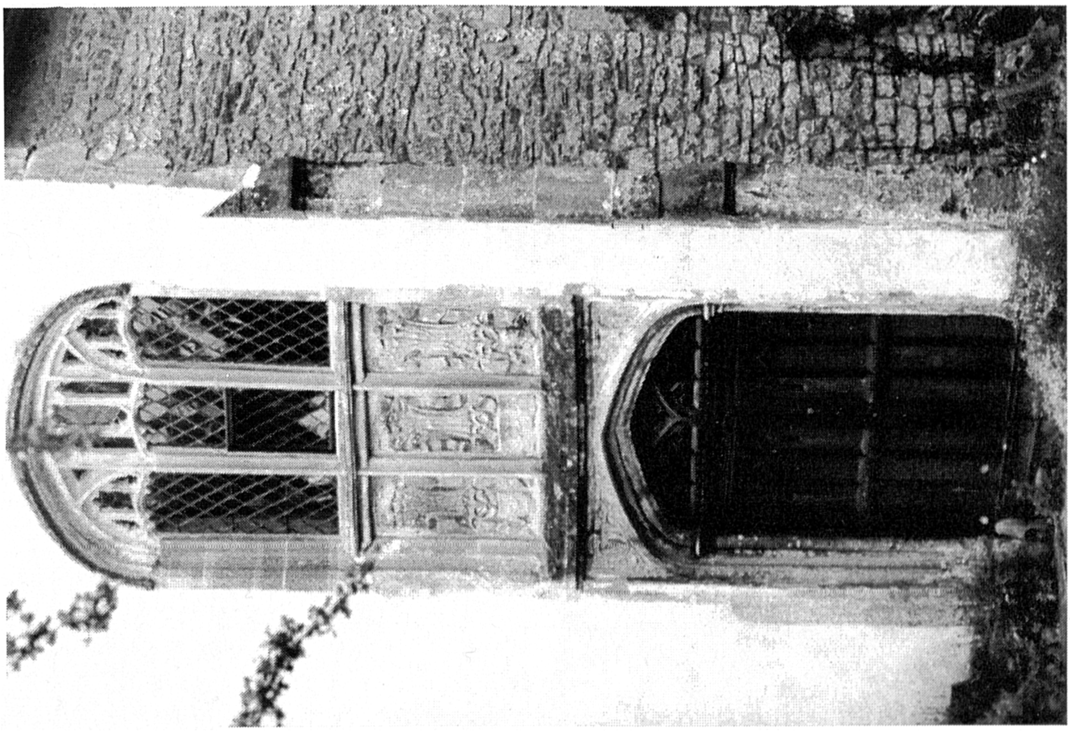
8.9A: Wells Cathedral, the deanery, north front windows (NY & NZ on plan)



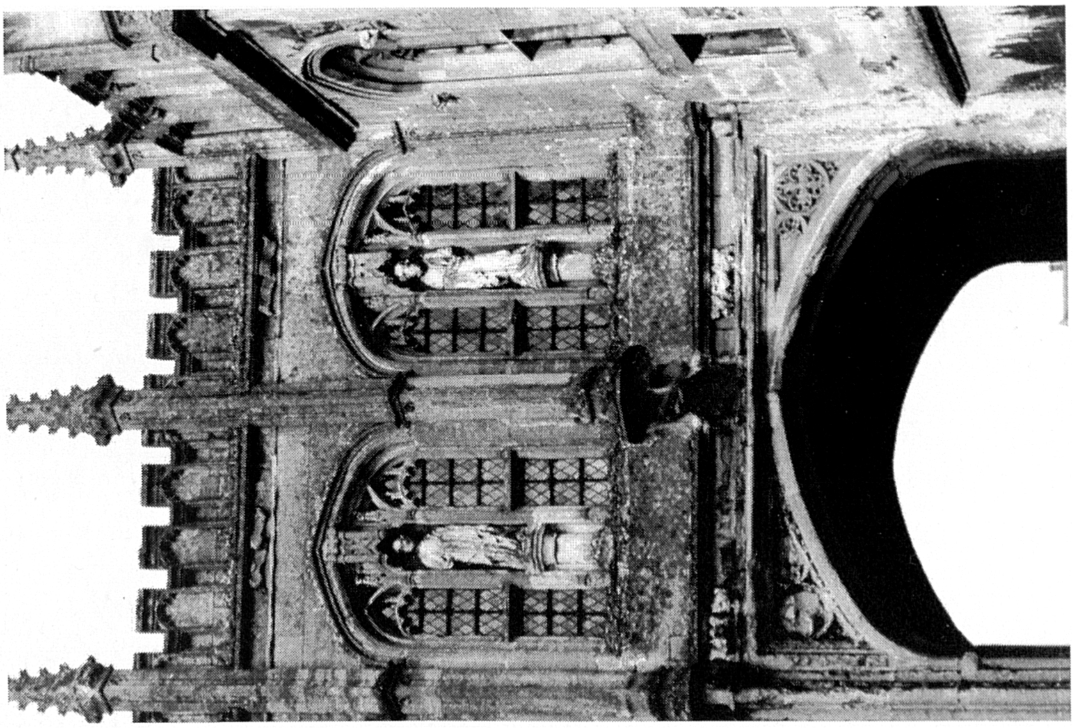
8.9B: Raglan Castle, oriel window

8.9C: Wells, vicars' hall, east end oriel

FIGURE 8.10

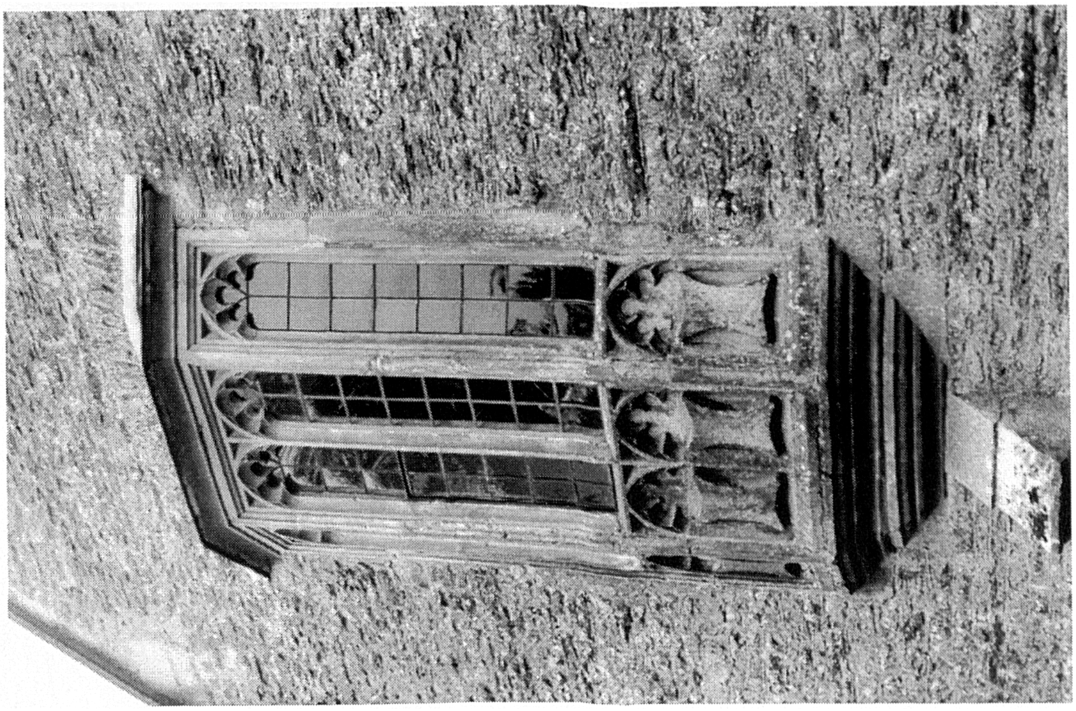


8.10A: Wells Cathedral , The Rib, entrance

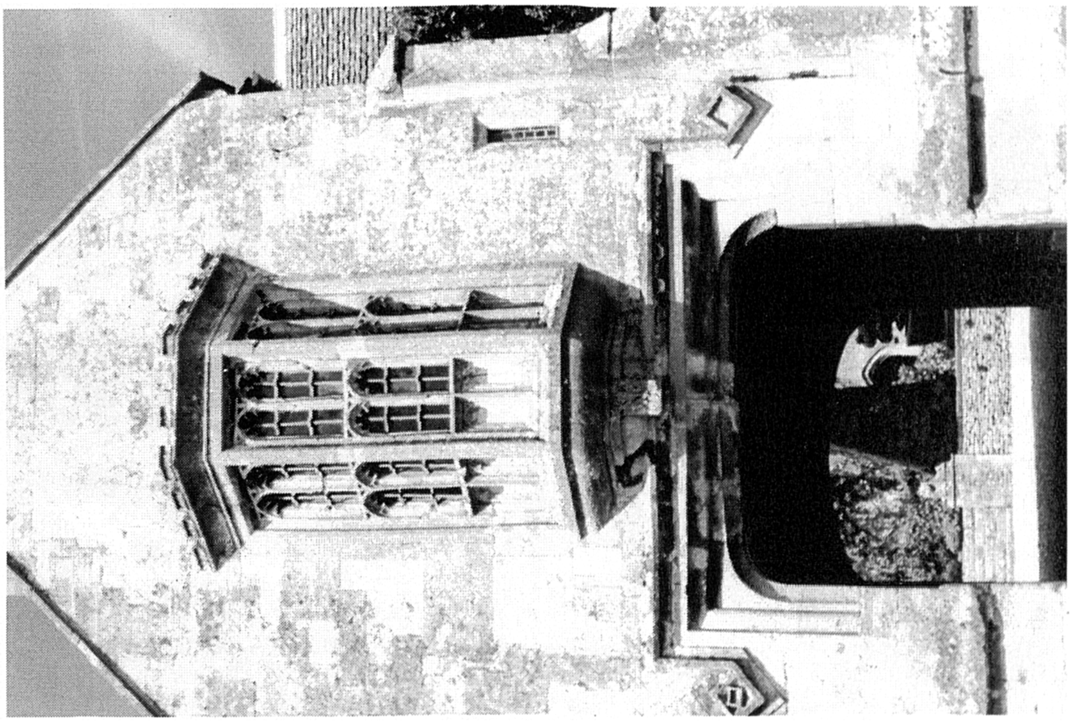


8.10B: Wells Cathedral, the Chain Gate

FIGURE 8.11



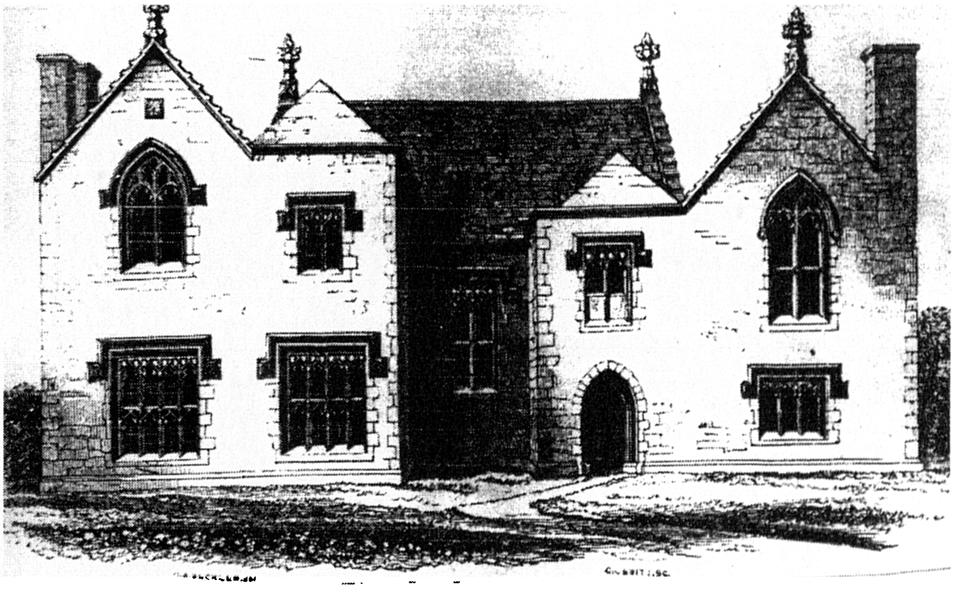
8.11B: Purse Caundle manor house, oriel



8.11A: South Wraxall manor house, gatehouse and oriel

FIGURE 8.12

8.12A: South Wraxall manor house, hall porch and bay window



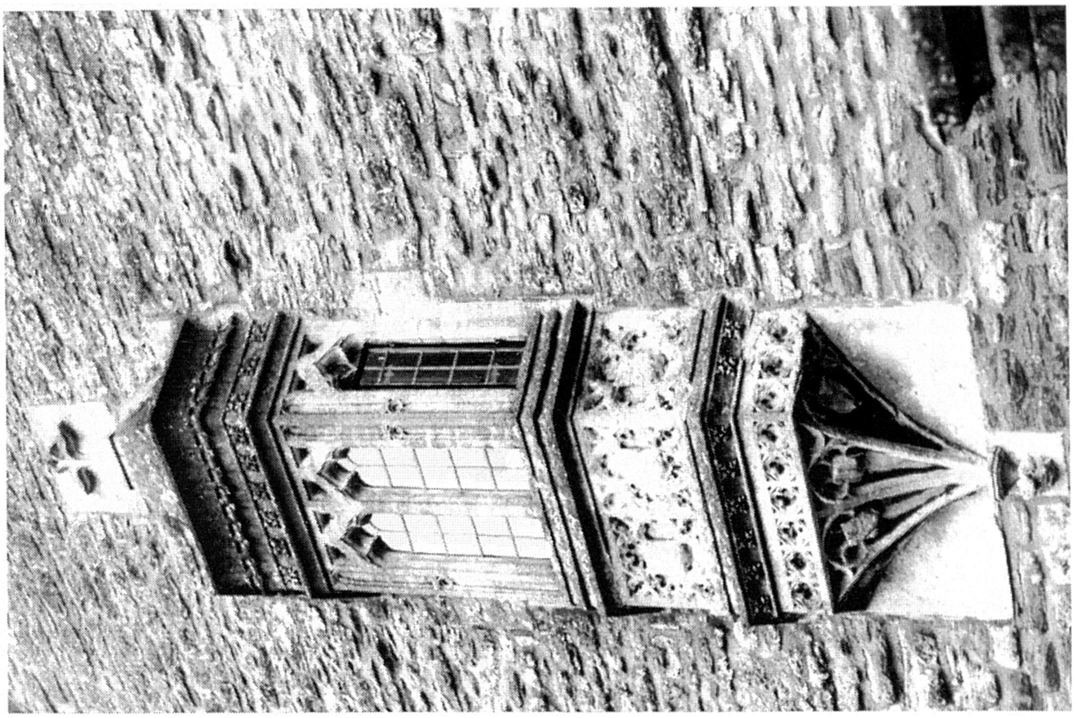
8.12B: Kingston Seymour manor house, drawing of main façade

FIGURE 8.13

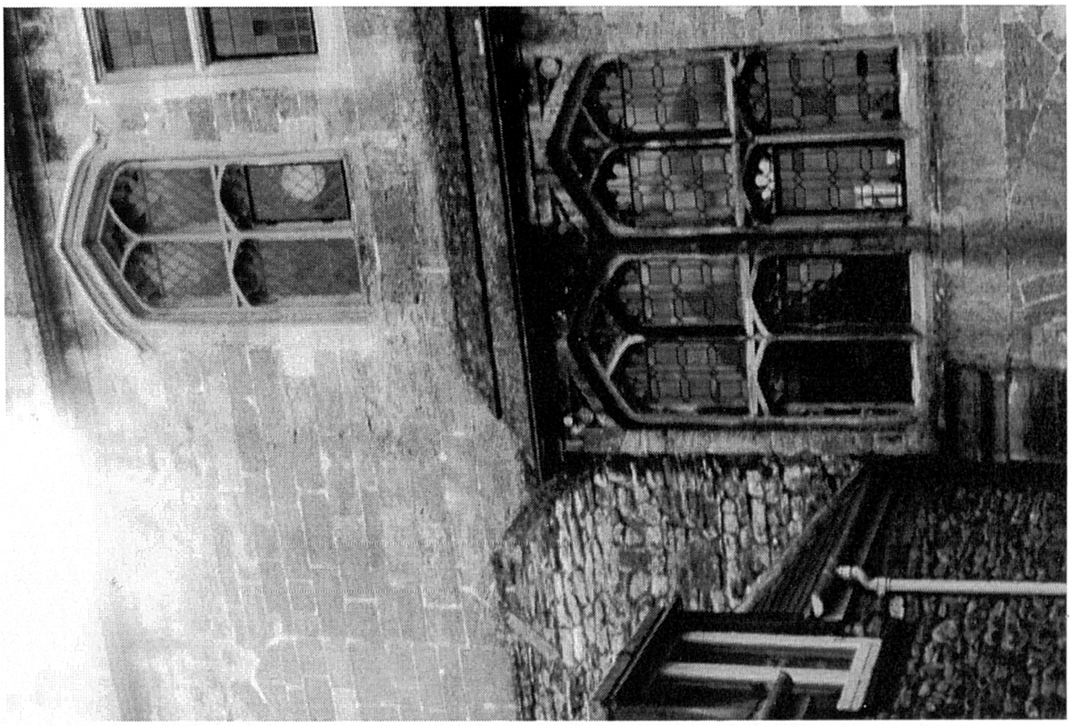
8.13A: Great Chalfield manor house, view from north of main façade

8.13B: Great Chalfield manor house, view from south

FIGURE 8.14

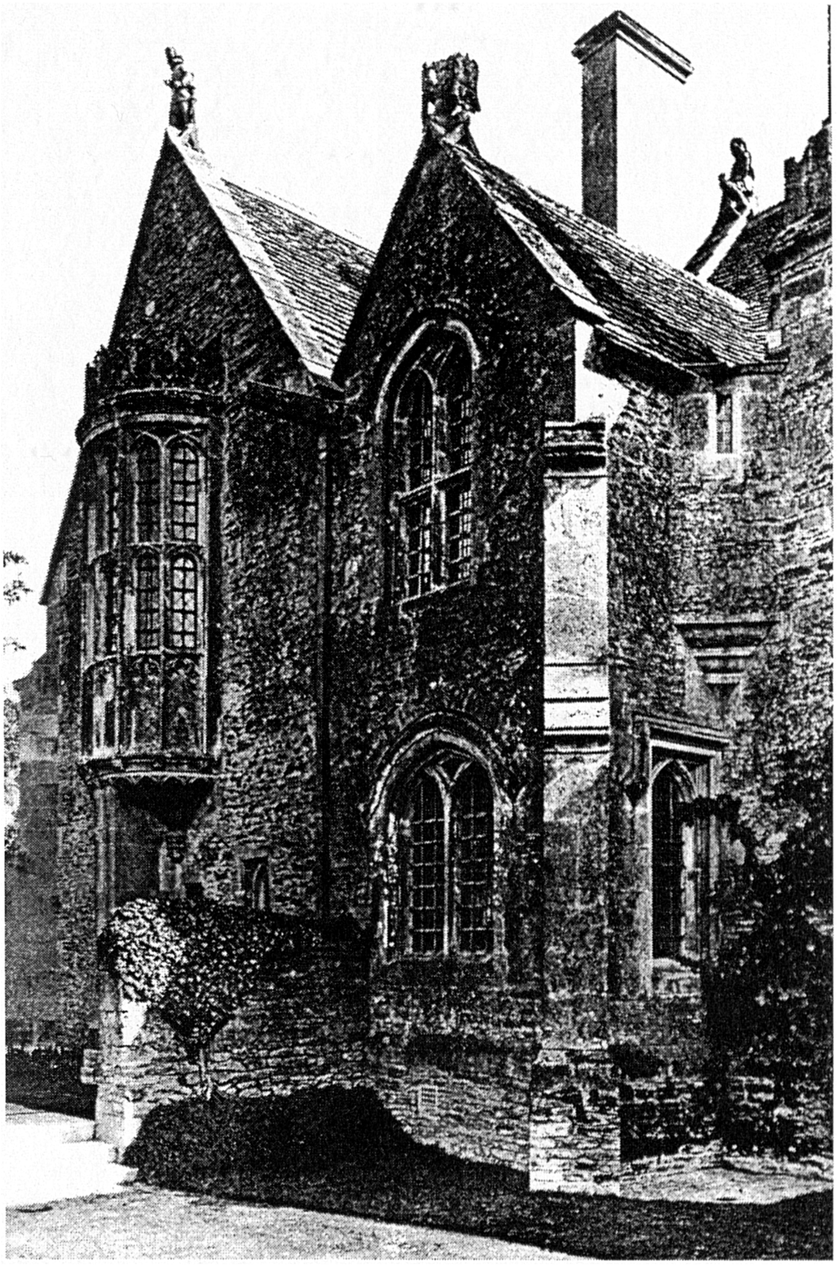


8.14B: Wells Cathedral close, oriel detail



8.14A: Wells Cathedral ,the deanery, north façade detail

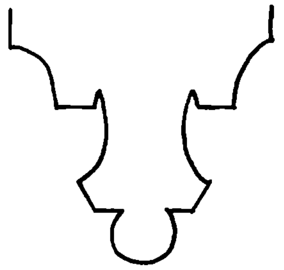
FIGURE 8.15



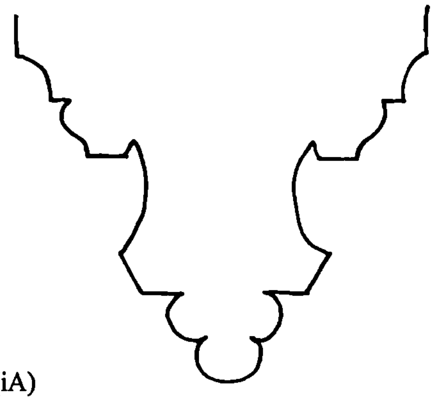
8.15: Great Chalfield manor house, oriel (east end of the north façade)

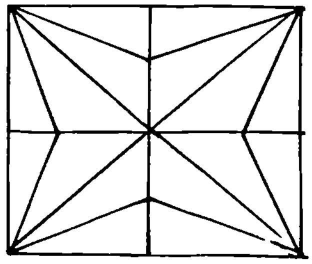
FIGURE 8.16

(i)
Great Chalfield manor house,
rib of hall bay vault



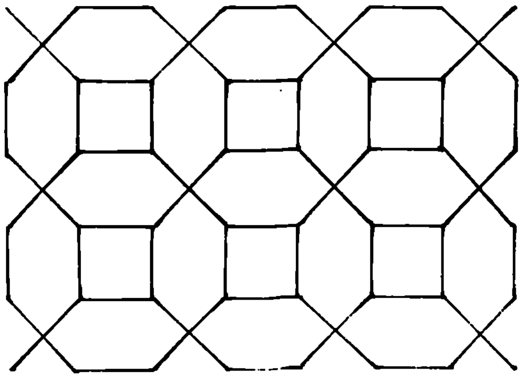
(ii)
Wells deanery, rib of south bay
window of great hall



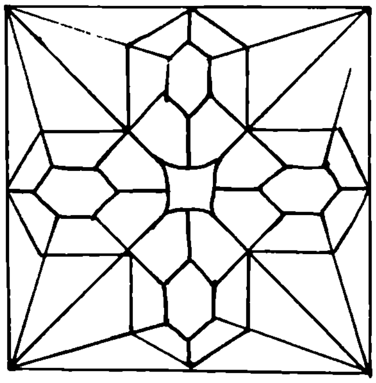


(iA)
Great Chalfield manor house
hall bay vault

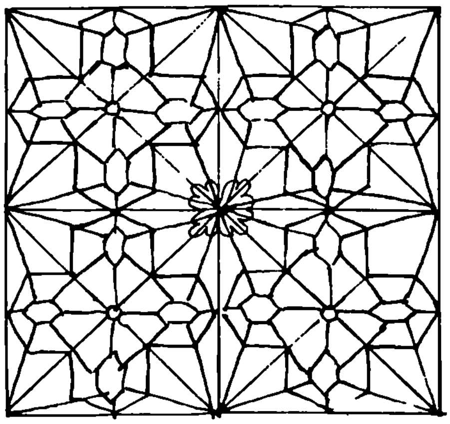
(v) Hampton Court 'Wolsey's
Closet' ceiling



(iii)



Wells Cathedral precinct,
Penniless Porch vault

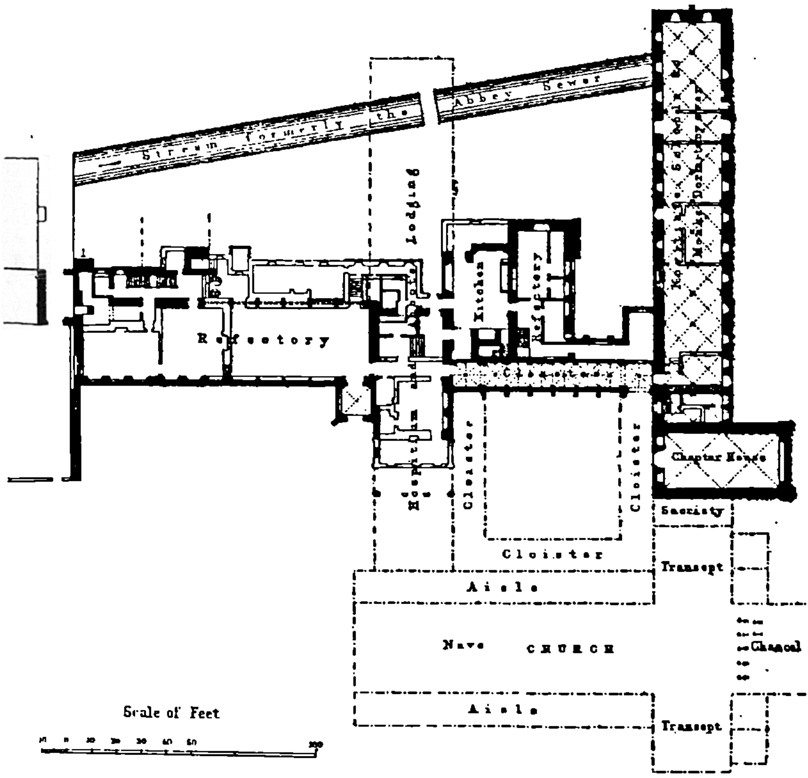


(iv)

Bishop of Crediton's house,
Exeter Cathedral precinct
ceiling at east end of hall

8.16: Vaults and vault ribs in secular architecture

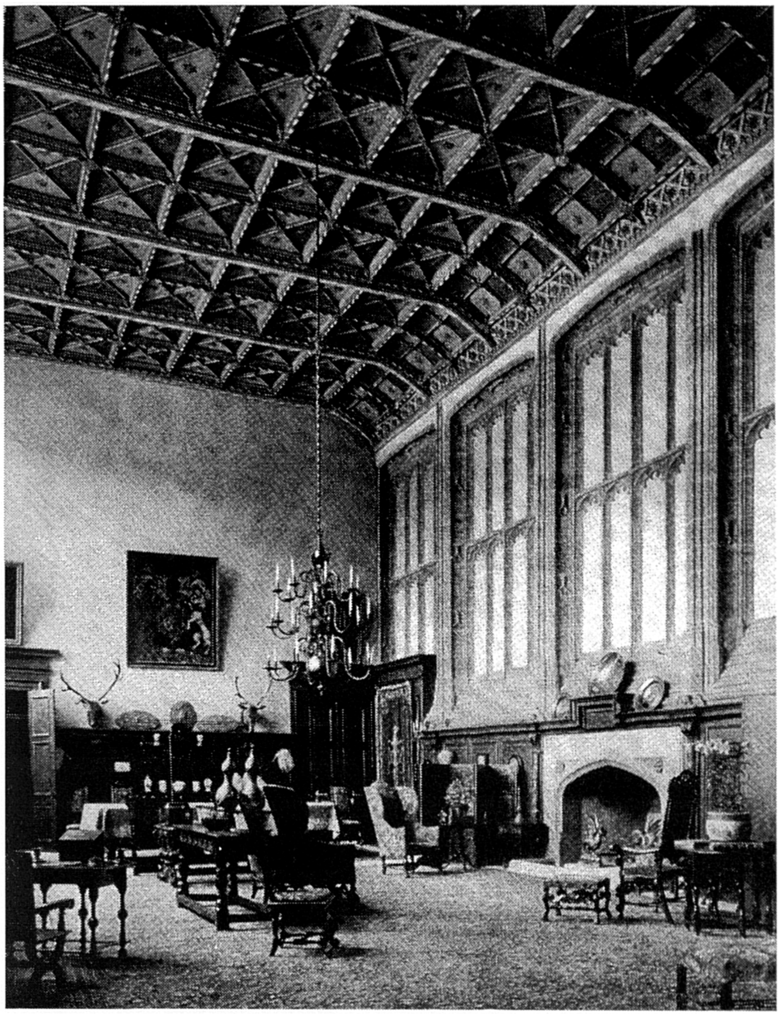
FIGURE 8.17



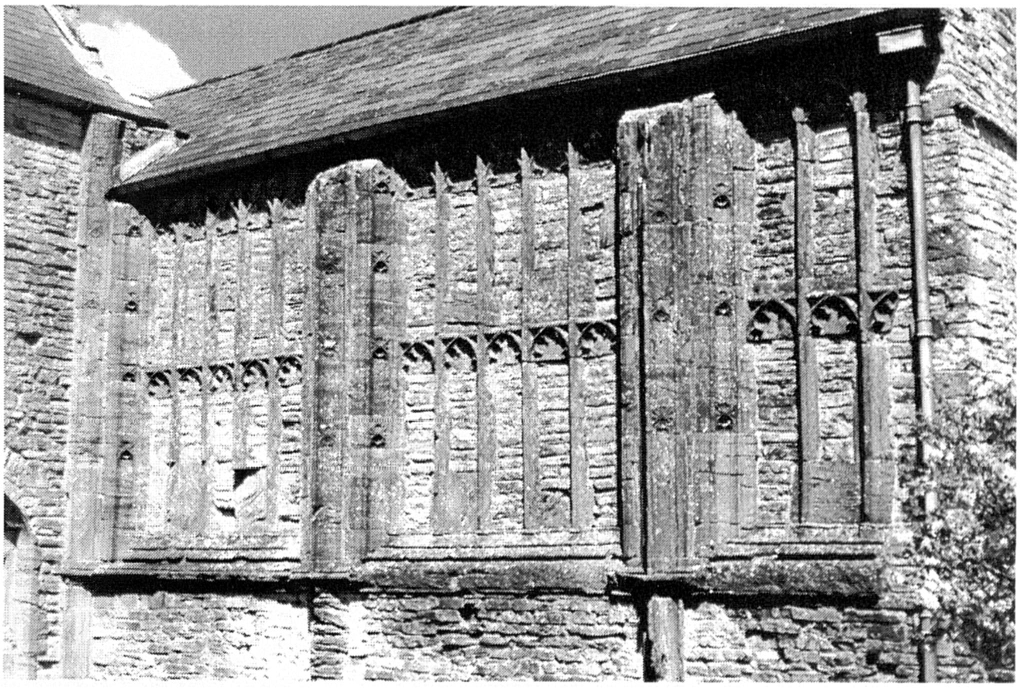
8.17A: Forde Abbey, plan of ground floor

8.17B: Forde Abbey, south front showing abbot's hall and porch

FIGURE 8.18

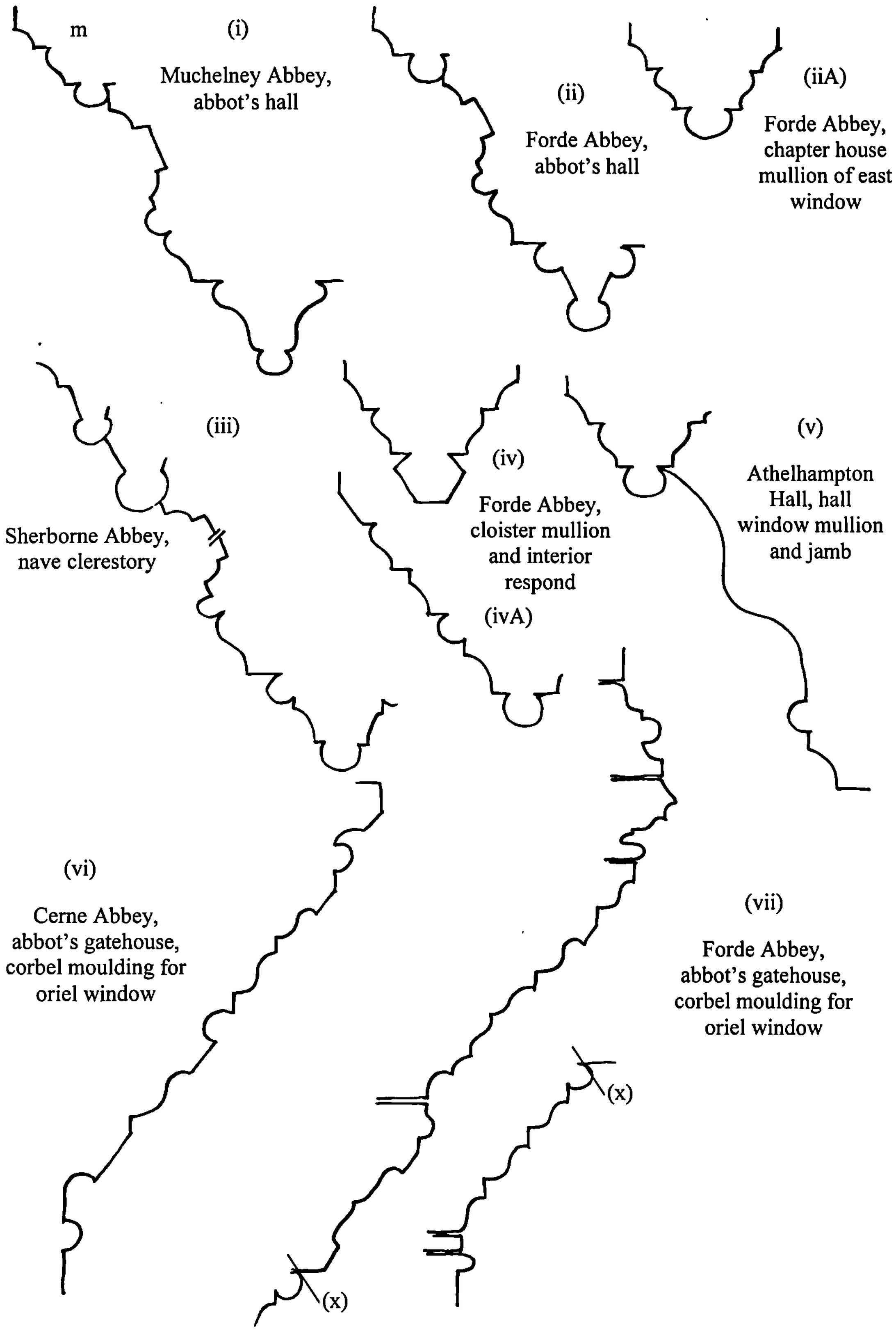


8.18A: Forde Abbey, abbot's hall (interior)



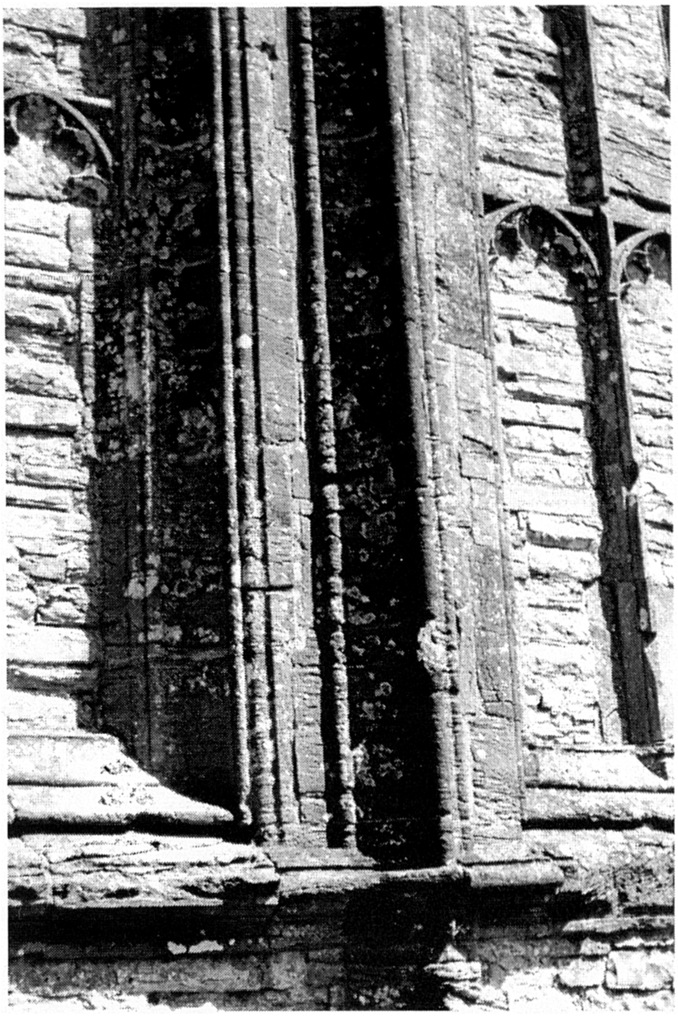
8.18B: Muchelney Abbey, abbot's hall (refectory) (interior)

FIGURE 8.19



8.19: Comparative jamb mouldings and corbel tables

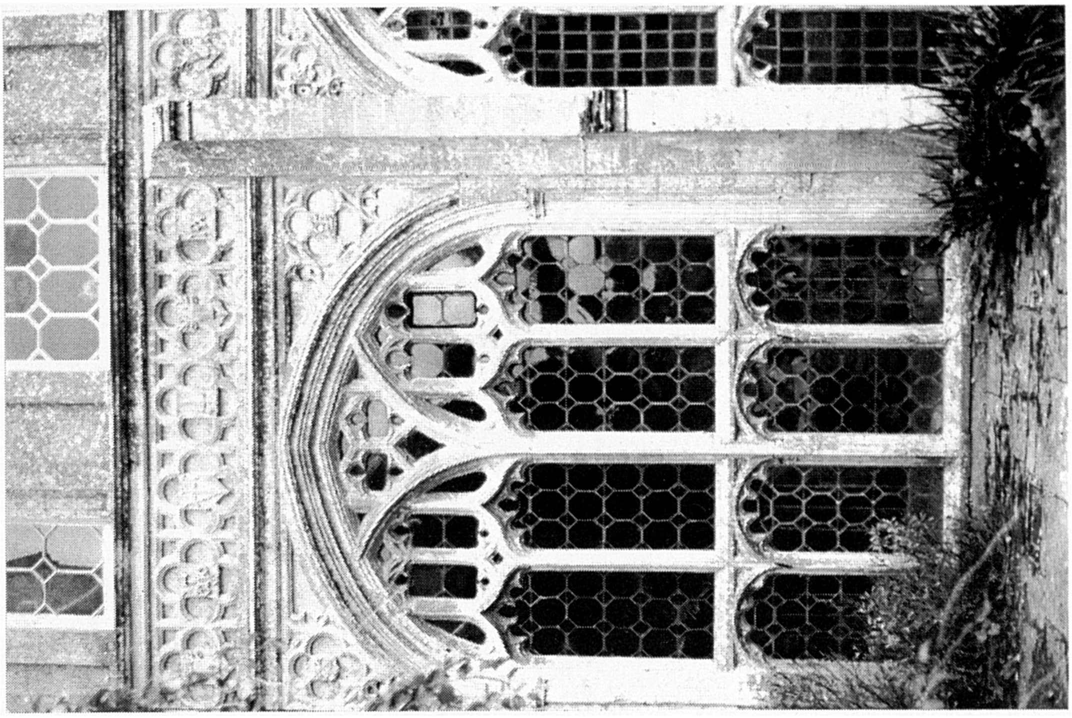
FIGURE 8.20



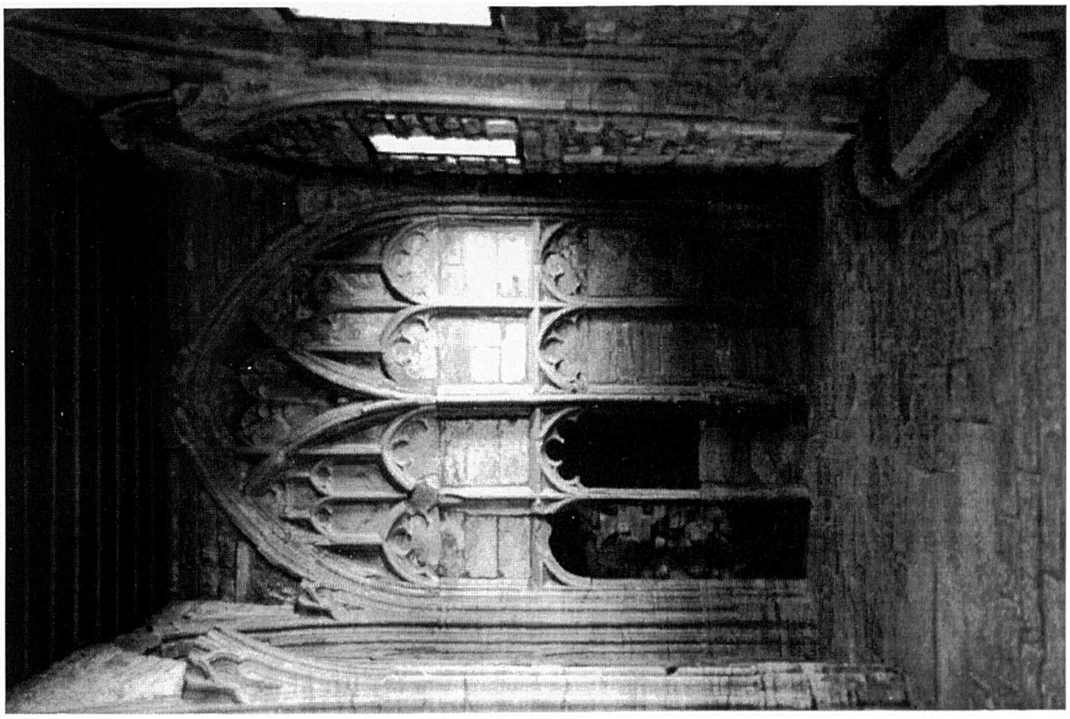
8.20A: Muchelney Abbey, abbot's hall detail of jamb and panelling

8.20B: Sherborne Abbey, nave clerestory detail of panelling

FIGURE 8.21



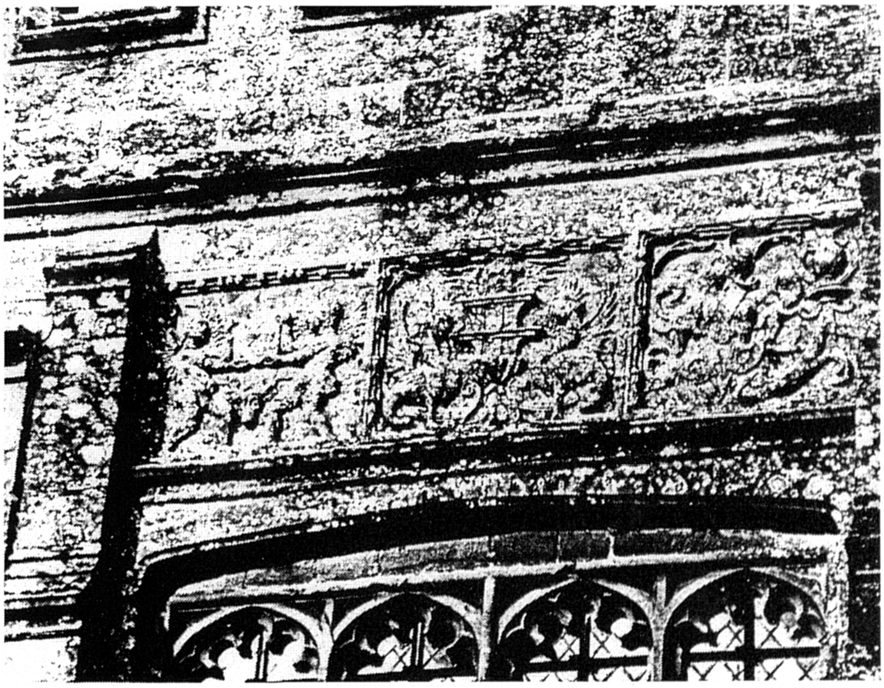
8.21B: Forde Abbey, cloister range (ext.)



8.21A: Muchelney Abbey, surviving cloister range (int.)

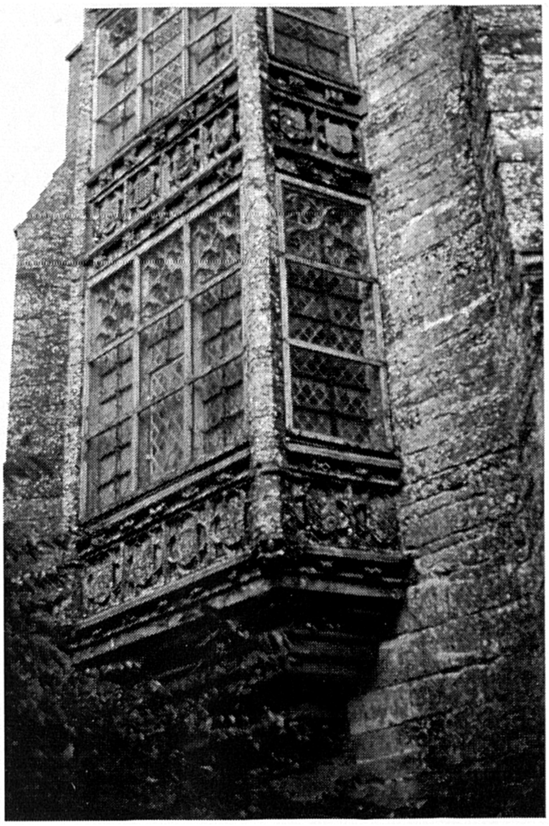
FIGURE 8.22

8.22A: Forde Abbey, abbot's Hall exterior elevation

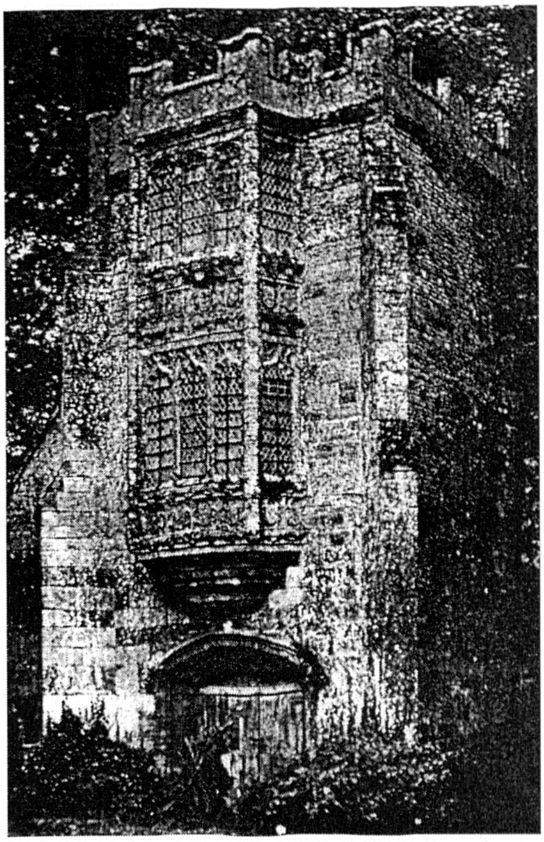


8.22B: Forde Abbey, abbot's hall, exterior detail of freize

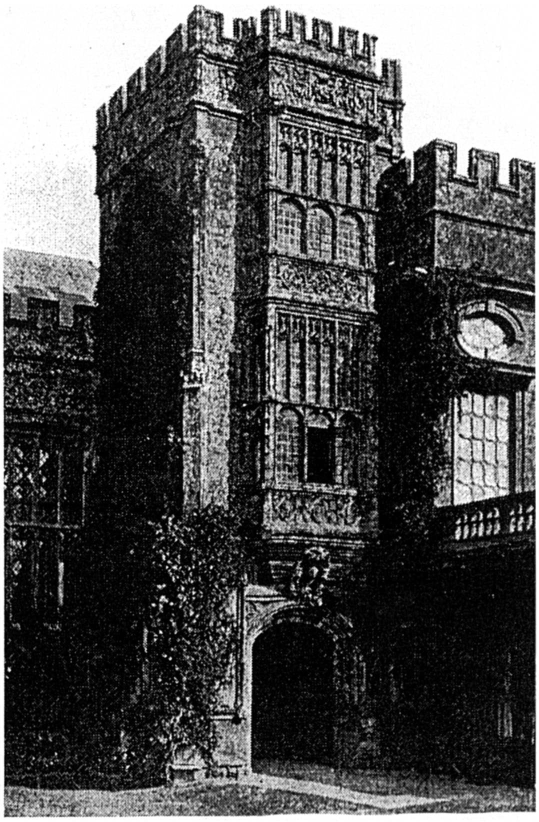
FIGURE 8.23



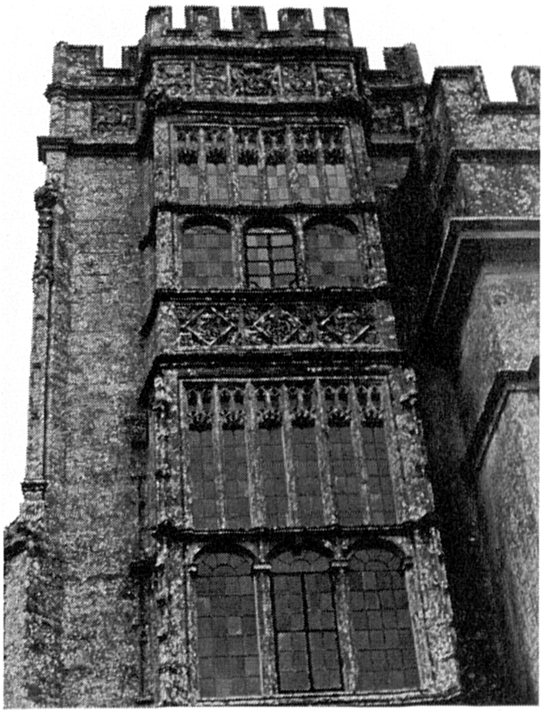
8.23A: Cerne Abbey, abbot's porch



8.23B: Cerne Abbey, abbot's porch



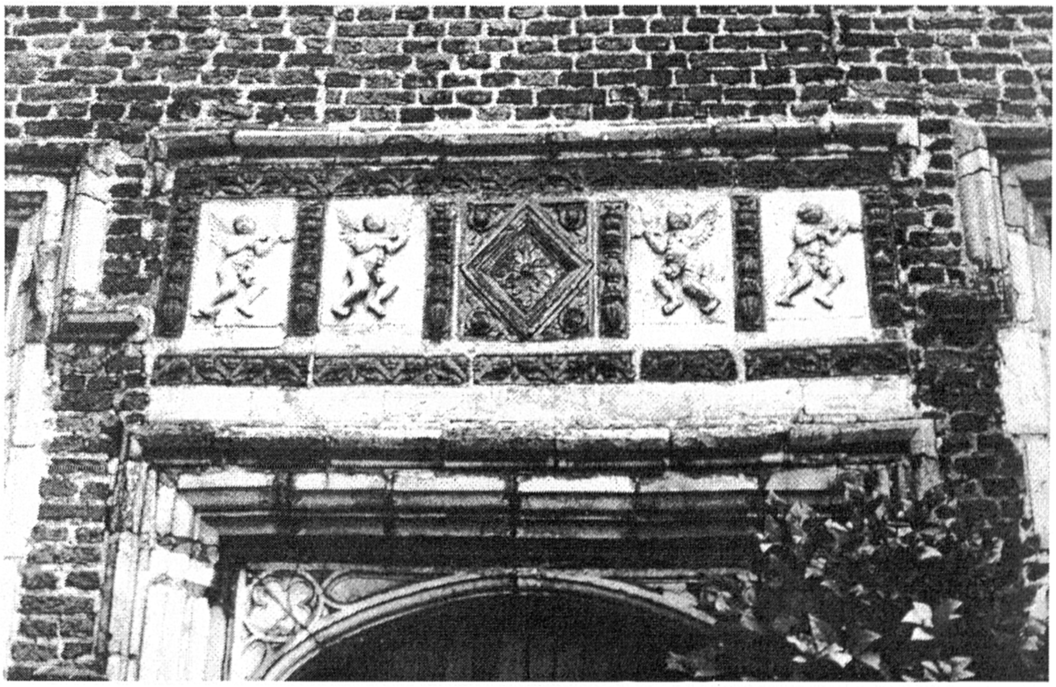
8.23C: Forde Abbey, abbot's porch



8.23D: Forde Abbey, abbot's porch

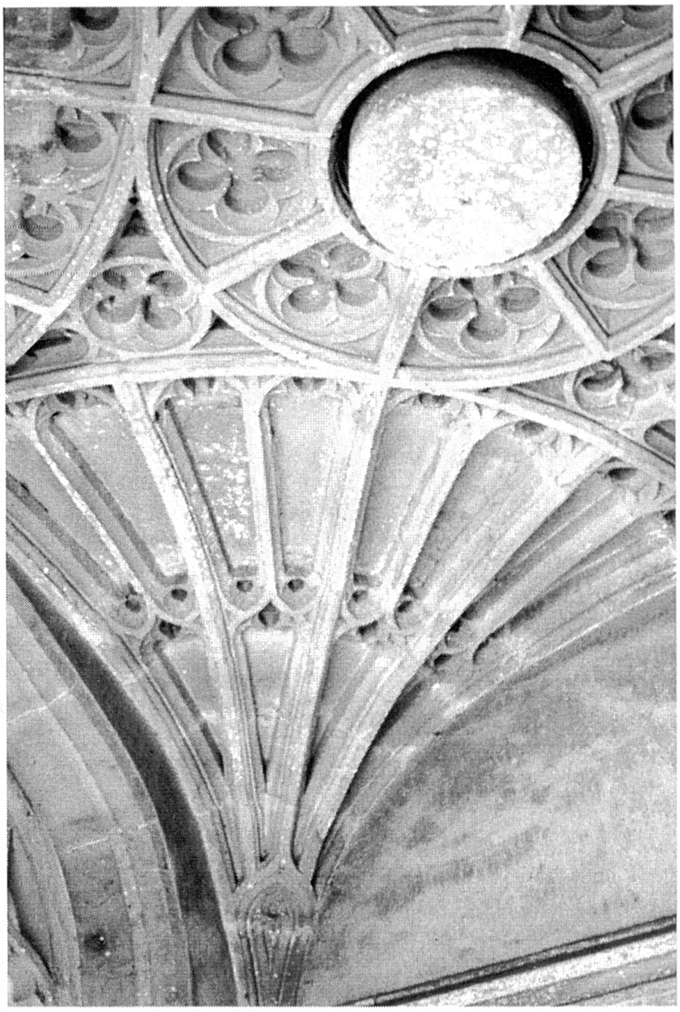
FIGURE 8.24

8.24A: Forde Abbey, abbot's porch detail of oriel

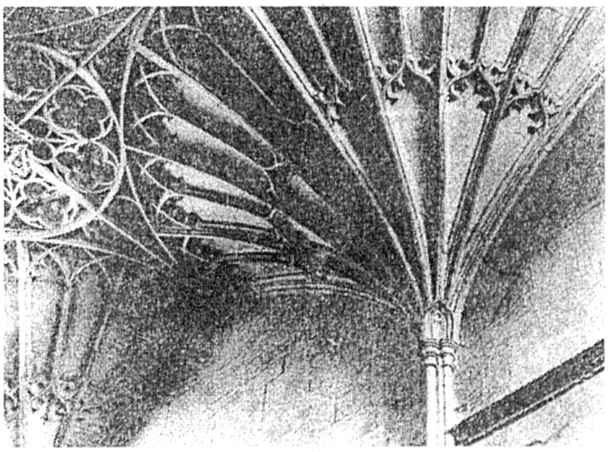


8.24B: Sutton Place, façade detail

FIGURE 8.25

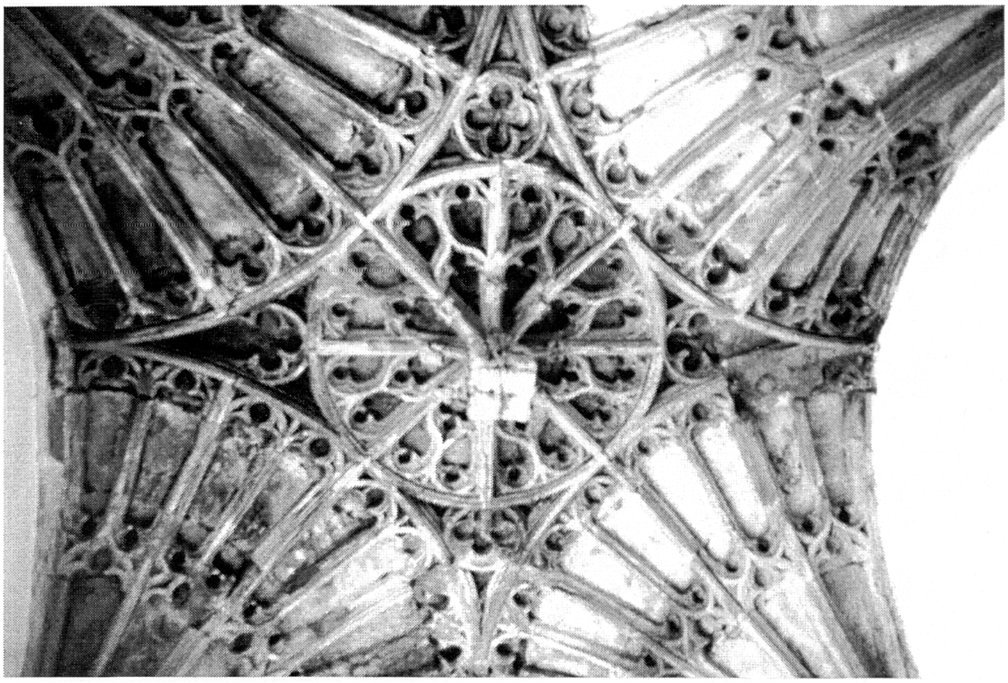


8.25A: Forde Abbey, abbot's porch, detail of vault

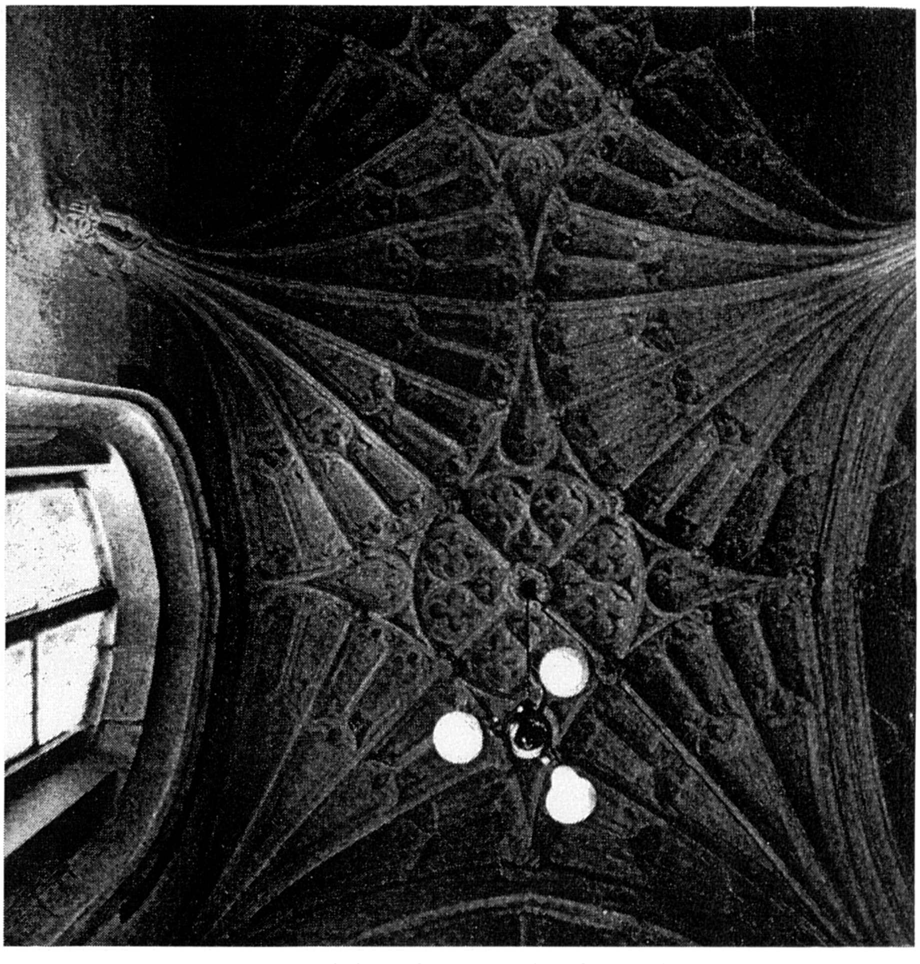


8.25B: St. David's Cathedral, Trinity chapel vault

FIGURE 8.26

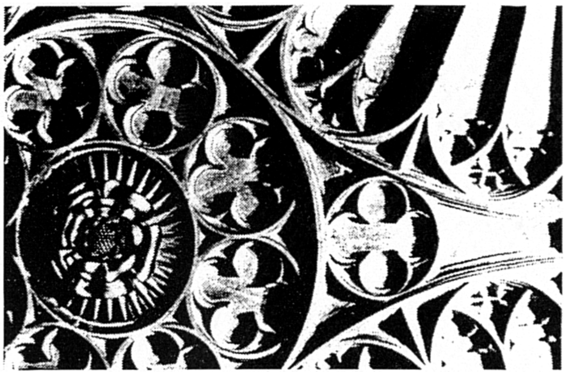


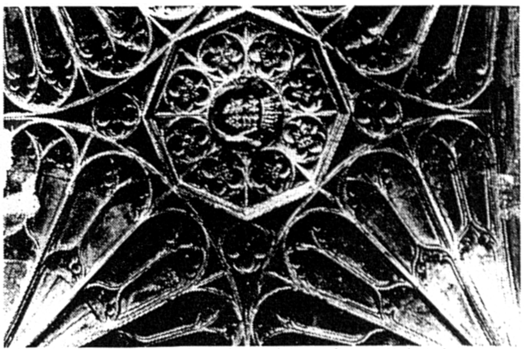
8.26A: Curry Rivel parish church, porch vault

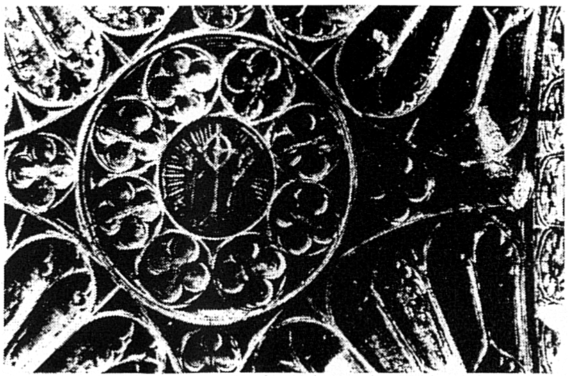


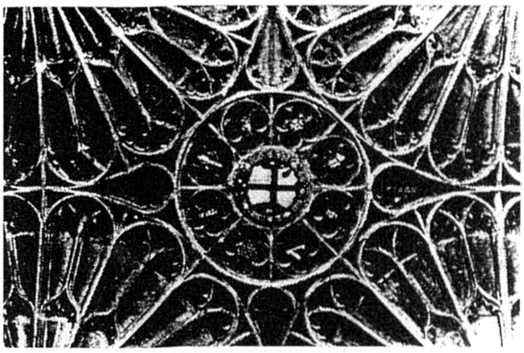
8.26B: Stavordale Priory, vault of Zouche Chapel

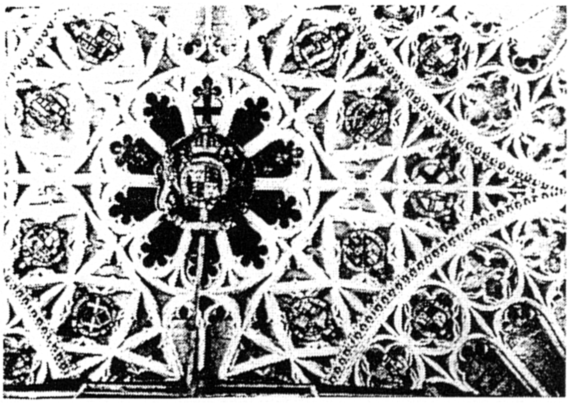
FIGURE 8.27


8.27A: St George's Chapel, Edward IV Chantry


8.27B: St George's Chapel, south chancel aisle


8.27C: St George's Chapel, ambulatory south-east bay


8.27D: St George's Chapel, nave aisle


8.27E: St George's Chapel, crossing

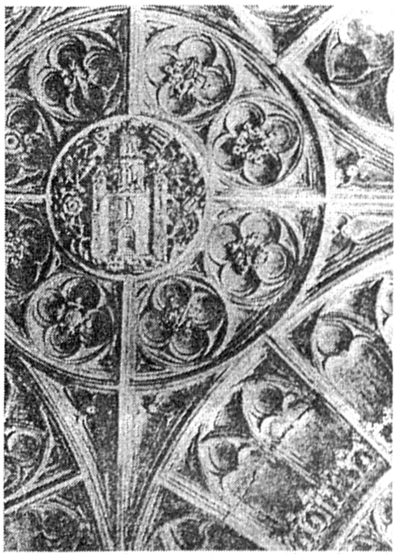
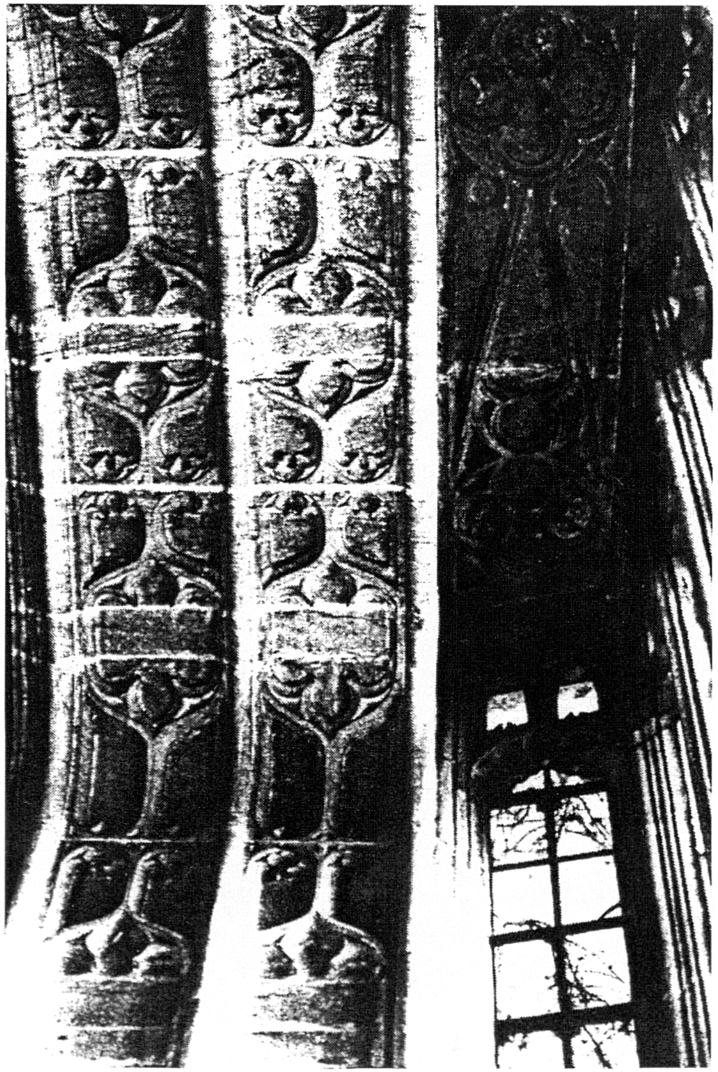

8.27F: Westminster, St Stephen's Chapel, cloister north walk

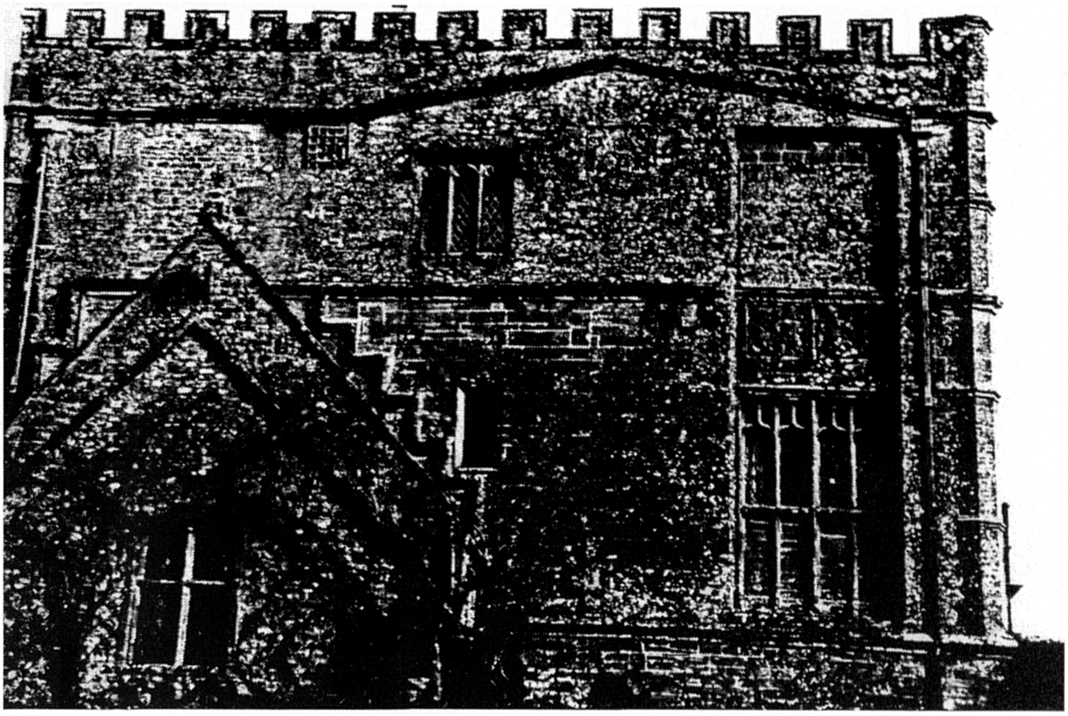
FIGURE 8.28



8.28A: Forde Abbey, abbot's porch, oriel interior detail

8.28B: Westminster Abbey, HenryVII's Chapel, aisle detail

FIGURE 8.29

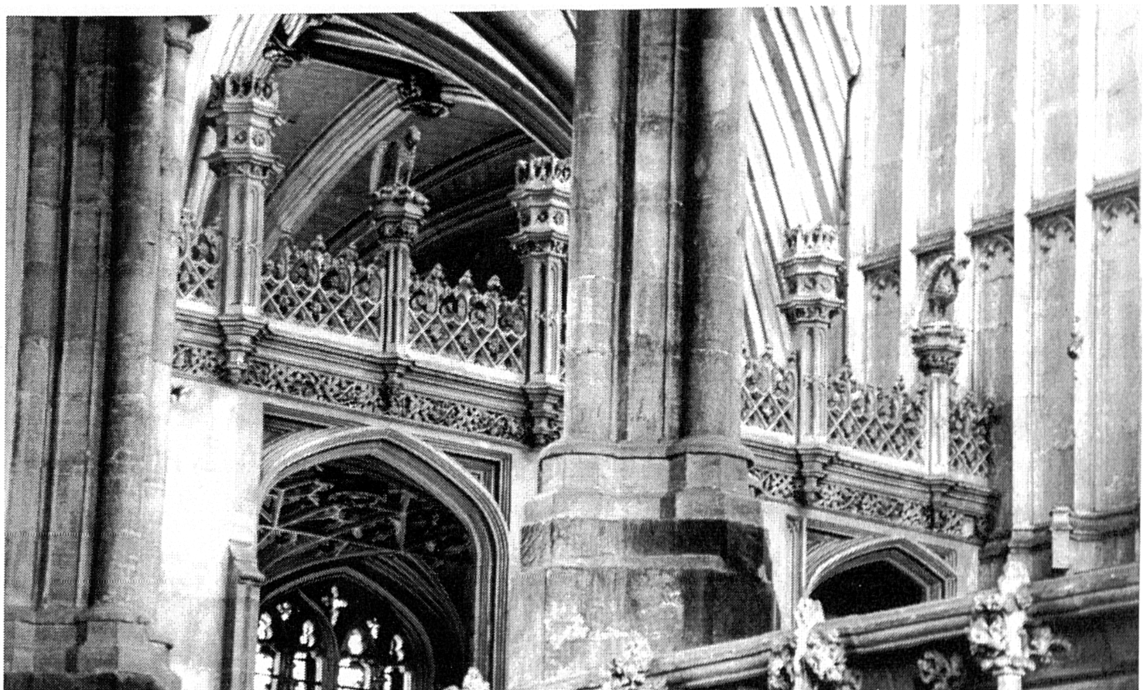


8.29A: Forde Abbey, west range (exterior)

8.29B: Melbury House, Dorset, south-east corner

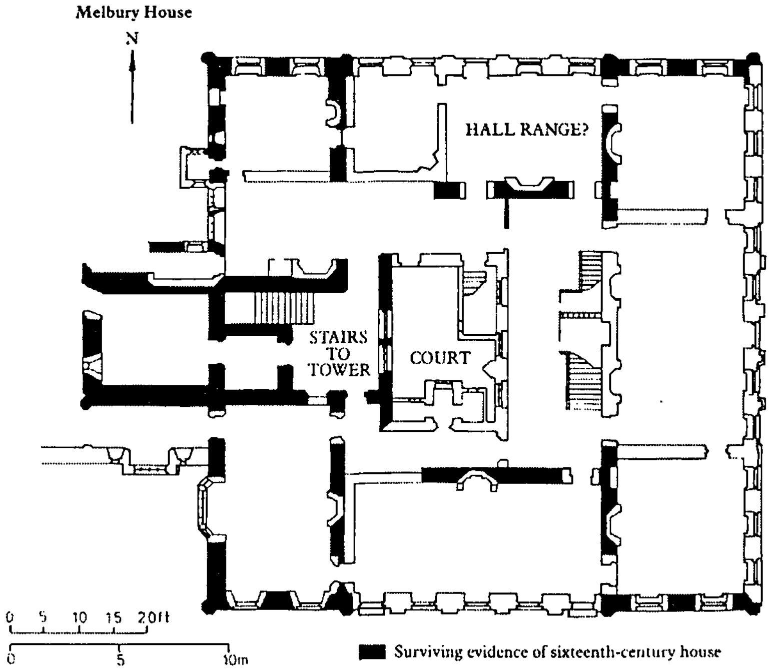
FIGURE 8.30

8.30A: Christchurch Priory, Hampshire, chantry chapel of Countess Salisbury

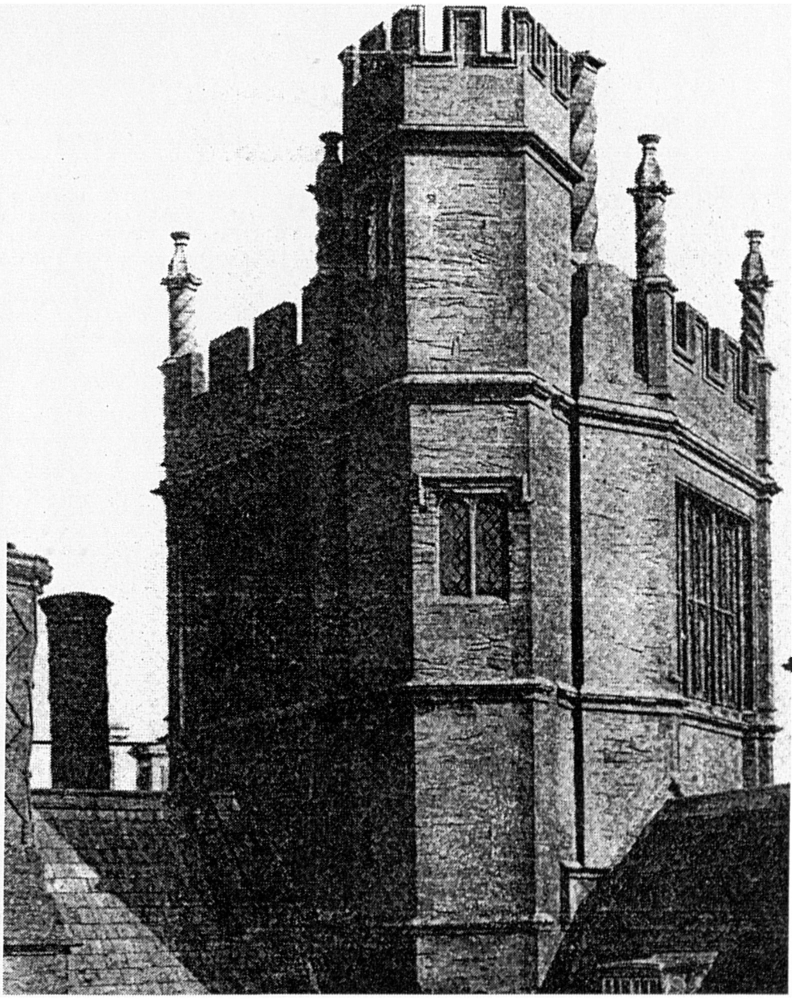


8.30B: Winchester Cathedral, chantry chapel of Bishop Fox (from north)

FIGURE 8.31

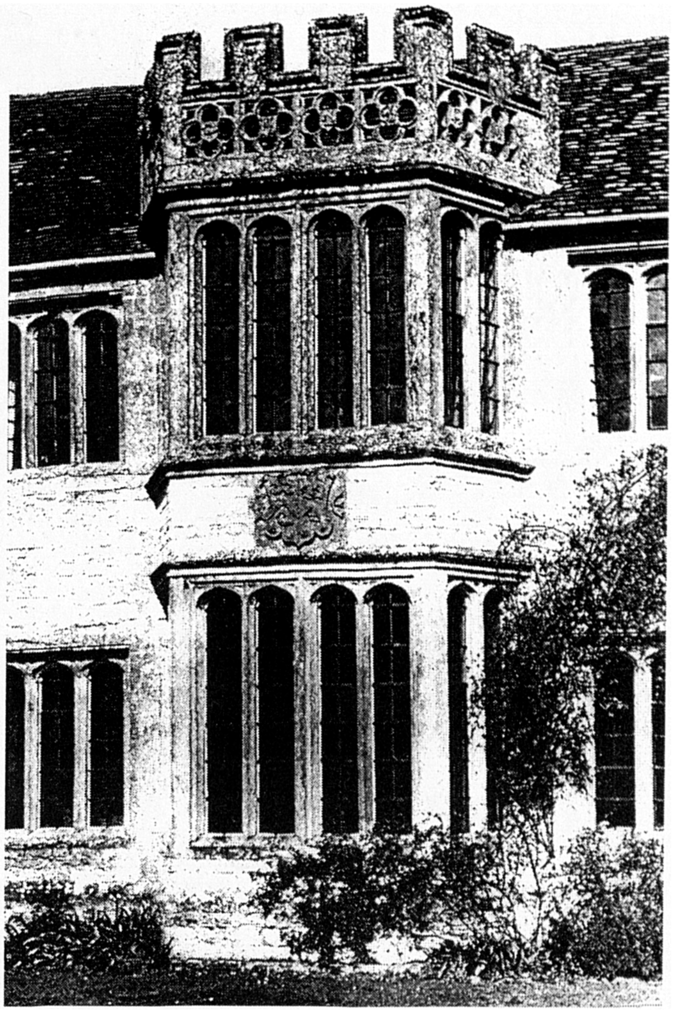


8.31A: Melbury House, ground floor plan



8.31B: Melbury House, Strangeways Tower

FIGURE 8.32

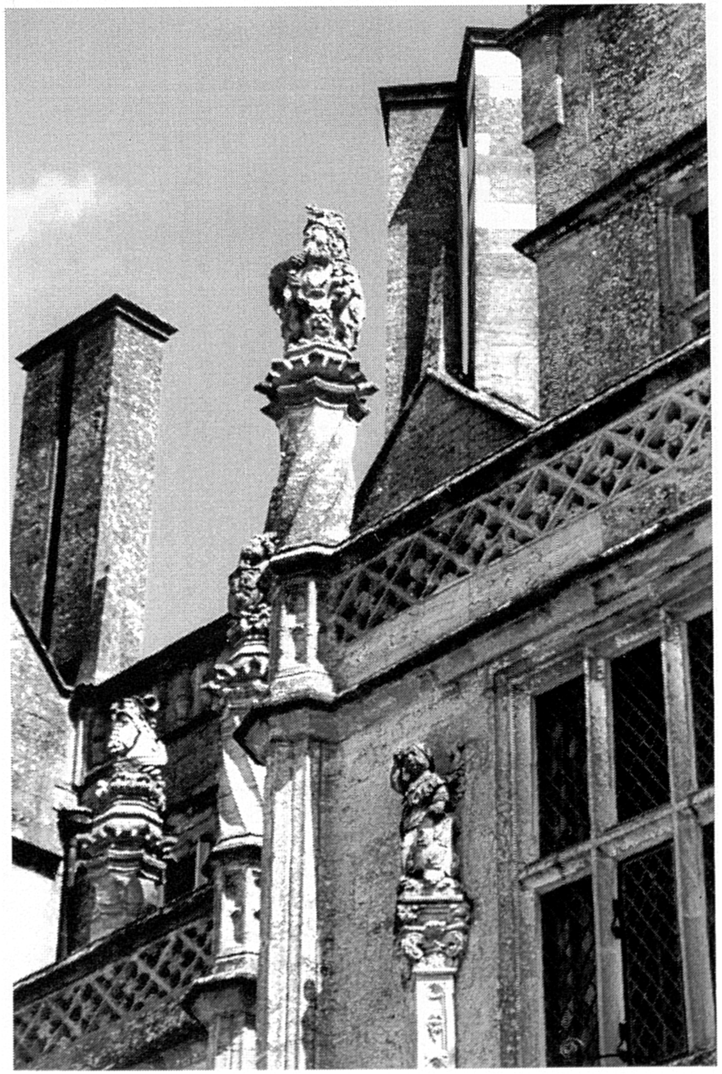


8.32A: Lytes Cary, south front bay window

8.32B: Montacute Priory, gatehouse

FIGURE 8.33

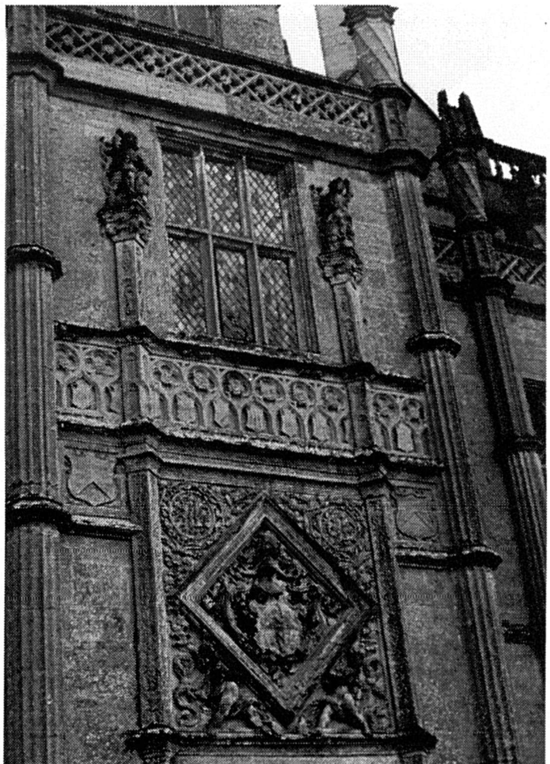
8.33A: Clifton Maybank (at Montacute), porch detail



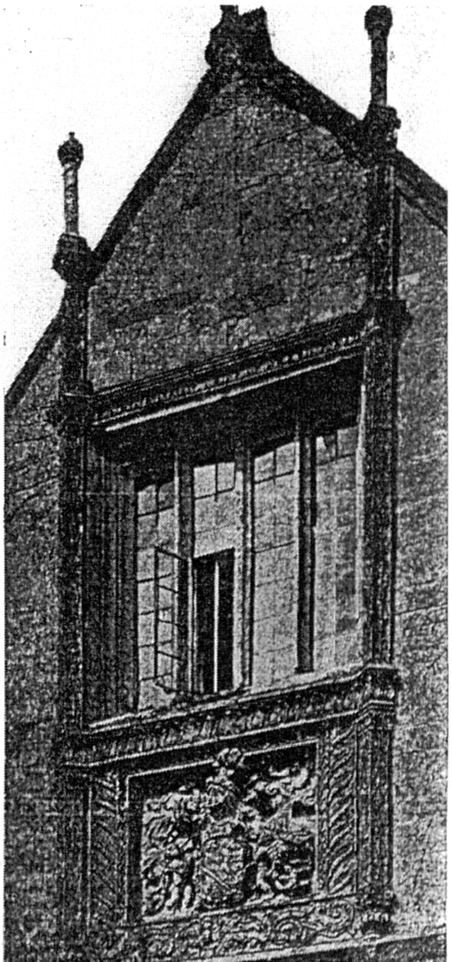
8.33B: Clifton Maybank (at Montacute), porch detail

FIGURE 8.34

8.34A Clifton Maybank (at Montacute)

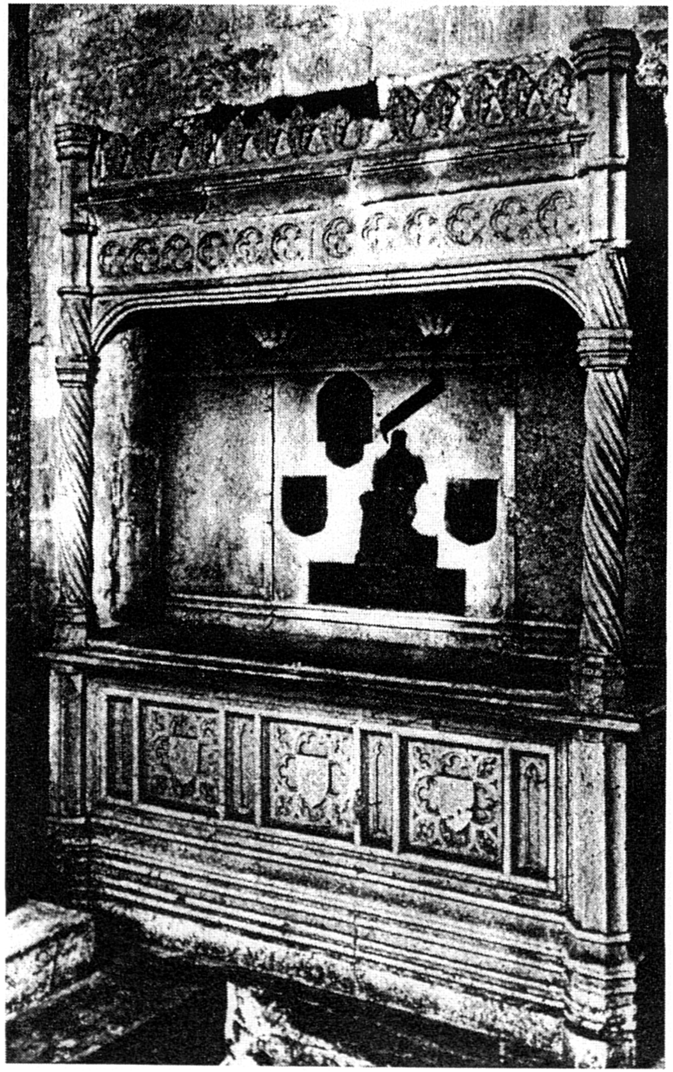


8.34B: Clifton Maybank, detail

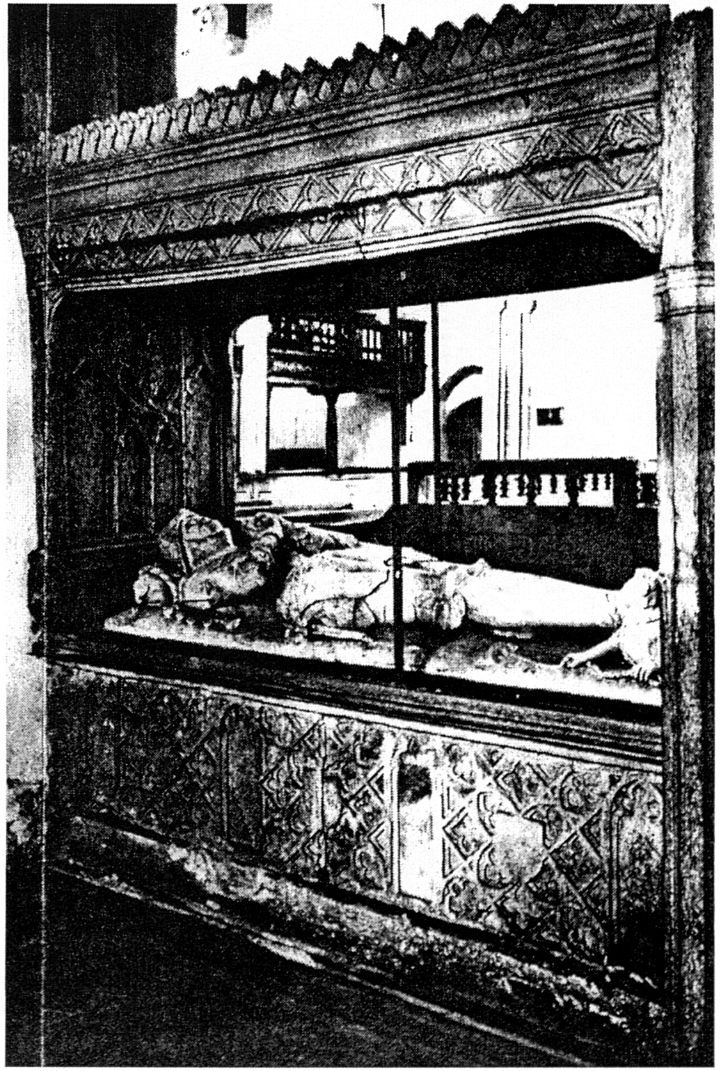


8.34C: Bingham's Melcombe, window

FIGURE 8.35

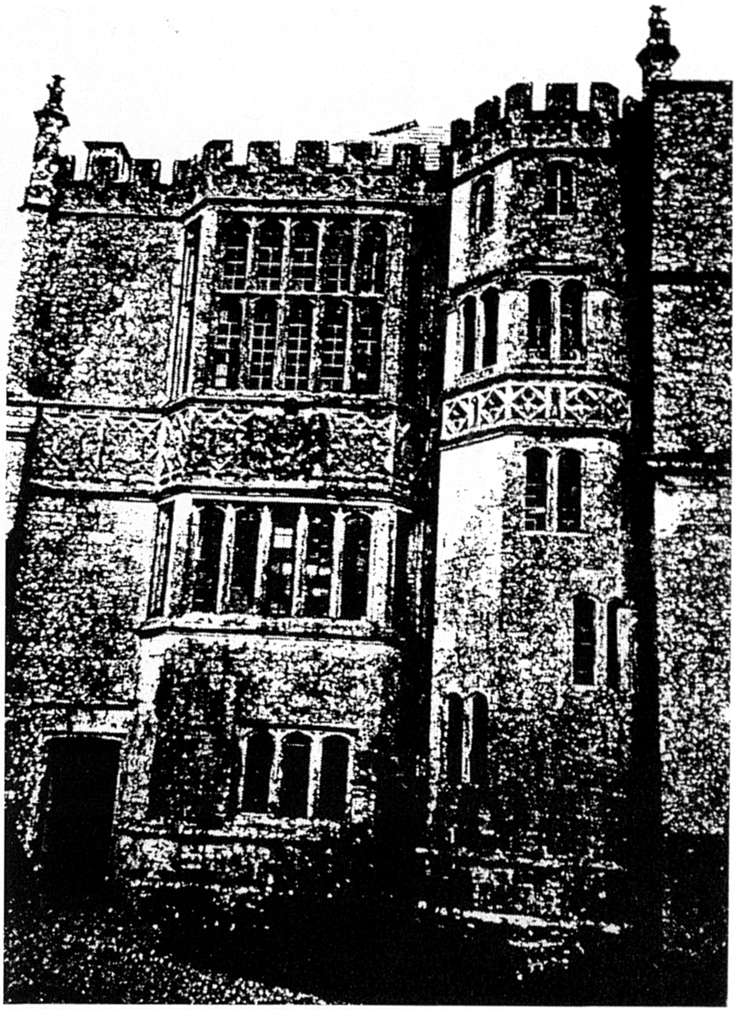


8.35A: Milton Abbey, Sir John Tregonwell's tomb

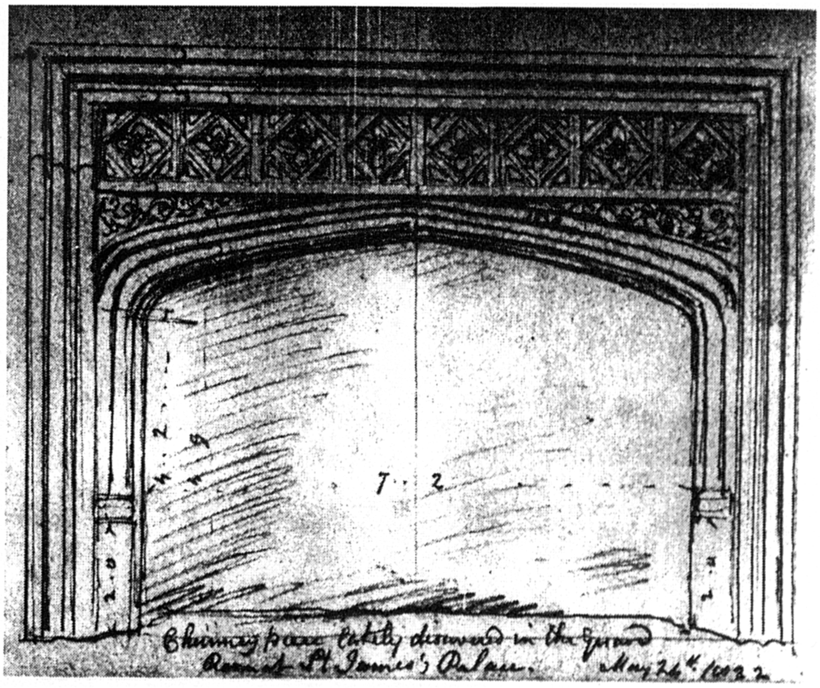


8.35B: St Mary's Puddletown, Sir William Martyn's tomb

FIGURE 8.36



8.36A: Brympton D'Evercy, Somerset, stair turret and bay window



8.36B: St. James' Palace, Westminster, fireplace

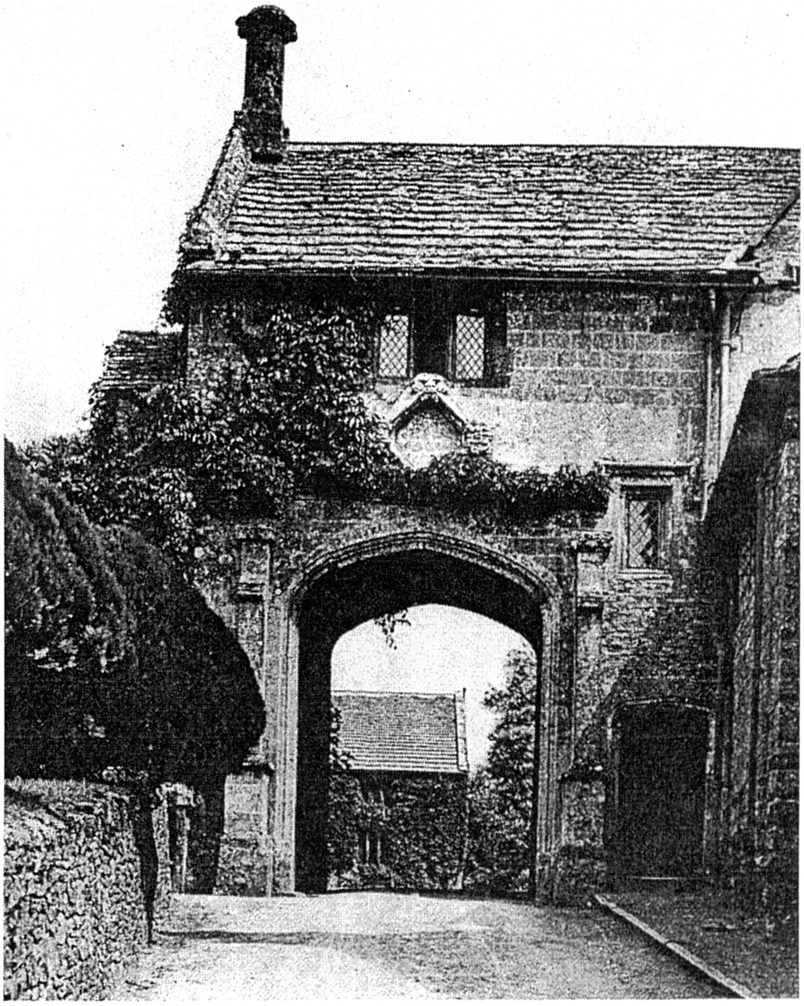
FIGURE 8.37

8.37A: Athelhampton Hall from south, Lithograph by Nash

8.37B: Athelhampton Hall, west wing

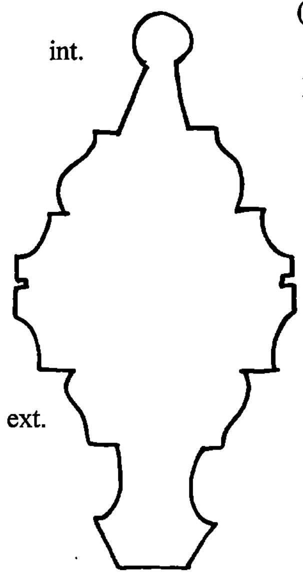
FIGURE 8.38

8.38A: Sandford Orcas house, view from south east



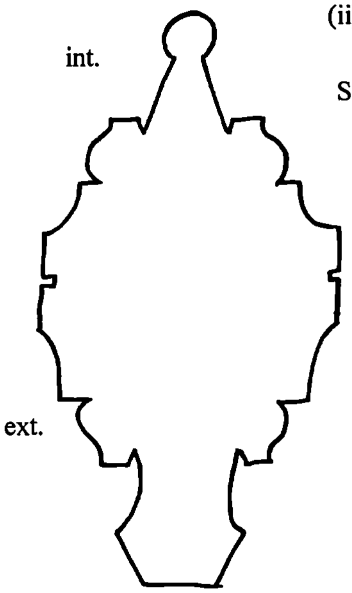
8.38B: Sandford Orcas house, gatehouse from west

FIGURE 8.39



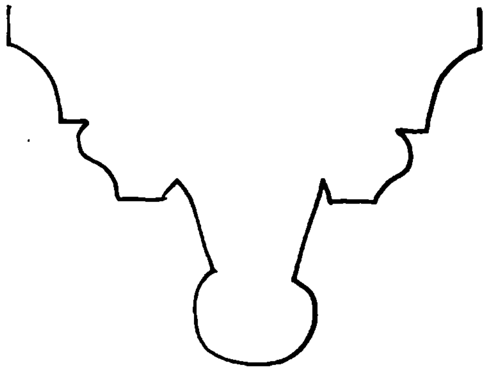
(i)

Melbury house,
main window
mullion



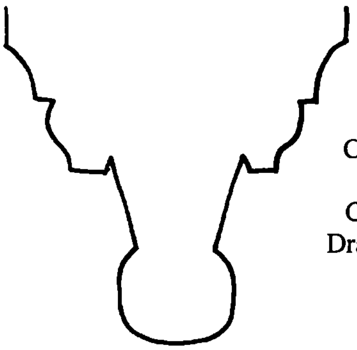
(ii)

Sandford Orcas
house
hall window
mullion



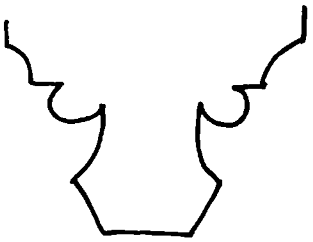
(iii)

Henry VII's Chapel,
east chapels entrance arch-jamb
detail. Also used at St
George's Chapel Windsor,
choir aisles



(iv)

Christchurch Priory,
Hants. Salisbury
Chantry Chapel and
Draper Chantry Chapel
mullion



(v)

Winchester Cathedral, nave
vault west arch. Also found
in the Elizabethan work at
Montacute House, Somerset
and Berry Pomeroy Castle,
Devon

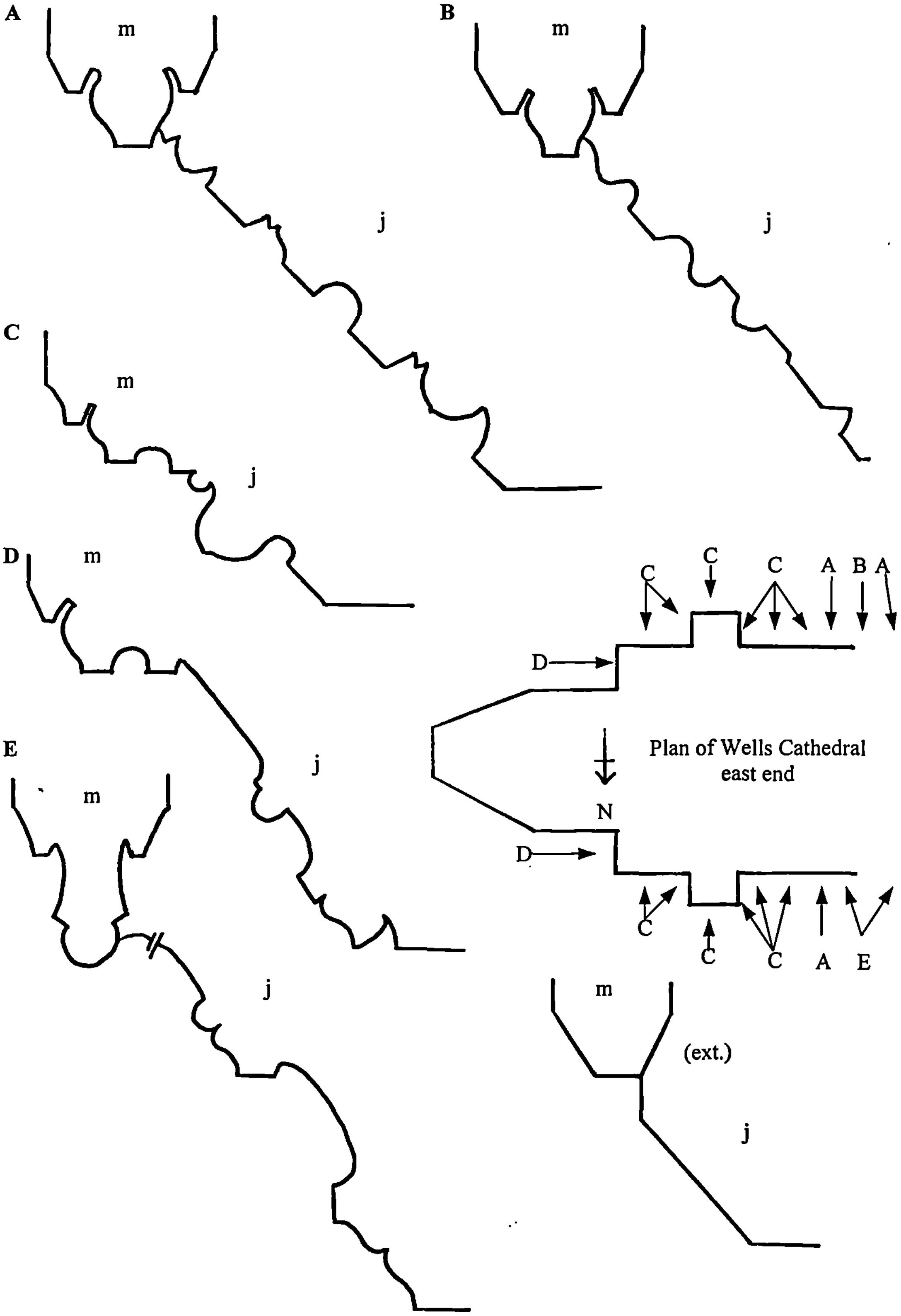
8.39: Comparative mullion profiles between domestic architecture and chantry chapels

FIGURE 8.40

8.40: Barrington Court, Somerset, façade

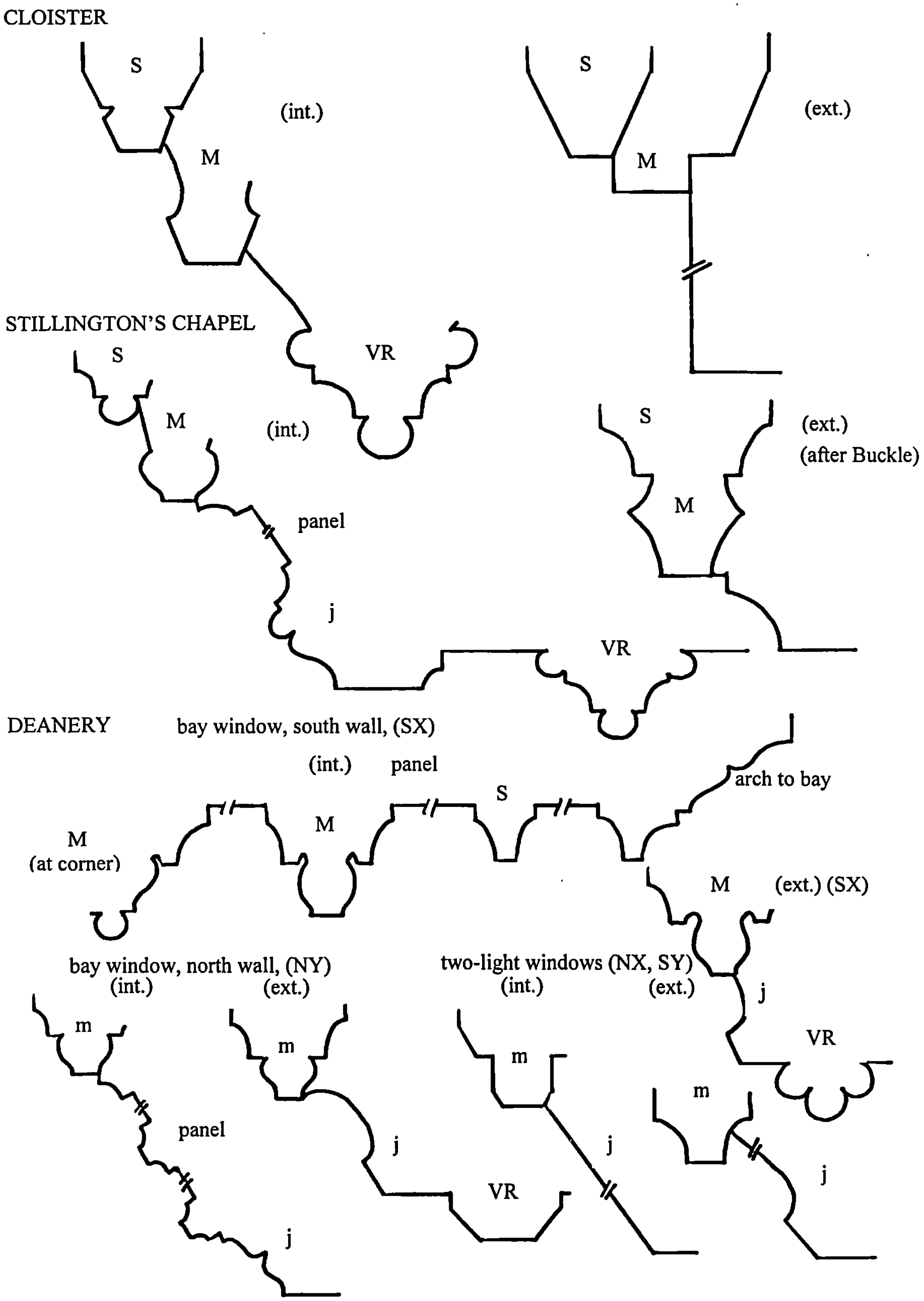
DOSSIER A.1

choir aisle mullions and jambs: interior **A** to **E**



Wells Cathedral: mullions and jambs (choir aisles)

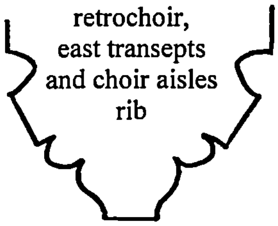
DOSSIER A.2

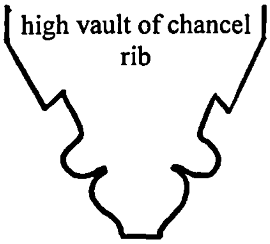


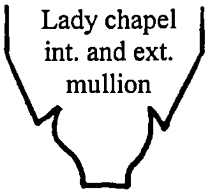
Wells Cathedral: mullions and jambs (cloister, Stillington's Chapel, the deanery)

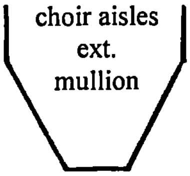
DOSSIER A.3

RIBS AND MULLIONS

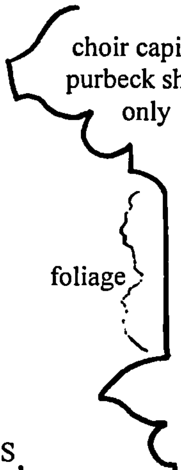


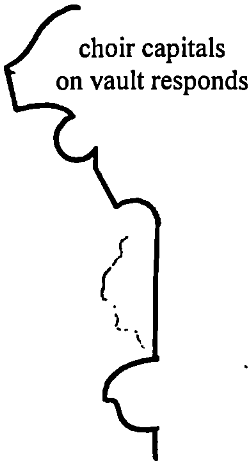




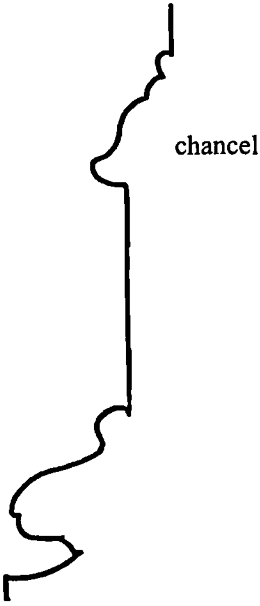


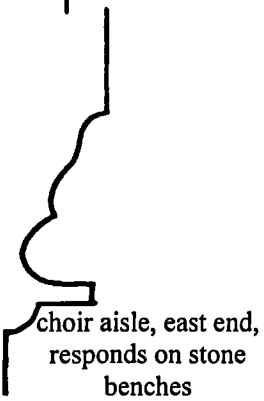
CAPITALS

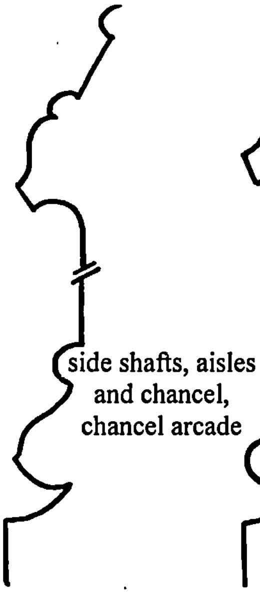


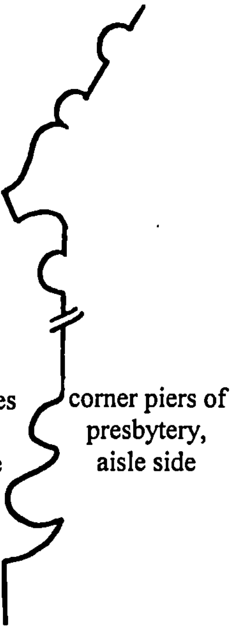


BASES





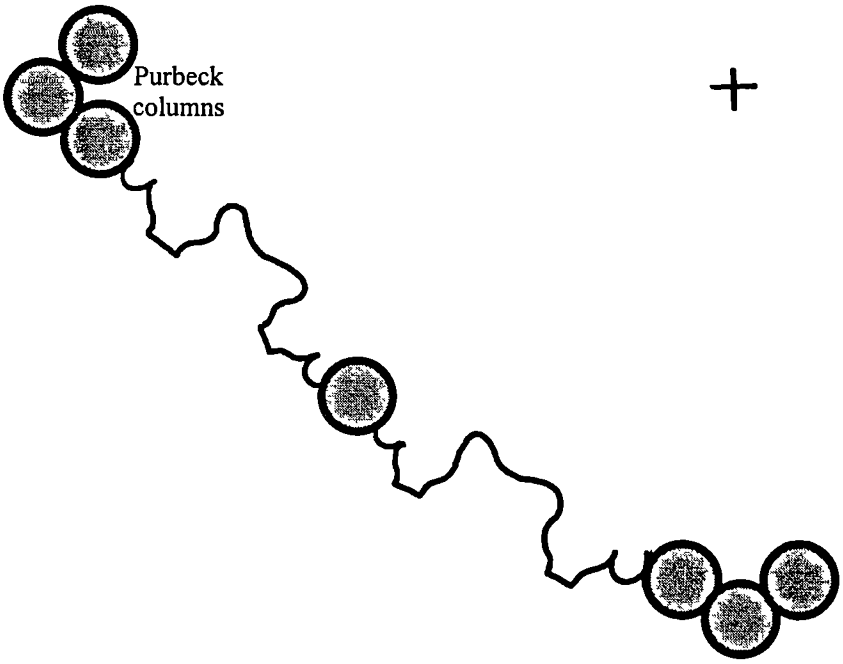




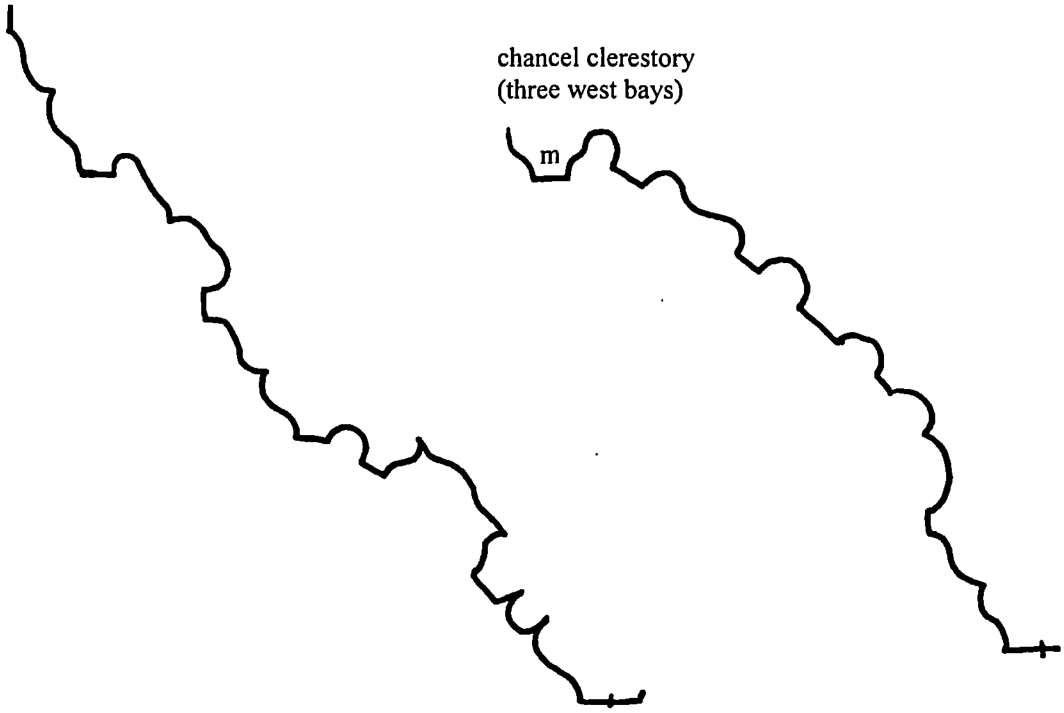
Wells Cathedral: ribs, mullions, capitals and bases (east end)

DOSSIER A.4

chancel arcade pier

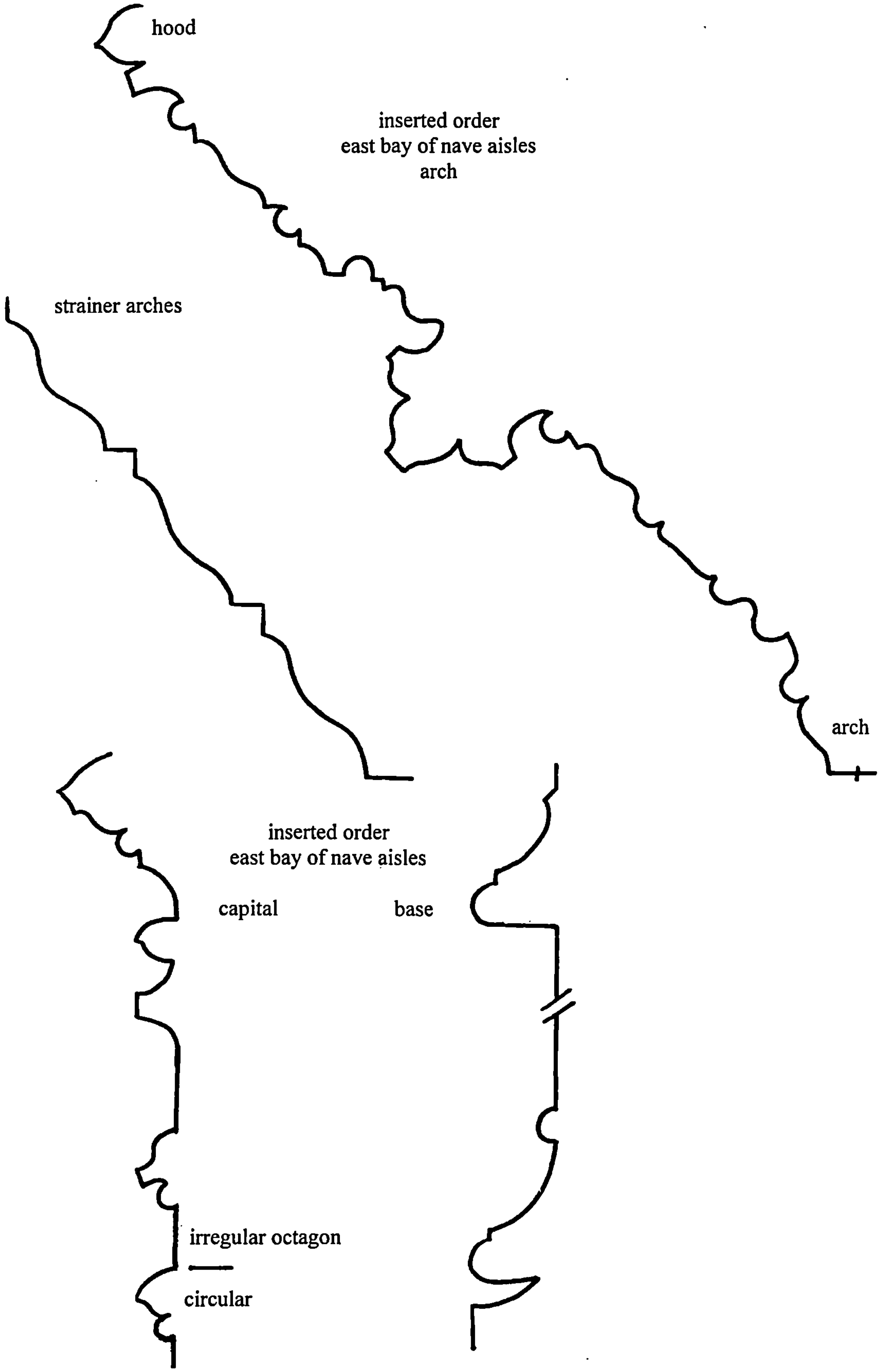


chancel arcade arch


chancel clerestory
(three west bays)

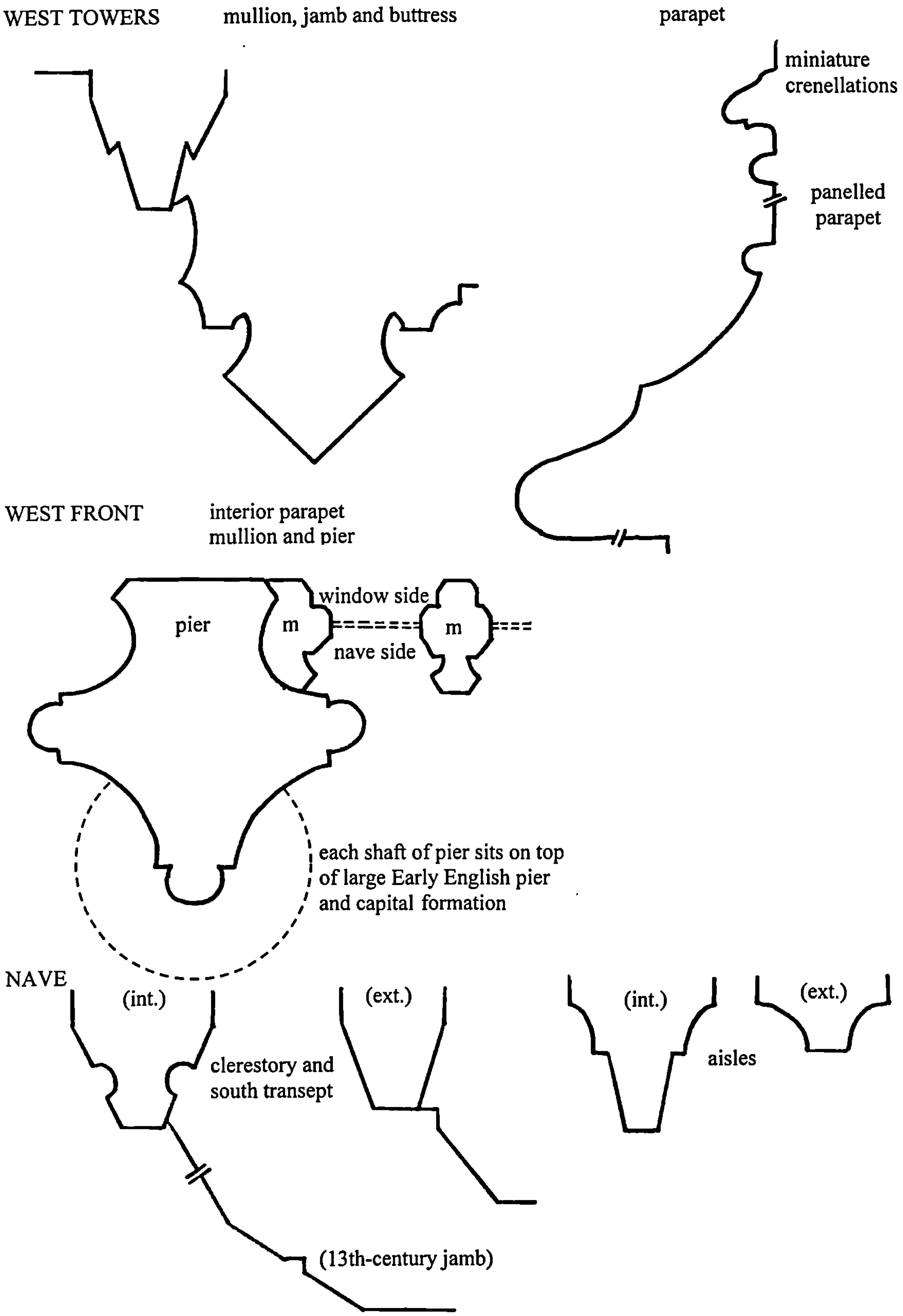
Wells Cathedral: pier and arcade arch (chancel elevation)

DOSSIER A.5



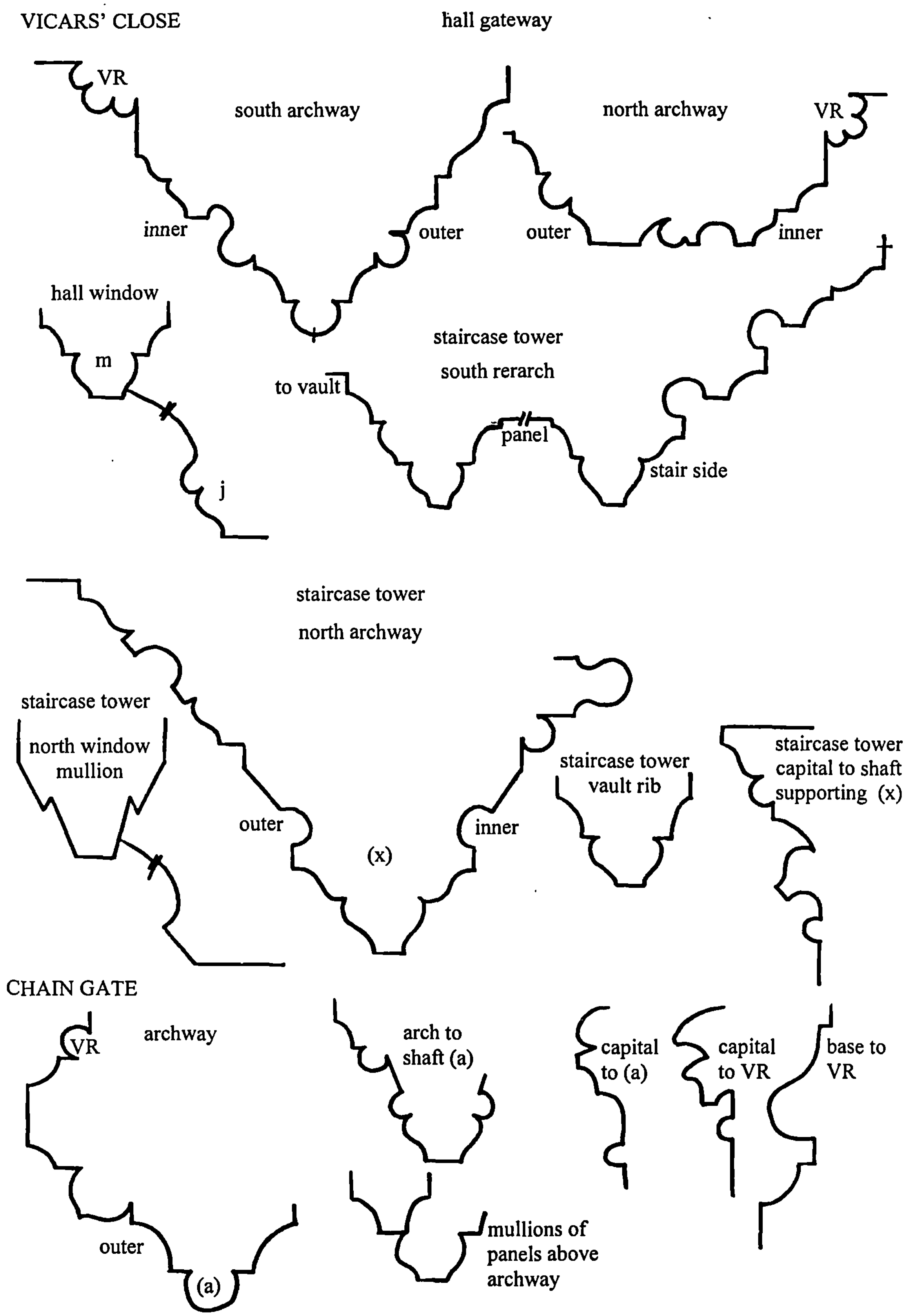
Wells Cathedral: inserted moulded order and strainer arch

DOSSIER A.6



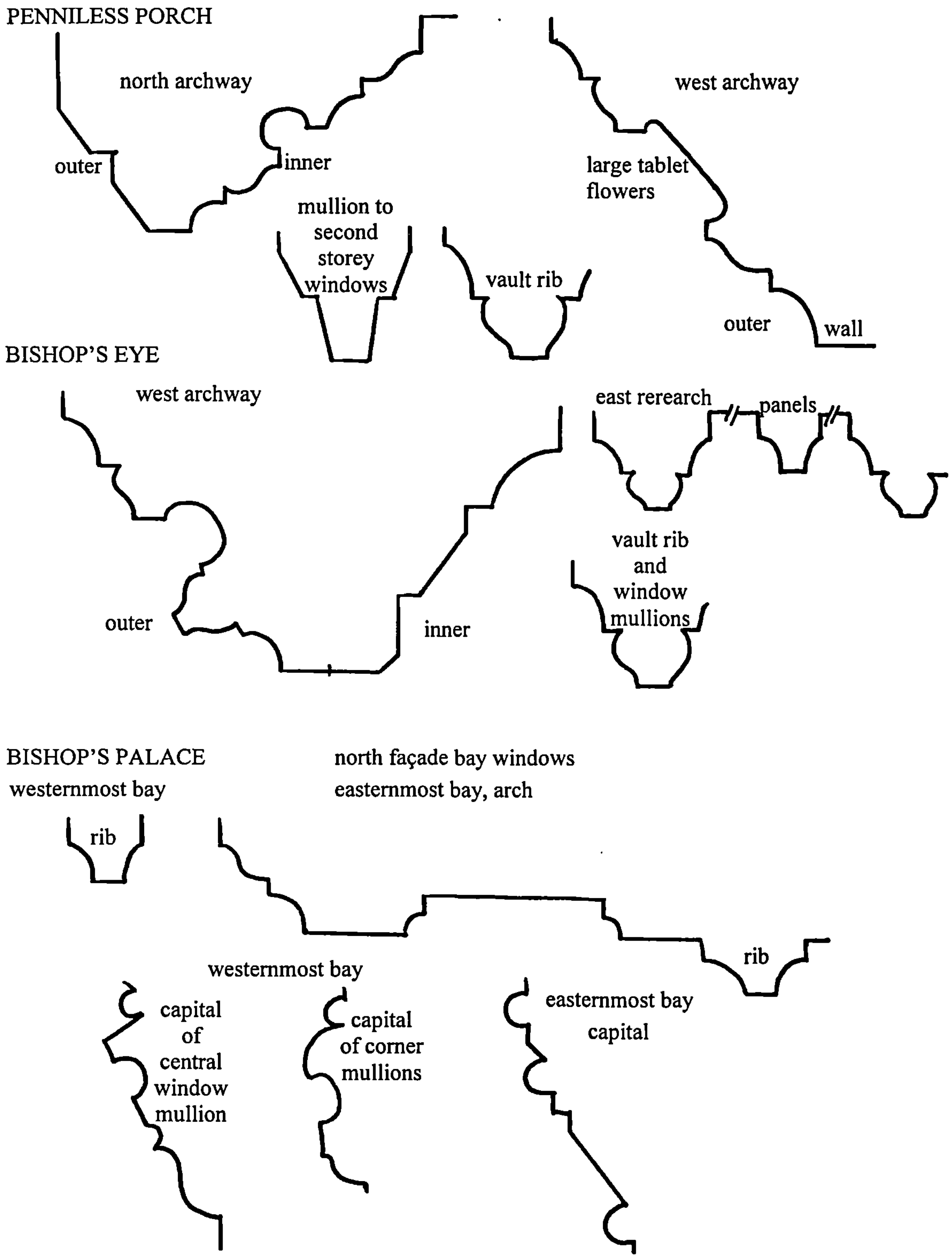
Wells Cathedral: late 14th-century work (towers, west front and nave)

DOSSIER A.7



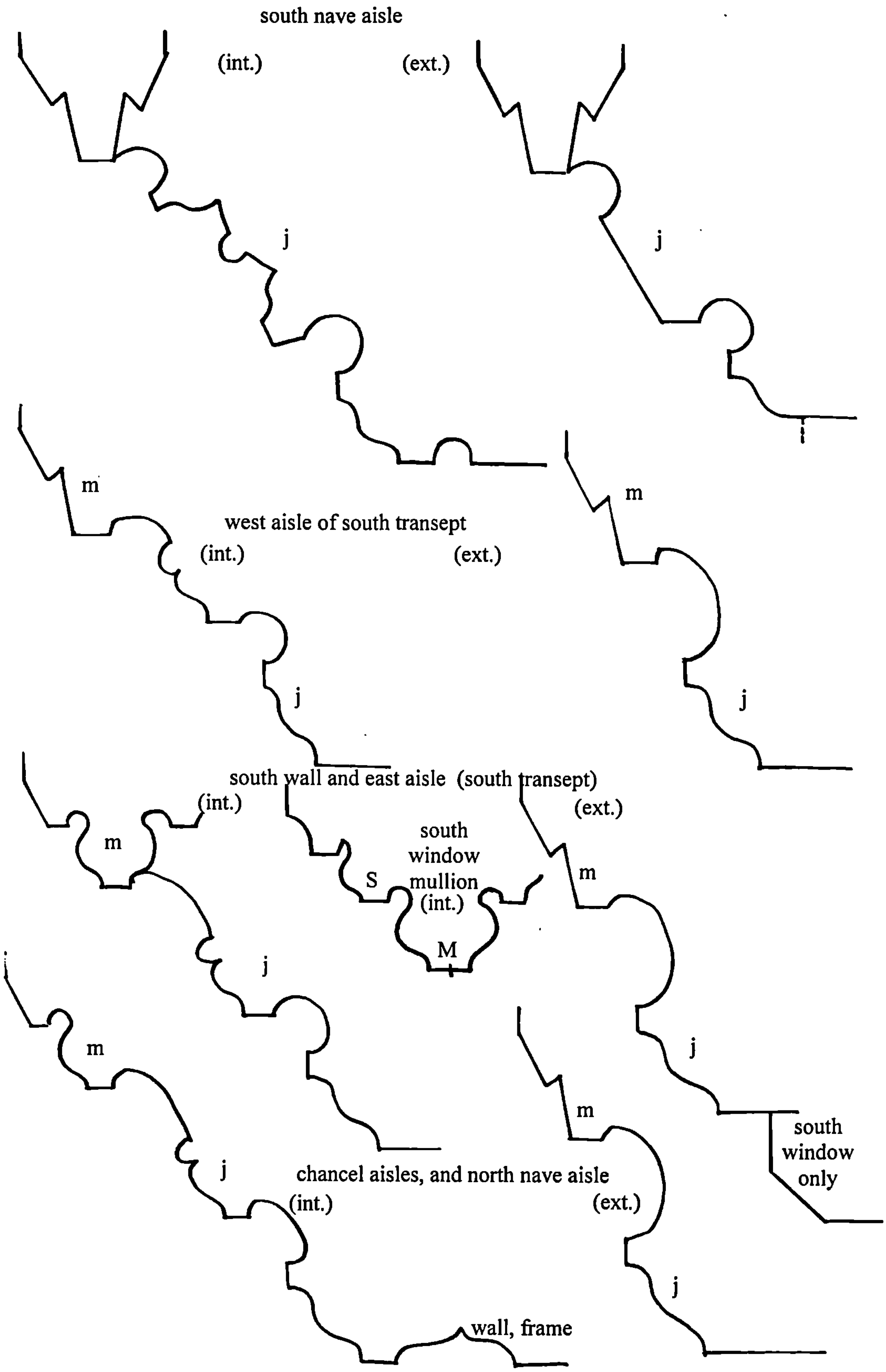
Wells Cathedral: vicars' close and chain gate

DOSSIER A.8



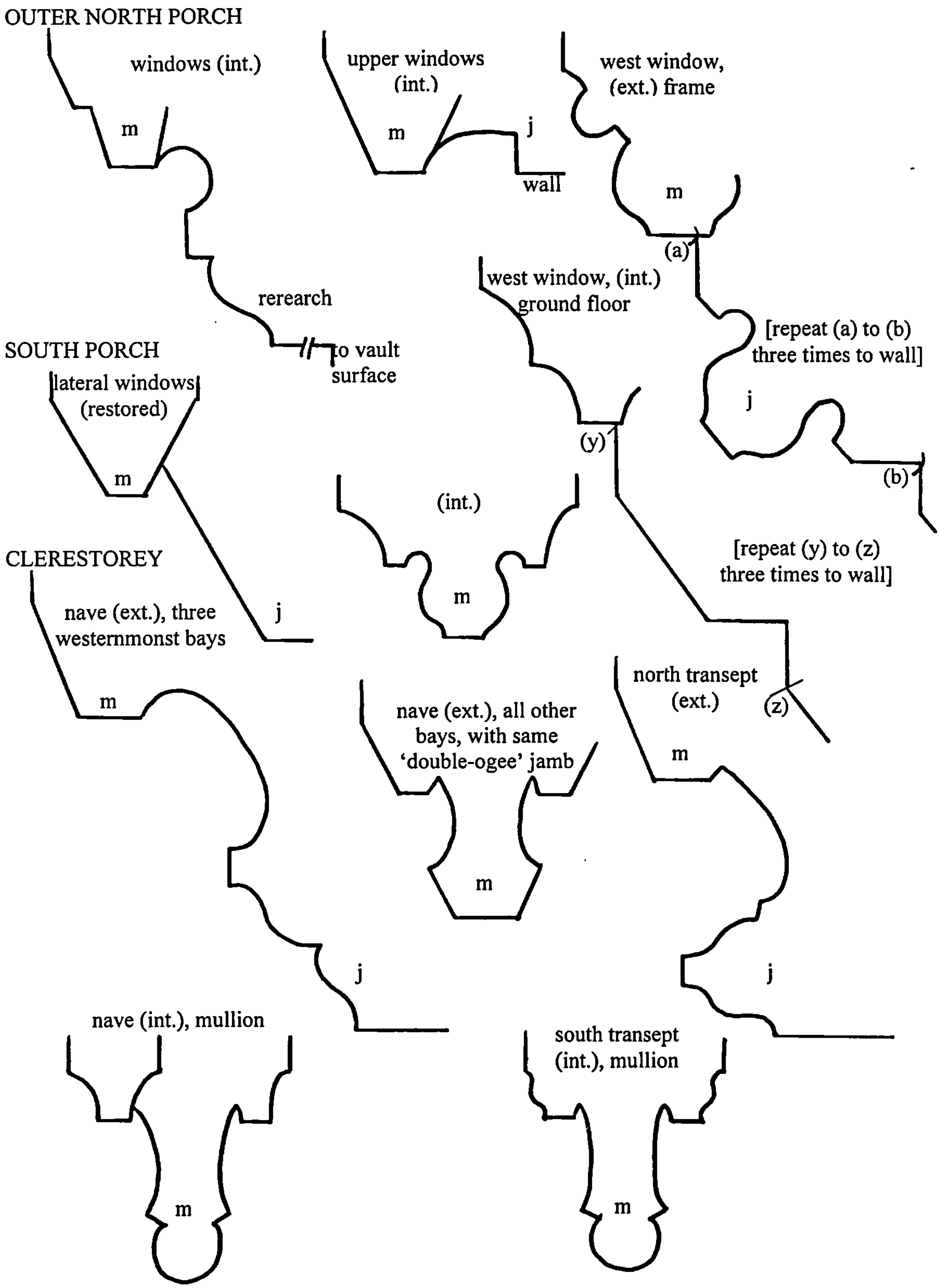
Wells Cathedral: Penniless Porch, Bishop's Eye and the bishop's palace

DOSSIER B.1



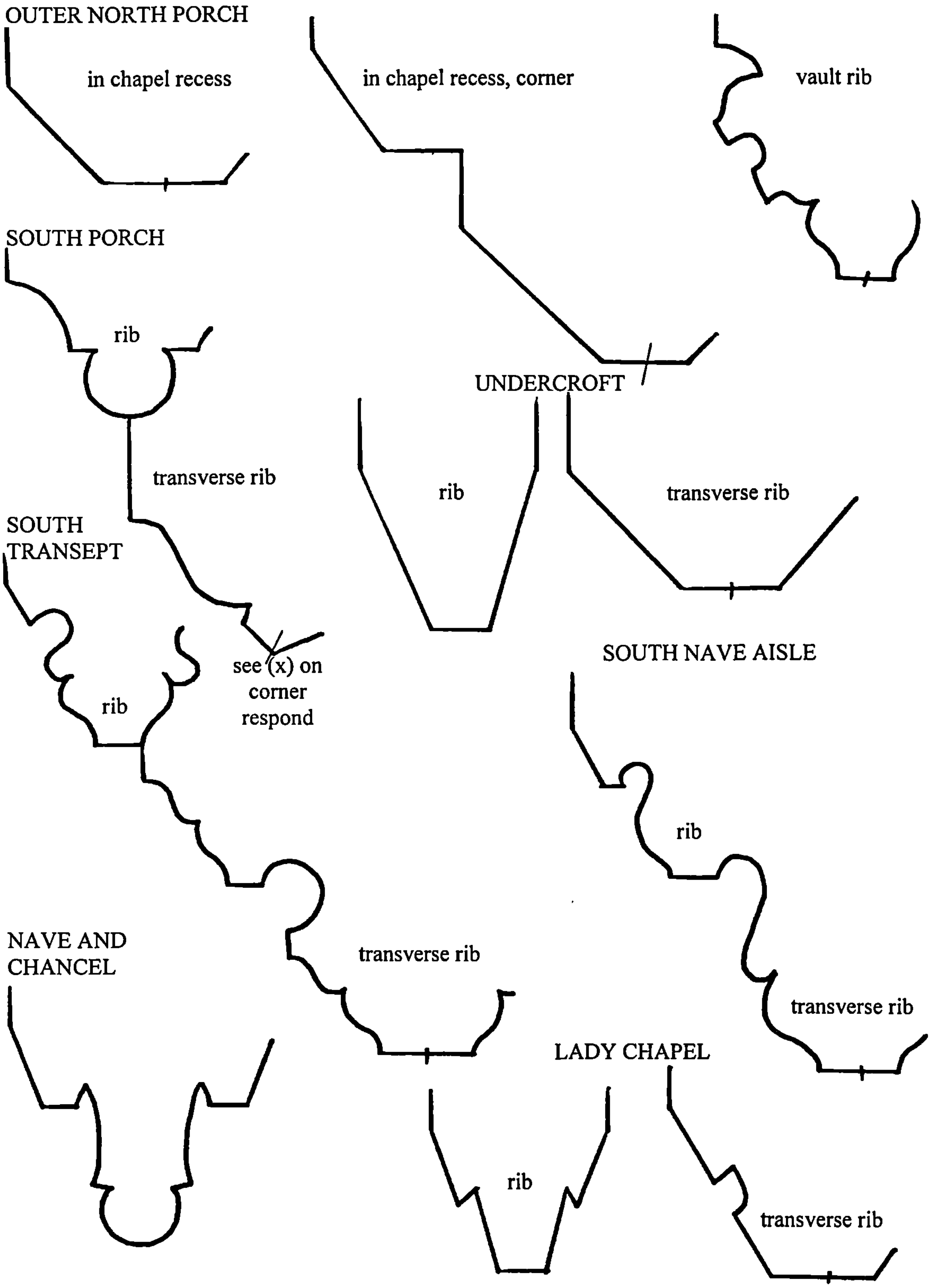
St Mary Redcliffe: mullions and jambs (aisles)

DOSSIER B.2



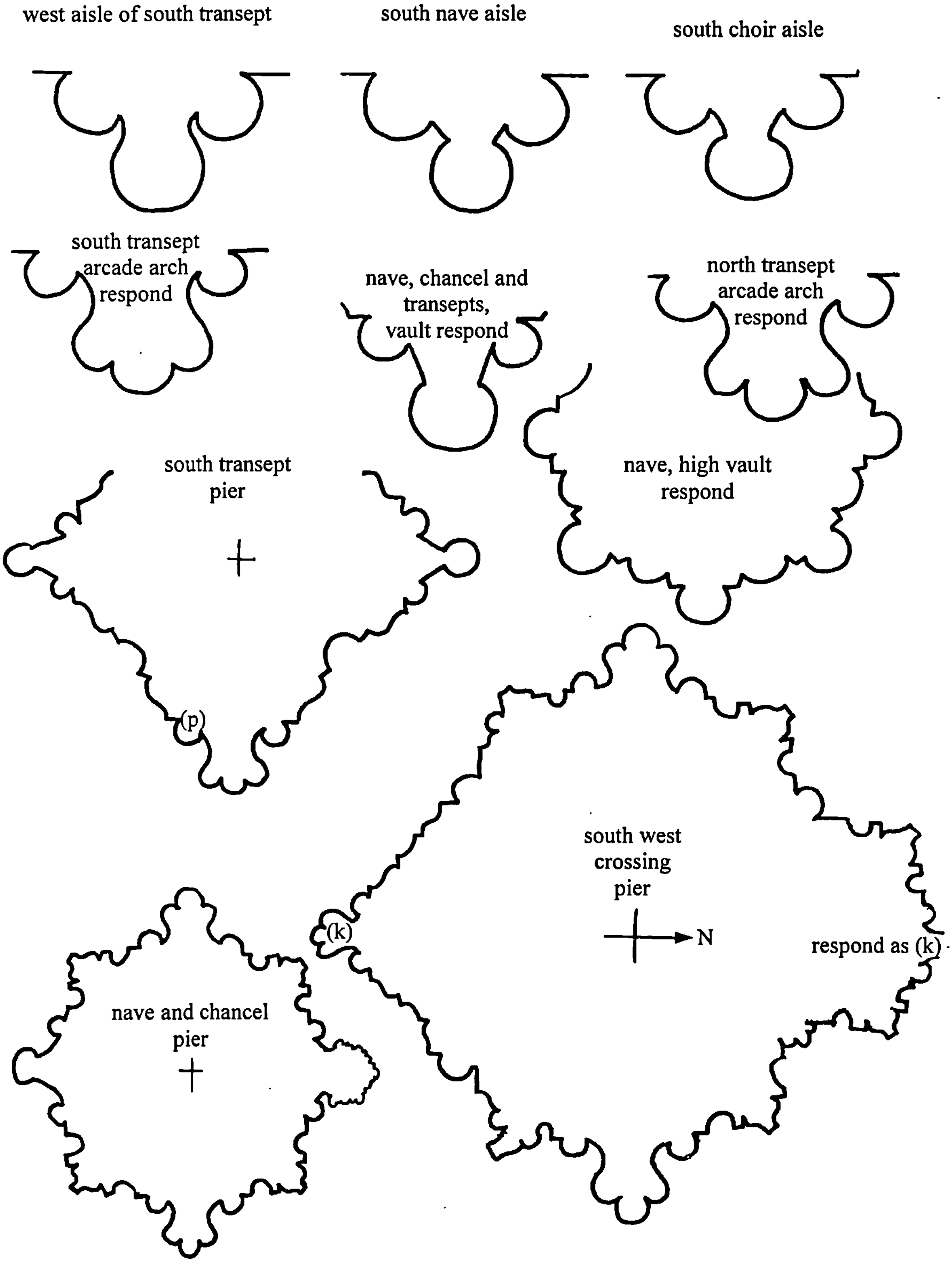
St Mary Redcliffe: mullions and jambs (north porch, south porch, and clerestory)

DOSSIER B.3



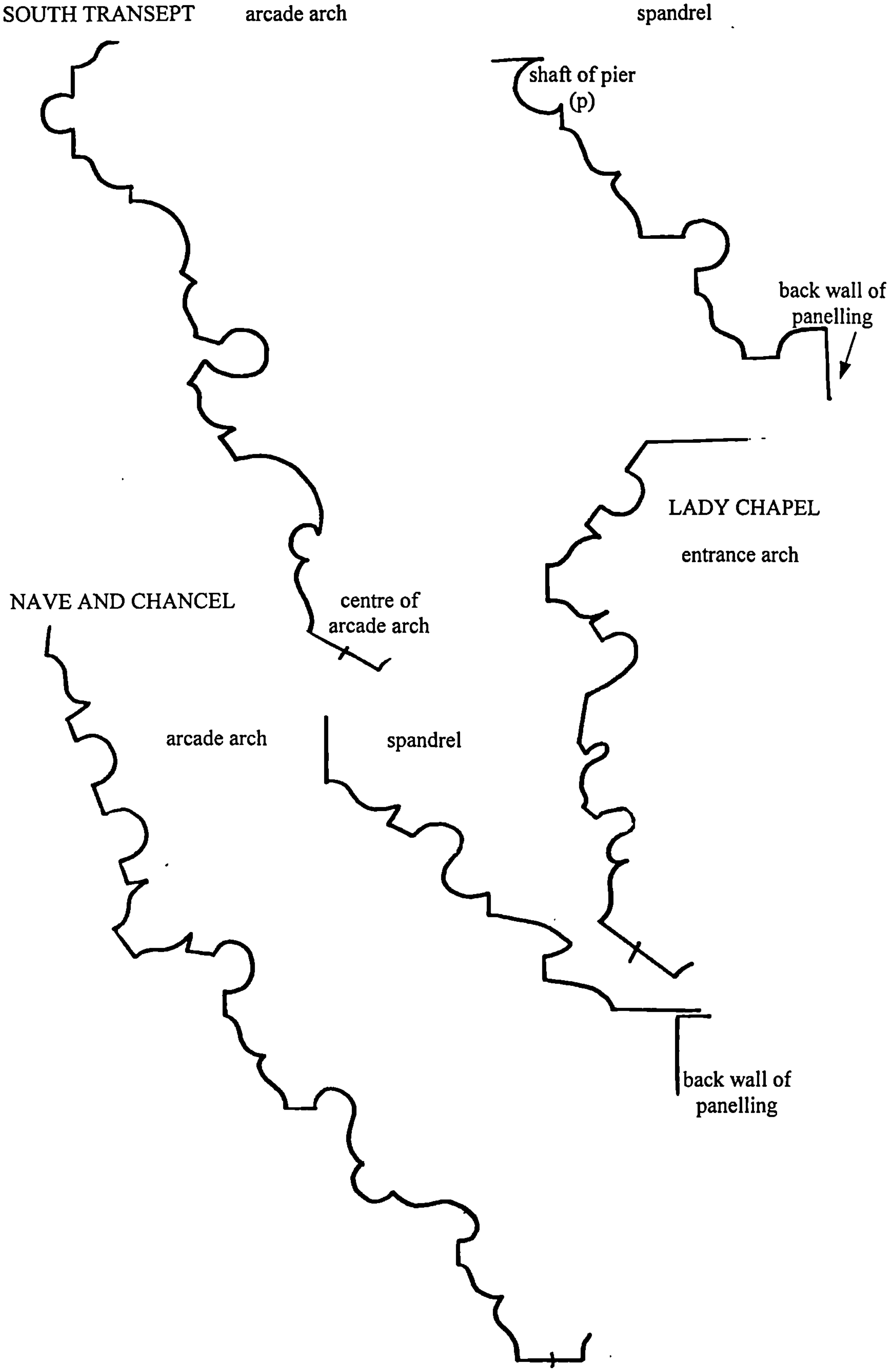
St Mary Redcliffe: ribs

DOSSIER B.4



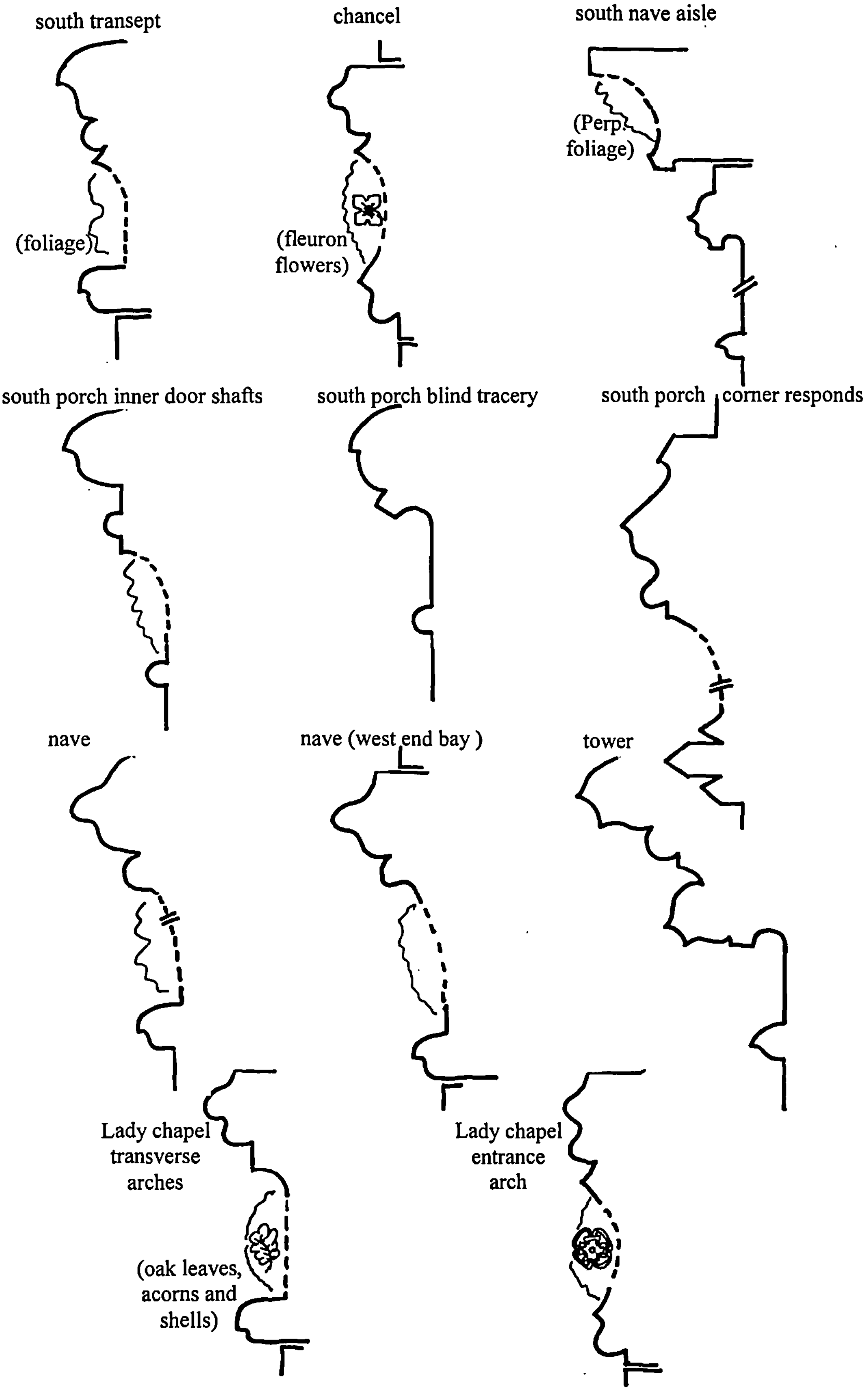
St Mary Redcliffe: responds and piers

DOSSIER B.5



St Mary Redcliffe: arcade arches and spandrels

DOSSIER B.6



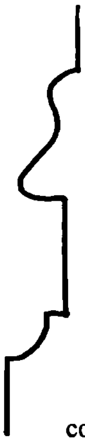
St Mary Redcliffe: capitals

DOSSIER B.7

south transept
west aisle

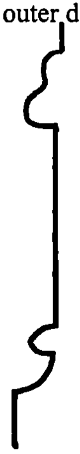
south transept
east aisle

south transept



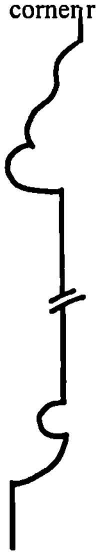
south nave aisle

south porch
outer door

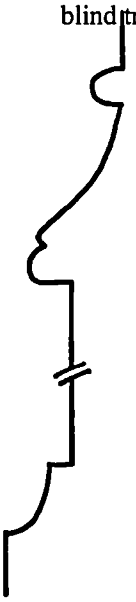


south porch
inner door shafts

south porch
corner responds

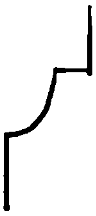


south porch
blind tracery

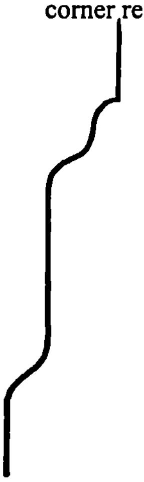


choir aisles, chancel,
nave, north nave
aisle, north transept,
crossing

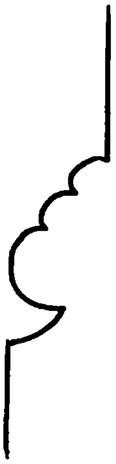
north porch
outer door



north porch
corner respond

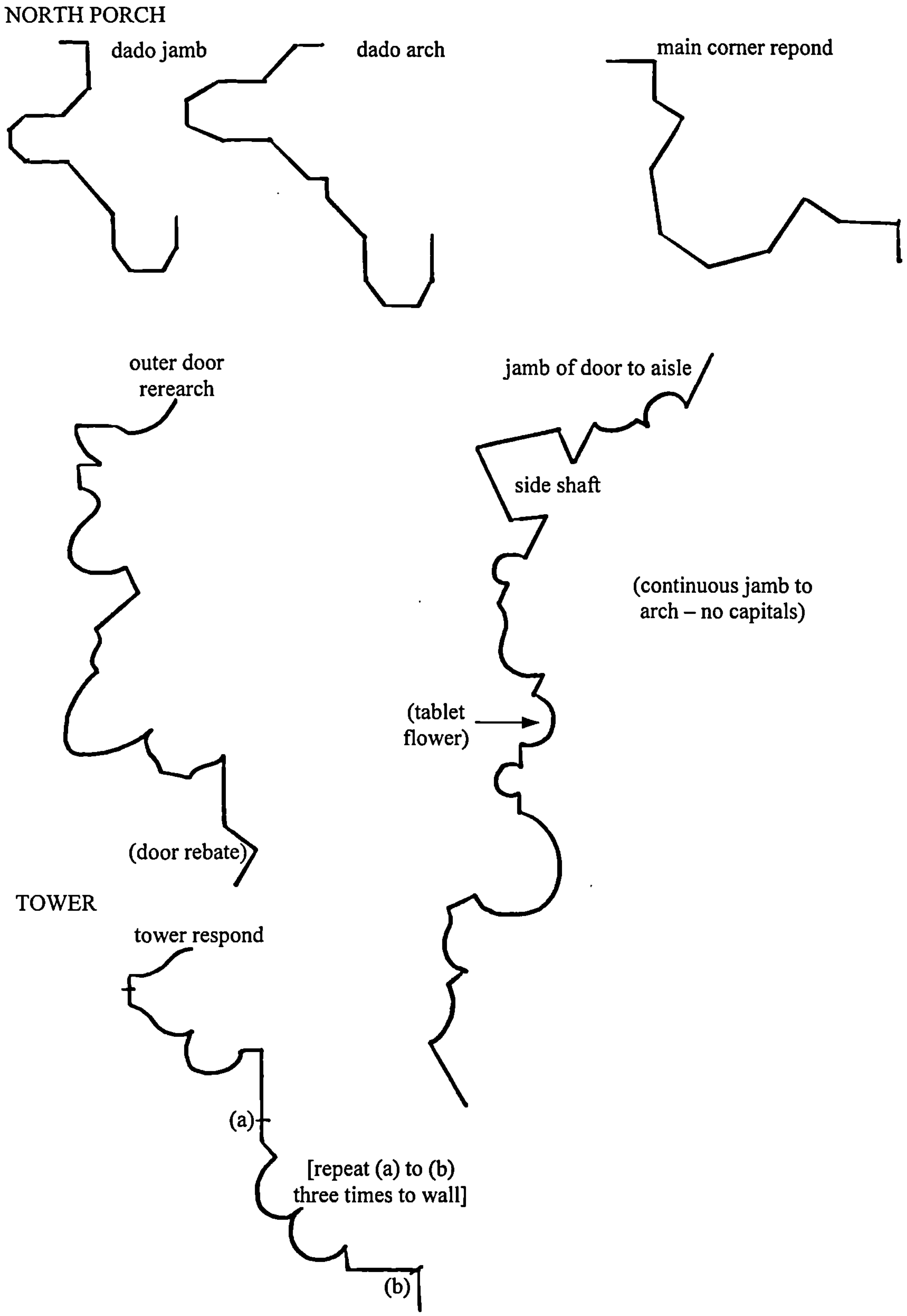


tower



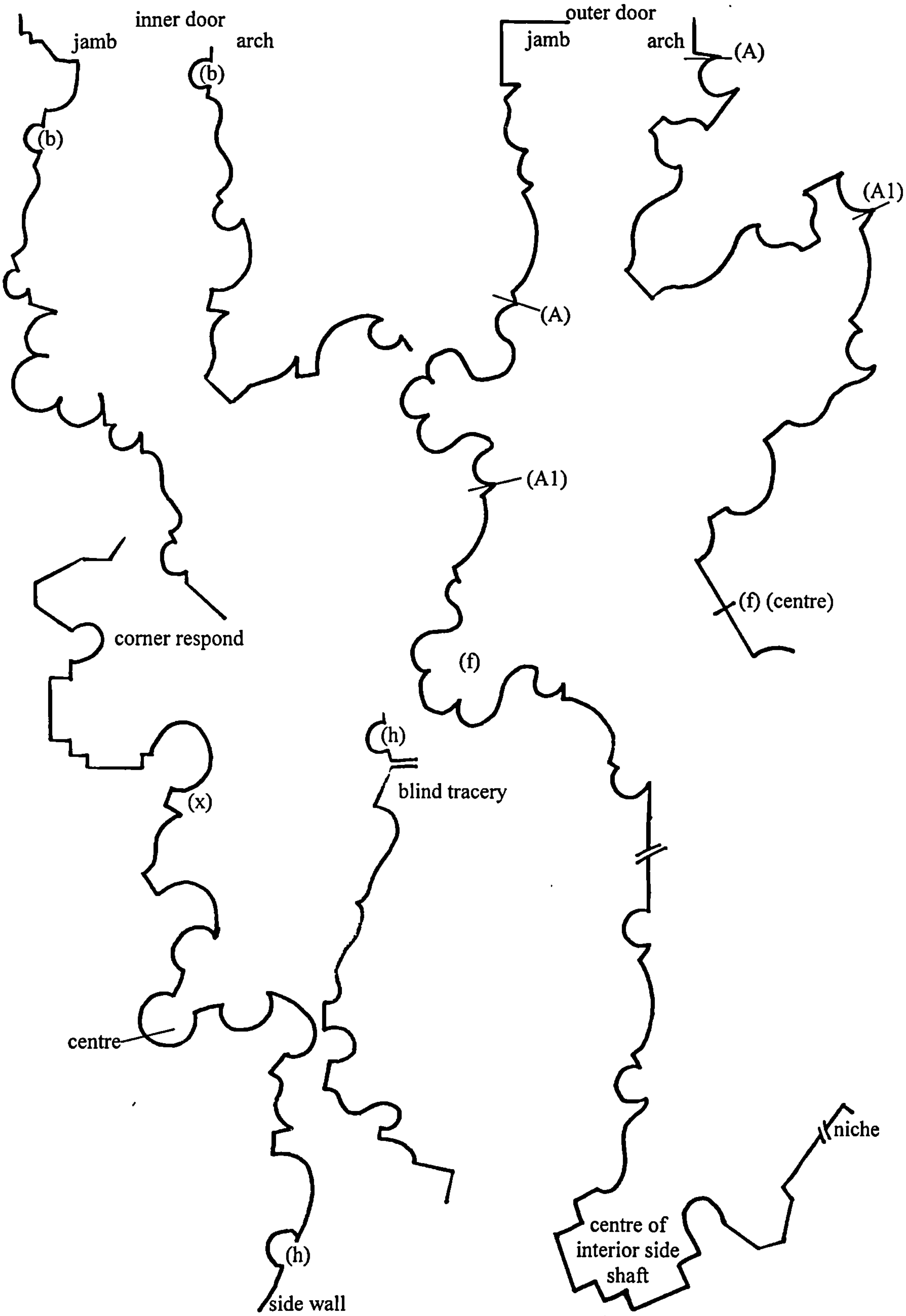
St Mary Redcliffe: bases

DOSSIER B.8



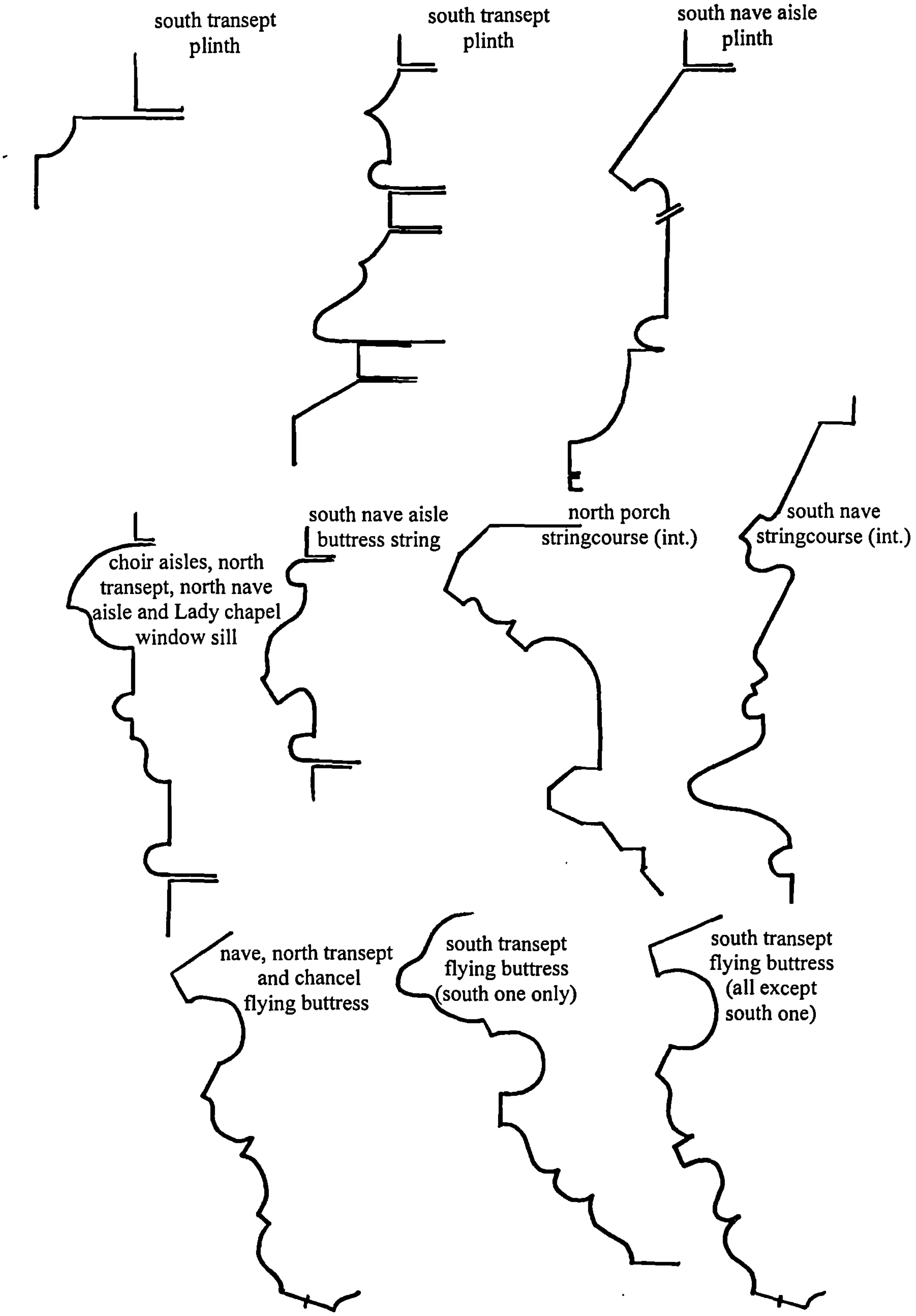
St Mary Redcliffe: responds and jambs (north porch and tower)

DOSSIER B.9



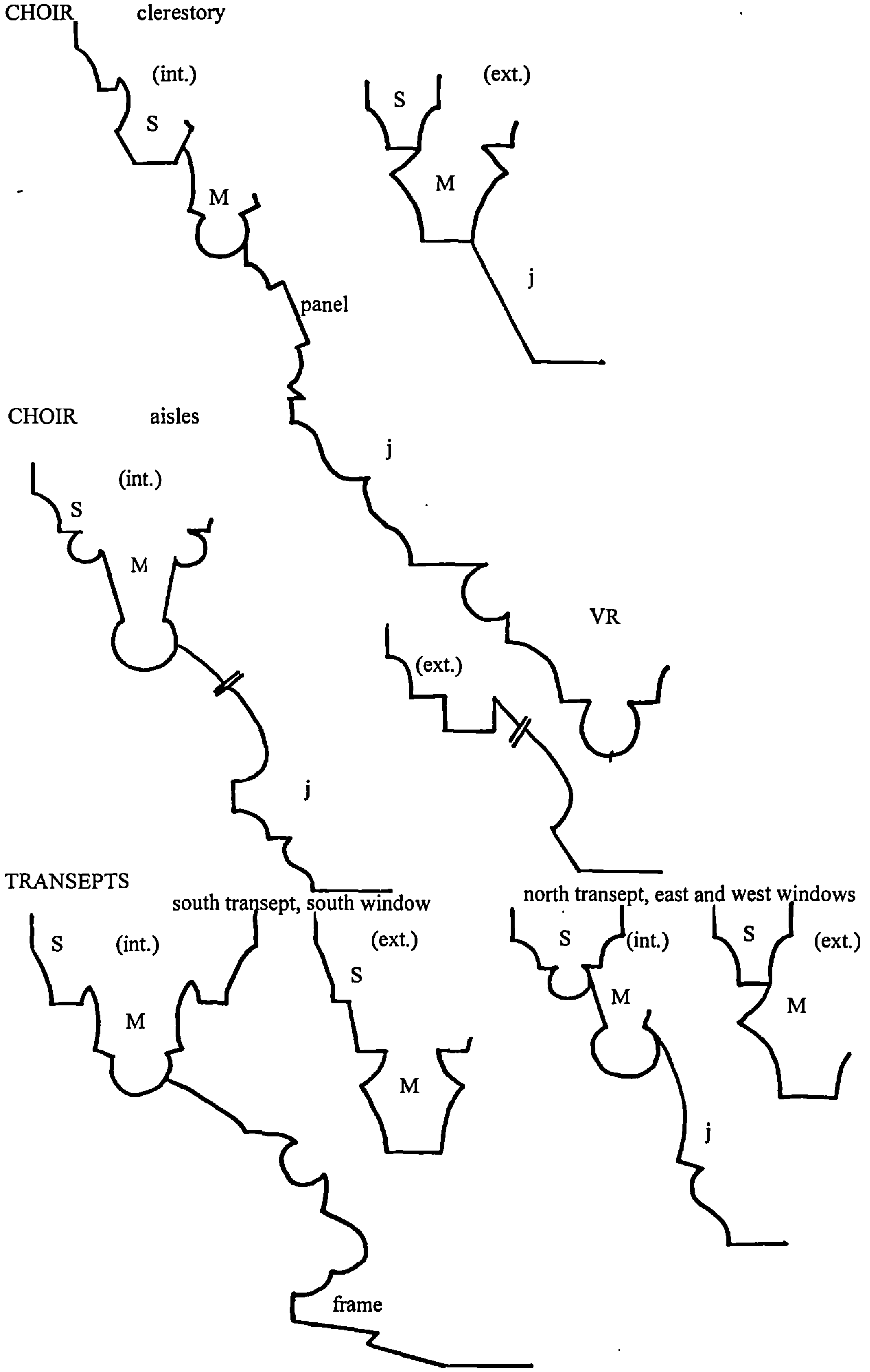
St Mary Redcliffe: responds and jambs (south porch)

DOSSIER B.10



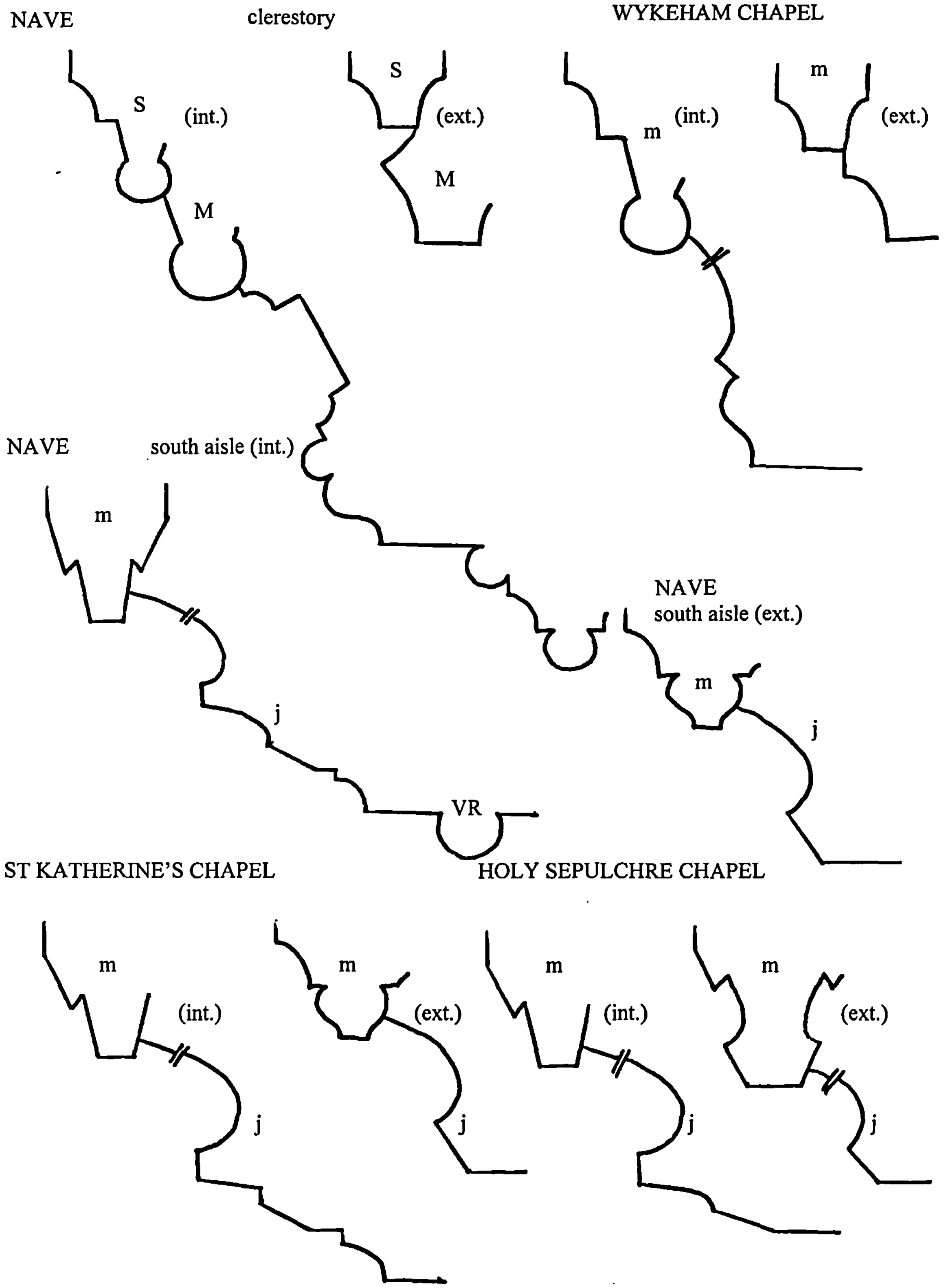
St Mary Redcliffe: plinths, stringcourses and flying buttresses

DOSSIER C.1



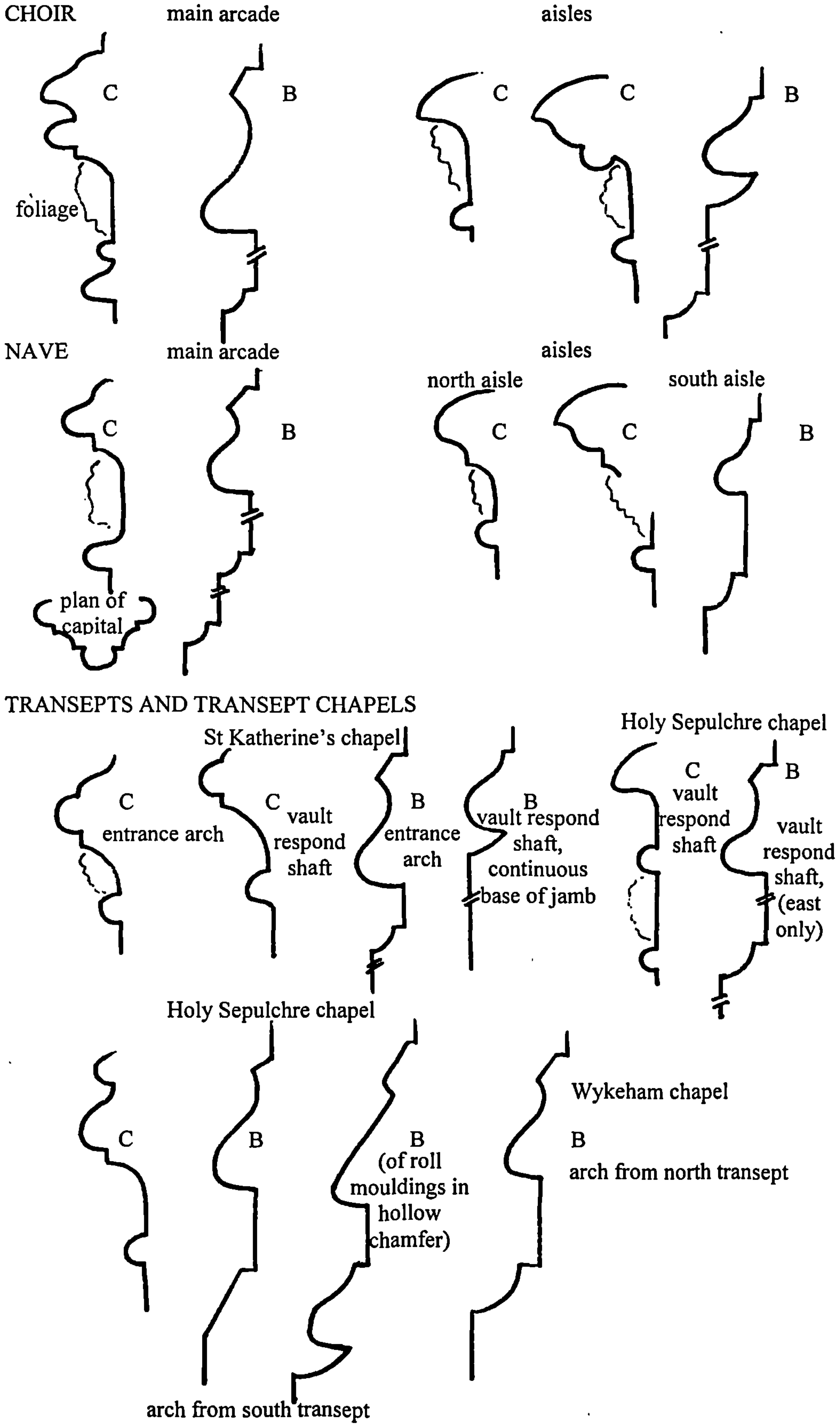
Sherborne Abbey: mullions and jambs (choir, north transept and south transept)

DOSSIER C.2



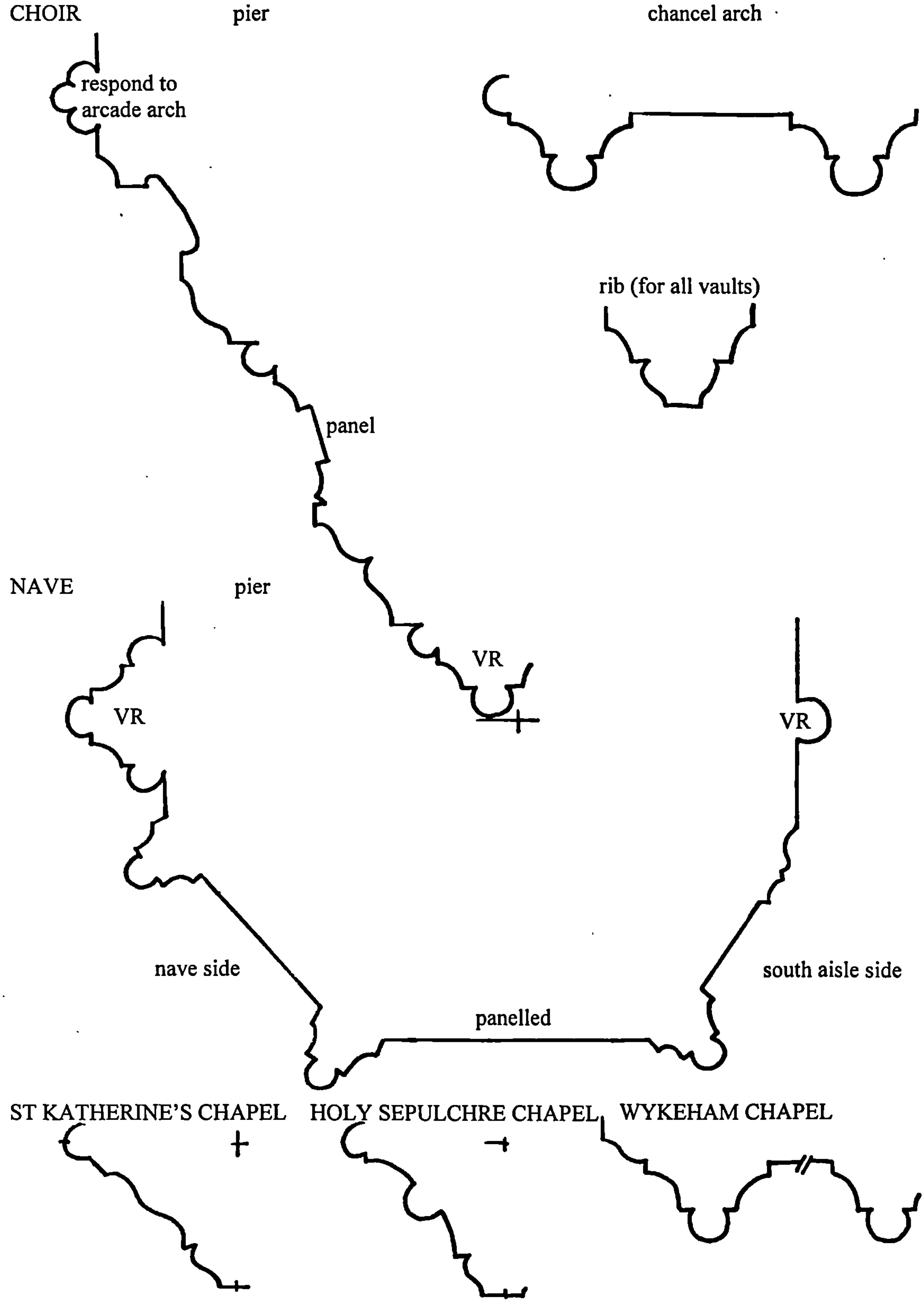
Sherborne Abbey: mullions and jambs (nave and chapels)

DOSSIER C.3



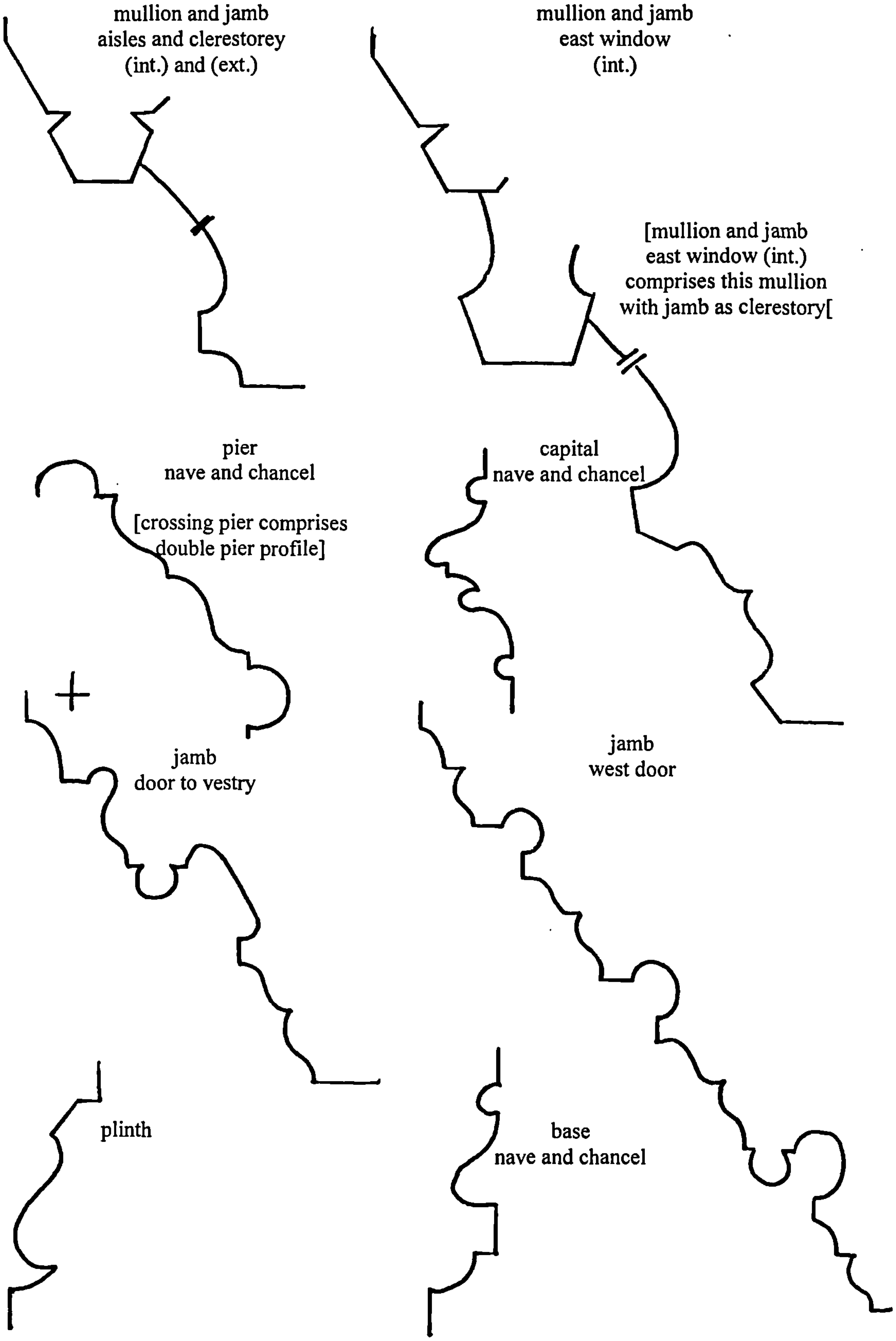
Sherborne Abbey: capitals and bases

DOSSIER C.4



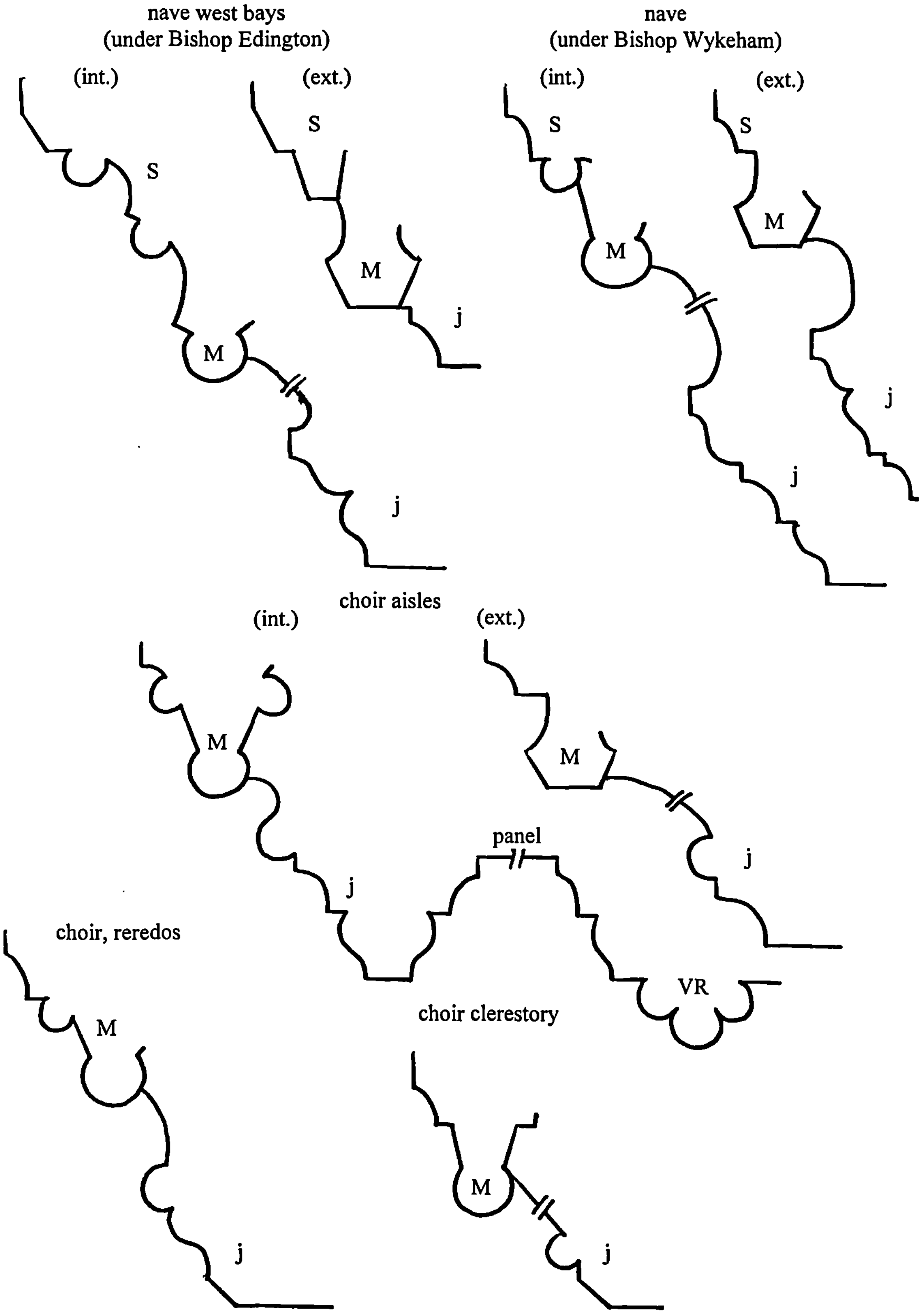
Sherborne Abbey: piers (choir, nave and chapels)

DOSSIER D.1



Bath Abbey: moulding profiles

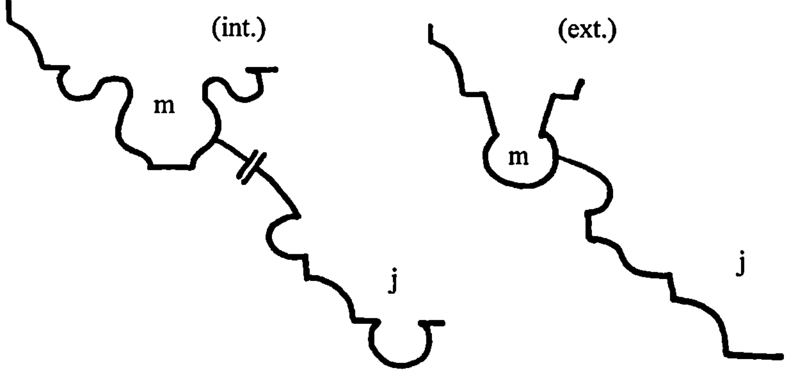
DOSSIER E.1



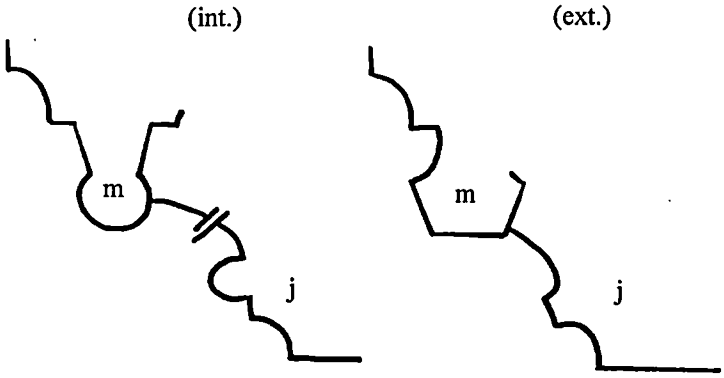
Winchester Cathedral: mullions and jambs

DOSSIER E.2

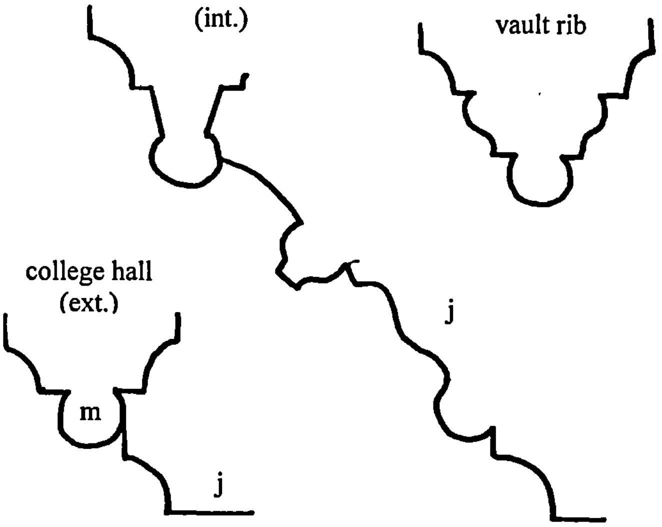
Fromond's Chantry Chapel



College chapel

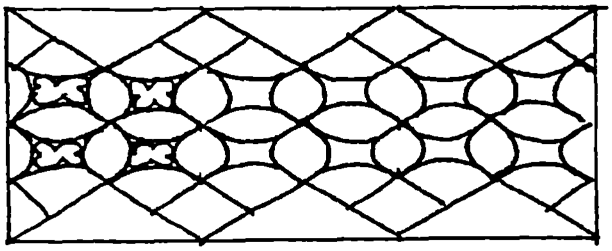


Thurbern's Chantry Chapel

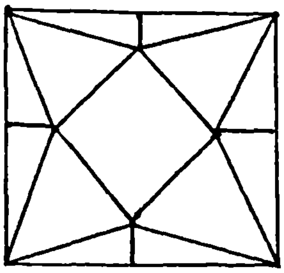


Winchester College: mullions and jambs

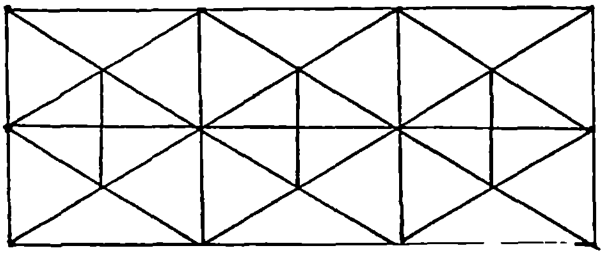
DOSSIER F.1



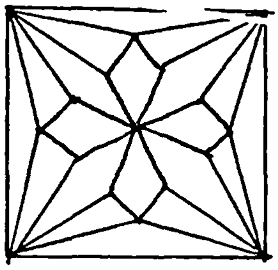
Ottery St Mary, chancel



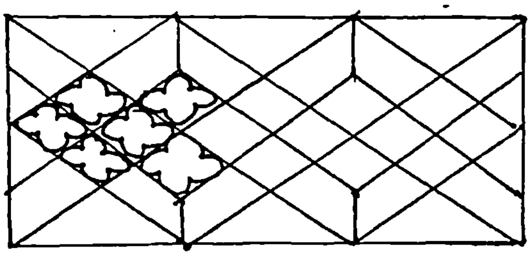
Ottery St Mary, transept



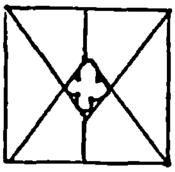
Ottery St Mary, nave



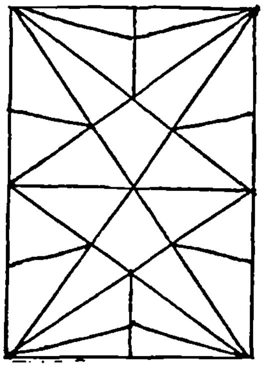
Ottery St Mary, crossing

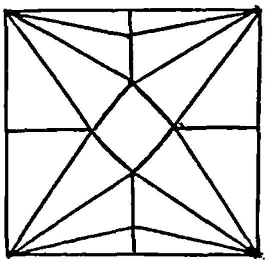


Ottery St Mary, Lady chapel



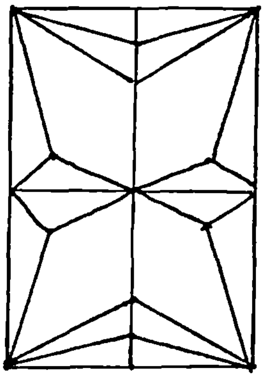
Ottery St Mary, Lady chapel screen, central bay



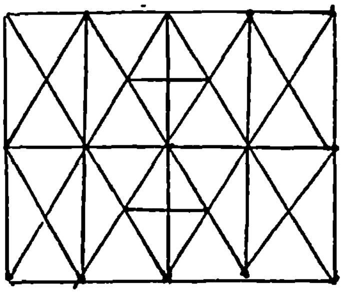


Exeter Cathedral, St Edmund's Chapel

Exeter Cathedral, pulpitum east bay



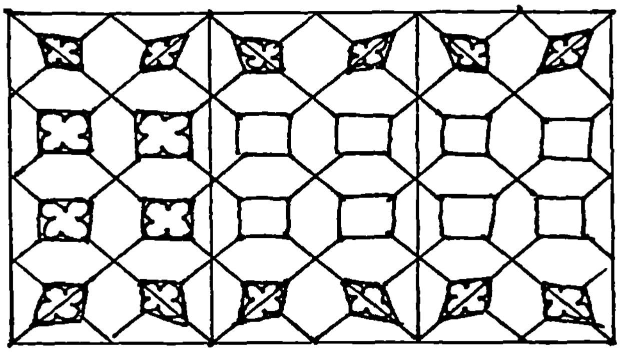
Exeter Cathedral, pulpitum west bay



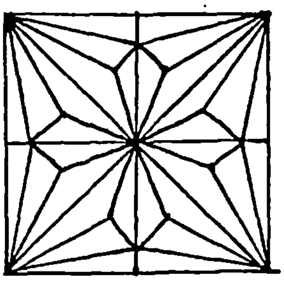
Malmesbury Abbey, nave

14th-century vaults at Ottery St Mary, Devon and Exeter Cathedral

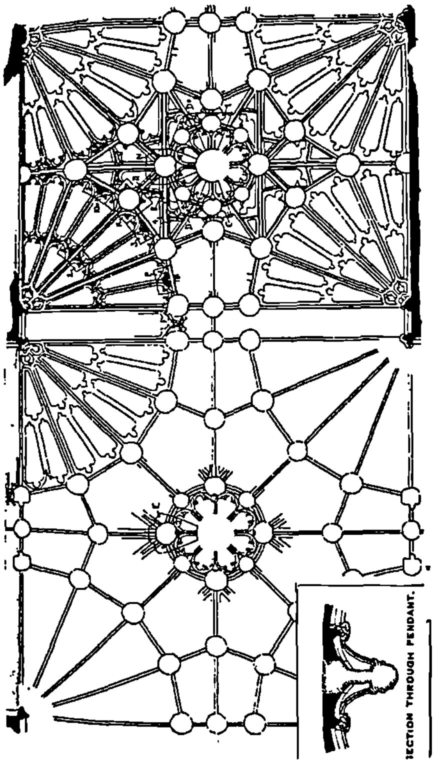
DOSSIER F.2



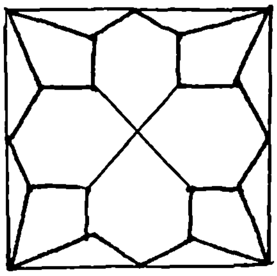
Wells Cathedral, chancel



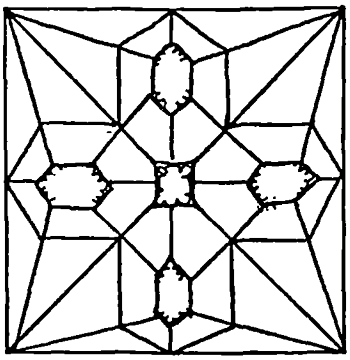
Wells Cathedral, east transept chapels



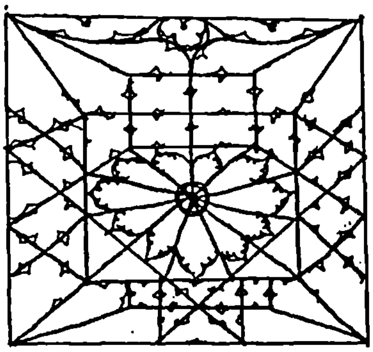
Wells Cathedral, Stillington's Chapel



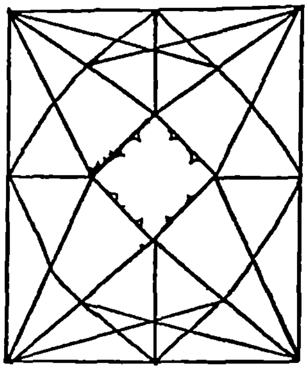
Wells Cathedral, chancel aisles



Wells Cathedral, Penniless Porch



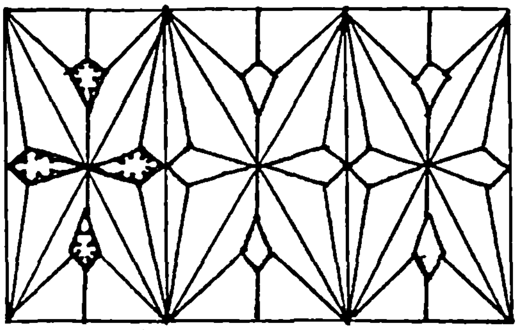
Wells Cathedral, Bishop Beckington's Chantry chapel

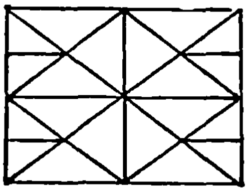


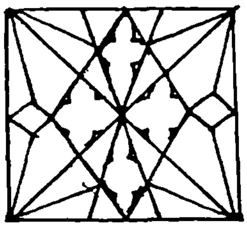
Wells Cathedral, Bishop's Eye

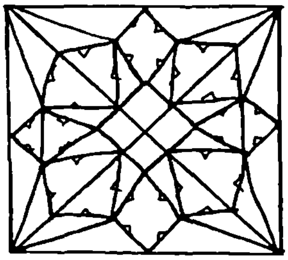
14th- and 15th-century vaults at Wells Cathedral

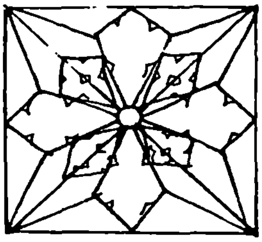
DOSSIER F.3

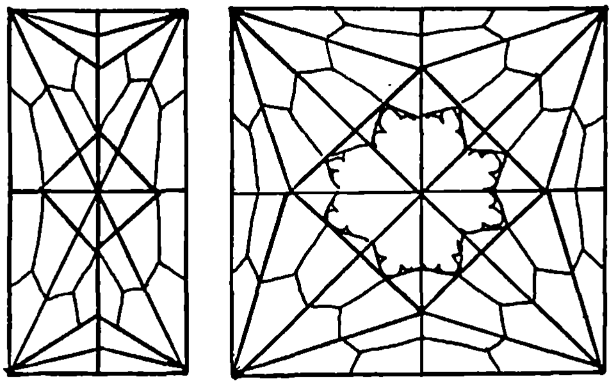

St Augustine's, chancel

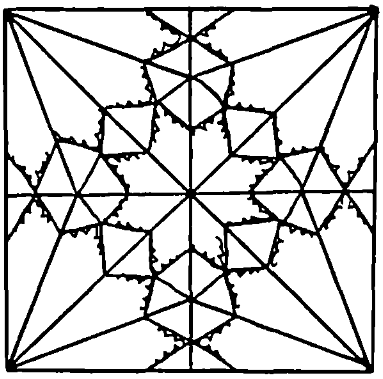

St Augustine's, chancel aisles

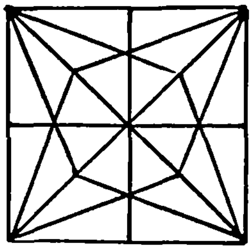

St Augustine's, north transept

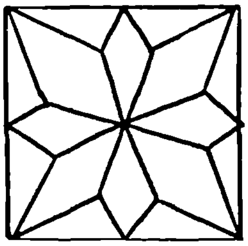

St Augustine's, crossing


St Augustine's, south transept


Divinty School Oxford, 'aisle' and 'nave' vaults

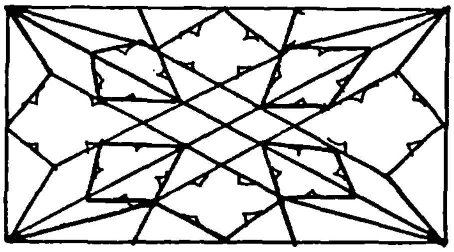

St Frideswide's Oxford, chancel

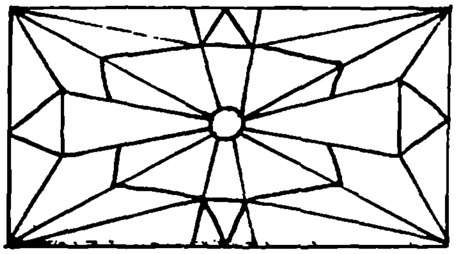

Merton College Oxford,
Fitzwilliam gateway

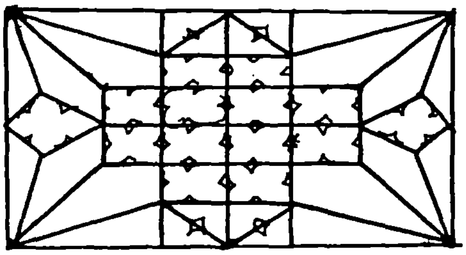

New College Oxford, stairway to
hall

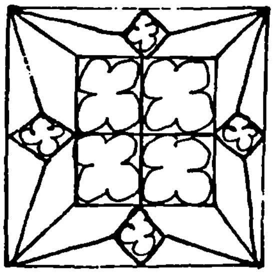
14th-and 15th-century vaults at St Augustine's, Bristol and in Oxford

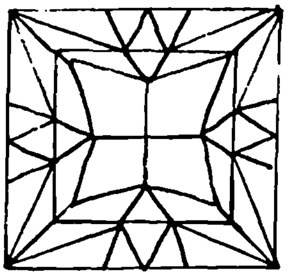
DOSSIER F.4

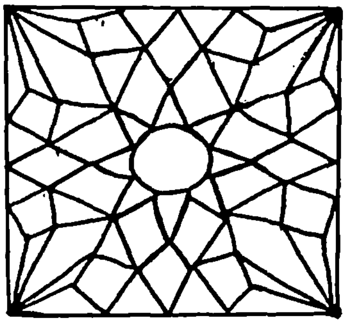

St Mary Redcliffe, nave

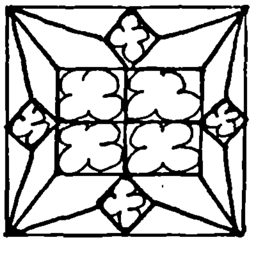

St Mary Redcliffe, crossing

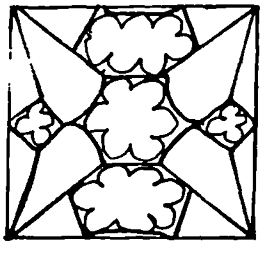

St Mary Redcliffe, chancel

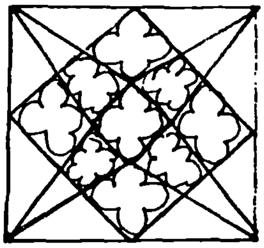

St Mary Redcliffe,
Lady chapel, east bay

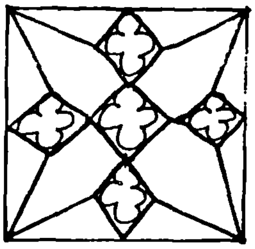

St Mary Redcliffe,
Lady chapel, west bay

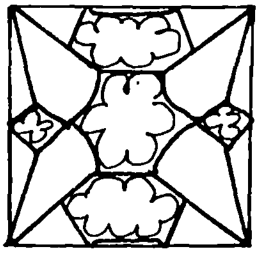

St Mary Redcliffe, tower

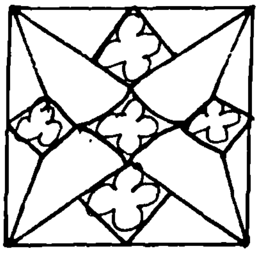

St Mary Redcliffe,
south porch


St Mary Redcliffe,
south chancel aisle


St Mary Redcliffe,
north chancel aisle

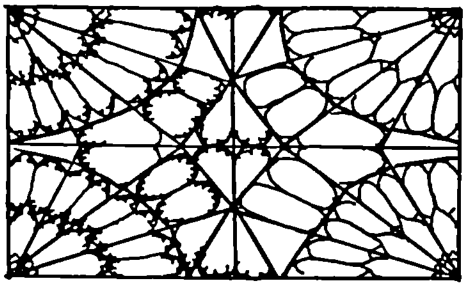

St Mary Redcliffe,
north transept aisles
and north nave aisle


St Mary Redcliffe,
south nave aisle

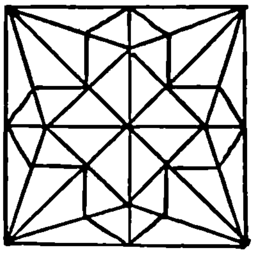

St Mary Redcliffe,
south transept aisles

Vaults at St Mary Redcliffe

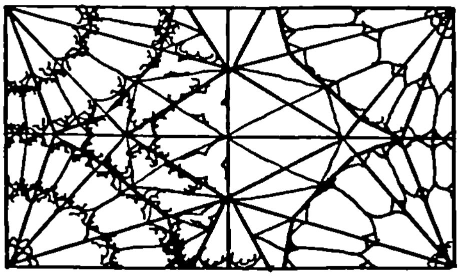
DOSSIER F.5



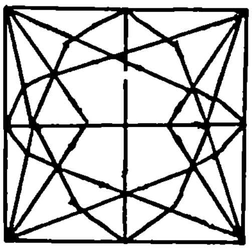
Sherborne Abbey, chancel



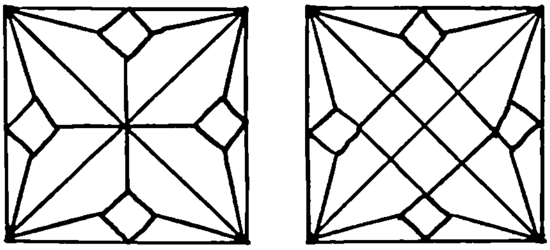
Sherborne Abbey, south nave aisle



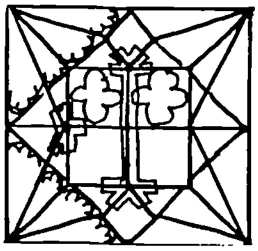
Sherborne Abbey, nave



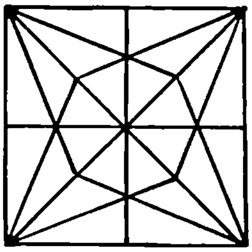
Sherborne Abbey, north nave aisle



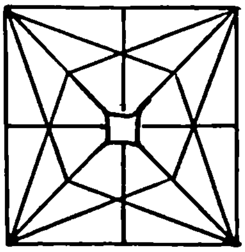
Sherborne Abbey, cloister,
hypothetical reconstructions



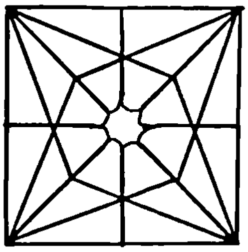
Muchelney Abbey, cloister
hypothetical reconstruction
from remaining fragments



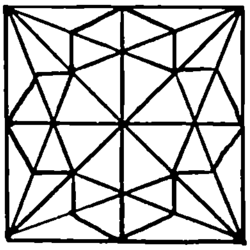
Worcester Cathedral,
cloister



Wells Cathedral, cloister



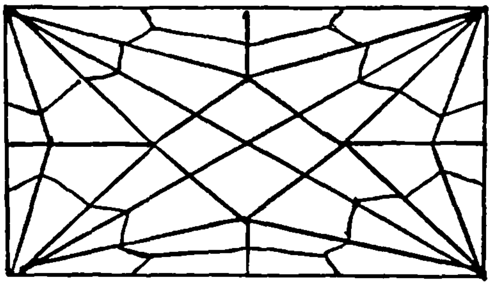
Lacock Abbey,
cloister



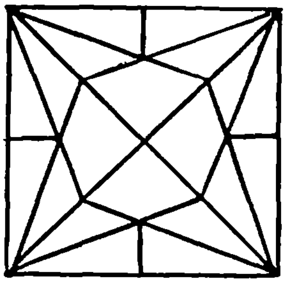
Exeter Cathedral, cloister

Vaults at Sherborne Abbey and comparative cloister vaults of the 14th and 15th centuries

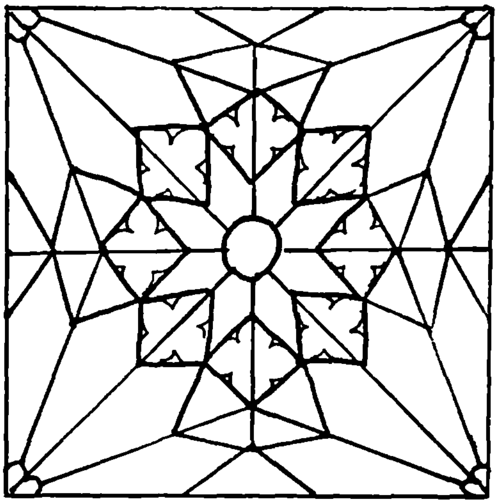
DOSSIER F.6



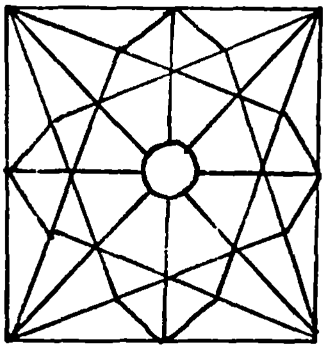
Winchester Cathedral, nave and chancel



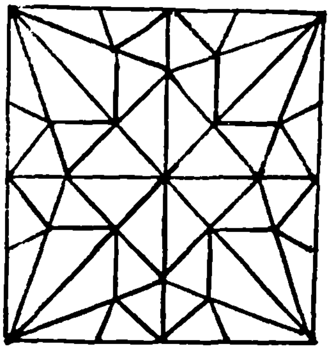
Winchester Cathedral, nave and chancel aisles



Winchester Cathedral, Lady chapel



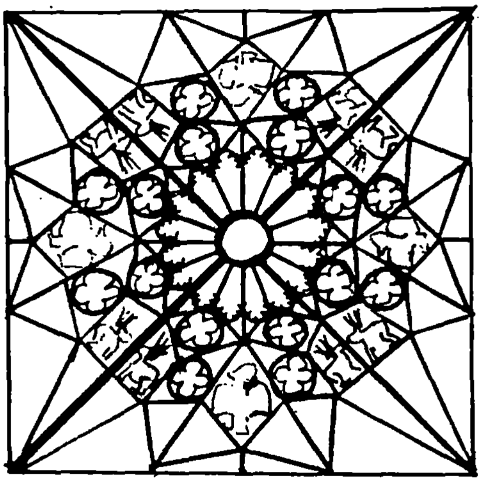
Winchester College, Thurbern's Chantry



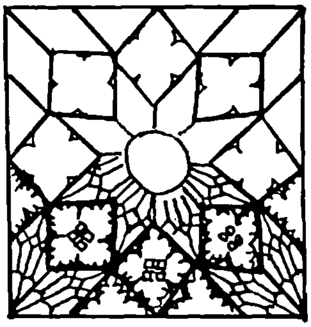
Winchester College, Fromond's Chantry

14th- and 15th-century vaults at Winchester Cathedral and Winchester College

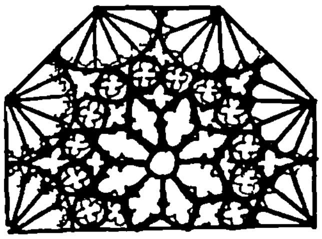
DOSSIER F.7



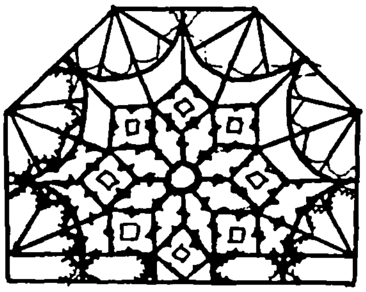
Westminster Abbey, Henry V's Chantry chapel



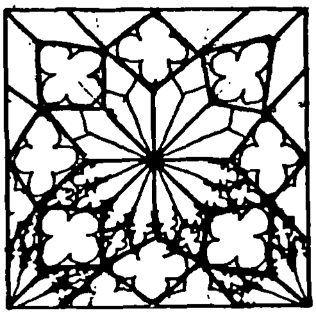
Winchester Cathedral, Bishop Waynflete's Chantry chapel



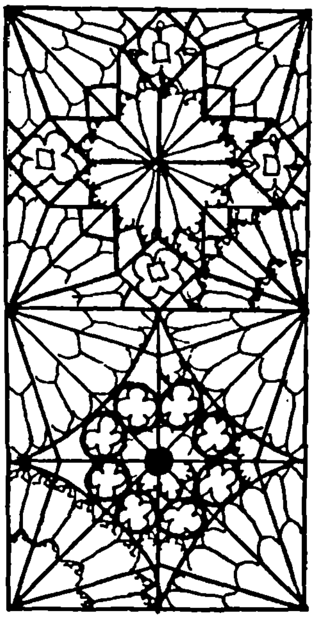
St George's Chapel Windsor, Urswick Chapel



Hereford Cathedral, Bishop Audley's Chapel



St George's Chapel Windsor, Aerary Porch



St Stephen's Westminster, cloister

Windsor, Westminster and Winchester related vault designs